

DOCUMENTS ON PALESTINE

Volume IV (1987-1994):

7. First Intifada – After the Madrid Middle East Peace
Conference (1987-1991)

8. Middle East Peace Negotiations (I)
(1992-1994)

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Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs

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Introduction

Palestine has enjoyed geographic, religious and political centrality in the Middle East and has since the beginning of the last century been vulnerable to the plans and ambitions of foreign powers. The resulting conflicts have led to the dispersal and prolonged suffering of the Palestinian people, and during the past eight decades in particular the Palestinian people have fought continuously to defend their internationally recognized rights to freedom and independence.

The ambitions and policies of the various external powers involved over the years have had an undeniable impact on inter-Arab relations, and on the international relations of Arab states. They have also had a direct effect on shaping the history of Palestine and the evolution of its future. Despite this external pressure, the Palestinians have succeeded in defending and maintaining their Arab identity and political presence by organizing socio-economic institutions and a political infrastructure which have allowed them to challenge the power of the various conquerors in the ongoing national struggle. Having legitimate representation forced other parties to recognize and engage with them despite attempts to deny them their rights to self-determination and national independence.

This volume is one of a series that organizes key political documents covering the time from the pre-Ottoman period to 2007. This volume includes the text or excerpts of almost 220 documents, covering the period from the beginning of the first *Intifada* 1987 to the first period of the Middle East Peace Negotiations, i.e., the end of 1994. This brief introduction outlines the history of this period to provide a framework to guide the reader to the historical context of the papers.

First Intifada to the Madrid Middle East Peace Conference (1987-1991)

At the beginning of 1987 the occupation had been ongoing for 20 years, the PLO leadership was isolated in Tunis, and weak Arab governments were unable to influence matters. Most countries in the region had internal preoccupations and no actors, regional or external, were able to enforce UN resolutions. On 8th December 1987 an Israeli vehicle crashed into a crowd at a Gaza refugee camp killing four residents. Palestinians were convinced this was a deliberate attack and the ensuing uprising that spread throughout the Palestinian territories became known as the *Intifada*.

The *Intifada* was an attempt to change the occupation from the inside, without relying on ineffective external intermediaries. It produced new leadership for the PLO from within the territories, organized all factions under one umbrella, and politicized the population at all levels. This unification led to the Fourteen Palestinian Points that included elections, a freeze on Israeli settlements, release of political prisoners, and the right to be free of occupation. The US government tried to mediate with the Shultz Initiative in 1988, which called for negotiations based on UN resolutions 242 and 338. This was rejected by the Palestinians and Israel continued its severe military control. In April 1988 Israel assassinated the PLO second-in-command, Khalil Al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), the godfather of the *Intifada* – a move that shook the global Palestinian people and which was condemned by the UN in

Resolution 611. The *Intifada* enjoyed international and regional support and, in recognition of the call for autonomy, King Hussein formally disengaged Jordan from the West Bank. The *Hamas* movement evolved from the *Intifada* and publicized its charter in August 1988.

The PLO shifted also, with a new consensus passed by the Palestinian National Council (PNC) in November 1988 to: accept partition based on UN Resolution 181; to accept the existence of Israel; to renounce terrorism; and to call for a settlement based on UN Resolutions 181 and 242. The PNC issued a declaration of Palestinian Independence on 15 November 1988 which called for a Palestinian state with its capital in Jerusalem.

Palestinian-Israeli contacts were maintained in spite of continued military confrontations, motivating external actors to continue their peace efforts. One major outcome was the Stockholm Document in which leading figures from the Palestinian and the American Jewish communities expressed strong support for Palestinian independence and called for direct dialogue between the US government and the PLO.

On 13 December 1988, PLO Chairman Arafat addressed the UN for the second time. He presented a Palestinian peace initiative which included a call for the convention of an international peace conference based on UN Resolutions 242 and 338; a call for a temporary presence of UN supervision troops in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT); and an assurance of the Palestinian desire for a comprehensive settlement to the conflict. The following day US President Reagan authorized the State Department to enter start / into ? dialogue with the PLO.

Israeli PM Rabin responded in April 1989 with a plan for Israel to hold elections in the OPT in order to choose representatives to negotiate with Israel on an interim peace plan. The Palestinians maintained that the PLO was their legitimate representative body and rejected this proposal. From this point until the Gulf Crisis of 1990 various peace initiatives were introduced by Arab, European and US leaders. None of these succeeded but they contributed to the points of view of the parties in the peace talks that followed the Gulf War of 1991.

The First Rounds of Negotiations (1991-1993)

The Madrid Peace Conference of October 1991 represented the beginning of the first series of bilateral talks in the Arab-Israeli conflict based on the UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and the acceptance by all parties of the principle of "land for peace." From Madrid, two tracks of negotiations emerged: bilateral in Washington from 1991 to 1993, and multilateral starting in Moscow in 1992. The bilateral talks came to a halt after 22 months at the tenth round of talks when the Israeli side proposed autonomy while the Palestinian side demanded an interim self-government authority. The multilateral talks moved to various world capitals covering issues of mutual concern, such as arms control, regional economic development, refugees, and water and environment.

The failure of the Washington talks revealed the gap between the two sides and the reluctance of the US administration to exercise any pressure on Israel. Facing such a dead end, several secret channels were opened between the PLO and Israeli Government; one of them led to the Oslo Accords and the Declaration of Principles (DoP), which was signed at the White House on 13 September 1993 and followed by various subsequent agreements.

The significance of this political breakthrough was mutual recognition, putting the two sides at a crossroads. Whether the agenda of what is since considered the “peace process” would lead to a historical reconciliation with a political settlement or only a temporary “truce” with limited progress remained to be seen.

The “test phase” began with 1994, where much attention was focused on the continuing negotiations that took place in Taba and elsewhere, while back home, violence sparked throughout the Palestinian Territories, the culmination of which came on 25 February, when 29 Muslim worshippers at prayer in the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron, were gunned down by Baruch Goldstein, a settler from nearby Kiryat Arba. Revenge attacks were soon carried out in a series of suicide bombings.

Nevertheless, negotiations continued and at the end of April, the Palestinian-Israeli Protocol on Economic Relations was signed in Paris, followed, on 4 May, by the Gaza-Jericho Self-Rule or Cairo Agreement. Soon after, the first Palestinian police forces entered the autonomous areas of Gaza and Jericho and began to set up a national, preventive, public, and presidential security system. On 1 July, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat returned home and swore in the first ministers for the newly established Palestinian National Authority (PNA).

Since the agreed deadline for Palestinian elections passed (13 July), the next major event was the August signing of the Early Empowerment Agreement on the transfer of five civilian authorities (education, health, social affairs, tourism and taxation) from the Israeli administration to the PNA. In September, Jordan surrendered to the PNA the Waqf and religious courts in the West Bank, and the Gulf Cooperation Council ended its economic boycott of Israel, and in October, Arafat, Rabin and Peres were announced the winners of the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize.

Whereas the year had not been to the fullest satisfaction of the Palestinians, there was some progress evident that made them rather optimistic.

A Final Note

Although we have endeavored to make this publication as reader/user friendly as possible, one should be aware that there is some inconsistency in terms of the spelling of non-English words - names and places (such as Haram Ash-Sharif or *Intifada*) – since we adhered, wherever possible, to the original version rather than apply our usual spelling rules. It is for the same reason that the volumes contain a number of minor typographical errors such as the omission of apostrophes, inconsistent capitalization, and spelling mistakes found in the originals.

Footnotes included in the volumes - excluding those marked “the ed.” - are mostly those that appeared in the original texts though the readership note that the numbering will not necessarily be accordance with the original version.

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi
Chairman of PASSIA

7. First Intifada – After the Madrid Middle East Peace Conference (1987-1991)

ISRAELI CABINET, STATEMENT ON THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING, JERUSALEM, 20 DECEMBER 1987

- A. The cabinet heard reviews from the chief of staff and the coordinator of activities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, on the security events in these areas during the past week; from the police minister on the events yesterday in Jerusalem; from acting Foreign Minister Weizman, on the world reaction to the events. A discussion was held afterwards on these subjects.
- B. The prime minister summarized:
- 1) The cabinet is united in its support of the actions of the security forces - the IDF, the civil administration, the GSS and the Israel Police - against terrorism and civil disorder, carried out with maximum effort to prevent causing loss of life. (The figures which were published in the media concerning casualties were extremely exaggerated.) Contacts will continue to be made with the heads of the Arab population, which was the sector primarily harmed by the terrorism and riots, in order to act to bring about a calming of the situation.
 - 2) A distinction must be maintained between the subject of the struggle against terrorism and rioting, and the political process. While all want to see the latter continued, there is a united position concerning the struggle against terrorism. The IDF and security forces are acting tirelessly on this matter, based on the instructions of the government. Israel will not tire in its defense, and the IDF will continue to maintain a balance between deterrence and restraint.
 - 3) Israeli representatives will continue to explain the circumstances behind the events and the effort being made by the IDF to prevent casualties. Contacts will especially be maintained with Egypt concerning this matter.
 - 4) Israel is acting in a way that is more restrained than any other government in the world in similar circumstances, and is certain of its moral strength and its security forces.



UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 605 ON THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, NEW YORK, 22 DECEMBER 1987

[The issue of the uprising had been brought to the UNSC by Arab states. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 14:0, with the US abstaining on the grounds that the resolution was a generalized "criticism of Israeli policies and practices".]

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter dated 11 December 1987 from the permanent representative of the Democratic Yemen to the United Nations, in his capacity as chairman of the Arab Group for the month of December,

Bearing in mind the inalienable rights of all peoples recognized by the UN Charter and proclaimed by Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Recalling its relevant resolutions on the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories, occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem and including its Resolution 446 (1979), 465 (1980), 497 (1981) and 592 (1986),

Recalling also the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949,

Gravely concerned and alarmed by deteriorating situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

Taking into account the need to consider measures for impartial protection of the Palestinian civilian population under Israeli occupation,

Considering that the current policies and practices of Israel, the occupying Power, in the Occupied Territories are bound to have grave consequences for the endeavors to achieve comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

1. *Strongly deplores* these policies and practices of Israel, the occupying Power, which violate the human rights of the Palestinian People in the Occupied Territories, and in particular the opening of fire by the Israeli army, resulting in the killing and wounding of defenseless Palestinian civilians;
2. *Reaffirms* that the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in Times of War of 12 August 1949 is applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;
3. *Calls once again* upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide immediately and scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 and desist forthwith from its policies and practices that are in violation of the provisions of the Convention;
4. *Calls furthermore* for the exercise of maximum restraint to contribute towards the establishment of peace;
5. *Stresses* the urgent need to reach a just, durable and peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict;
6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to examine the present situation in the Occupied Territories by all means available to him, and to submit a report no later than 20 January 1988 containing his recommendations on ways and means for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation;
7. *Decides* to keep the situation on the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, under review.



UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 607 REGARDING ISRAEL'S DEPORTATION OF PALESTINIANS, NEW YORK, 5 JANUARY 1988

[In late Dec. 1987 Israel decided to deport nine Palestinian leaders, which the US deplored as it conflicted with the Fourth Geneva Convention. The UNSC called on Israel not to deport the nine nor anyone else in the future. The resolution was unanimously adopted.]

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 605 (1987) of 22 December 1987,

Expressing grave concern over the situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territories,

Having been apprised of the decision of Israel, the occupying Power, to "continue the deportation" of Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories,

Recalling the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, of 12 August 1949, and in particular articles 47 and 49 of same,

1. *Reaffirms* once again that the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to Palestinian and other Arab territories, occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;
2. *Calls upon* Israel to refrain from deporting any Palestinian civilians from the Occupied Territories;
3. *Strongly requests* Israel, the occupying Power, to abide by its obligations arising from the Convention;
4. *Decides* to keep the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, under review.



**UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 608 REGARDING
ISRAELI DEPORTATIONS, NEW YORK, 14 JANUARY 1988**

[See also previous document; on 13 Jan. Israel expelled four additional Intifada leaders. The resolution, calling on Israel to rescind the expulsion order - was approved by 14:0 and the US abstaining.]

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 607 (1988) of 5 January 1988,

Expressing its deep regret that Israel, the occupying Power, has, in defiance of that resolution, deported Palestinian civilians,

1. *Calls upon* Israel to rescind the order to deport Palestinian civilians and to ensure the safe and immediate return to the occupied Palestinian territories of those already deported;
2. *Requests* that Israel desist forthwith from deporting any other Palestinian civilians from the occupied territories;
3. *Decides* to keep the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, under review.



THE PALESTINIAN FOURTEEN (14) POINTS, JERUSALEM, 14 JANUARY 1988

[A broad spectrum of West Bank and Gazan Palestinian leaders and representatives of nationalist institutions presented demands for dealing with the current conflict at a press conference as follows:]

During the past few weeks the Occupied Territories have witnessed a popular uprising against Israel's occupation and its oppressive measures. This uprising has so far resulted in the martyrdom of tens of our people, the wounding of hundreds more, and the imprisonment of thousands of unarmed civilians.

This uprising has come to further affirm our people's unbreakable commitment to its national aspirations. These aspirations include our people's firm national rights of self-determination and of the establishment of an independent state on our national soil under the leadership of the PLO, as our sole legitimate representative. The uprising also comes as further proof of our indefatigable spirit and our rejection of the sense of despair which has begun to creep to the minds of some Arab leaders who claim that the uprising is the result of despair.

The conclusion to be drawn from this uprising is that the present state of affairs in the Palestinian Occupied Territories is unnatural and that Israeli occupation cannot continue forever. Real peace cannot be achieved except through the recognition of Palestinian national rights, including the right of self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State on Palestinian national soil. Should these rights not be recognized, then the continuation of Israeli occupation will lead to further violence and bloodshed, and the further deepening of hatred. The opportunity for peace will also move farther away.

The only way to extricate ourselves from this scenario is through the convening of an international conference with the participation of all concerned parties including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as an equal partner, as well as the five permanent members of the Security Council, under the supervision of the two superpowers.

On this basis we call upon the Israeli authorities to comply with the following list of demands as a means to prepare the atmosphere for the convening of the suggested international peace conference, which conference will ensure a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects, bringing about the realization of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, peace and stability for the peoples of the region, and an end to violence and bloodshed:

1. To abide by the 4th Geneva Convention and all other international agreements pertaining to the protection of civilians, their properties and rights under a state of military occupation; to declare the Emergency Regulations of the British Mandate null and void, and to stop applying the iron fist policy;
2. The immediate compliance with Security Council Resolutions 605 and 607, which call upon Israel to abide by the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Declaration of Human Rights; and which further call for the achievement of a just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict;
3. The release of all prisoners who were arrested during the recent uprising, and foremost among them our children. Also the rescinding of all proceedings and indictments against them;
4. The cancellation of the policy of expulsion, allowing all exiled Palestinians, including the four sent yesterday into exile, to return to their homes and families; also the release of all administrative detainees and the cancellation of the hundreds of house arrest orders. In this connection, special mention must be made of the several hundreds of applications for family reunions, which we call upon the authorities to accept forthwith;
5. The immediate lifting of the siege of all Palestinian refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza, and the withdrawal of the Israeli army from all population centers;
6. Carrying out a formal inquiry into the behavior of the soldiers and settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as inside jails and detention camps, and taking due punitive measures against all those convicted of having caused death or bodily harm to unarmed civilians;
7. A cessation of all settlement activity and land confiscation and the release of lands already confiscated, especially in the Gaza Strip, and an end to the harassments and provocations of the Arab population by settlers in the West Bank and Gaza as well as in the Old City of Jerusalem. In particular, the curtailment of the provocative activities in the old city of Jerusalem by Sharon and the ultra-religious settlers of Shuvu Banim and Ateret Cohanim;
8. Refraining from any act which might impinge on the Muslim and Christian holy sites or which might introduce change to the *status quo* in the city of Jerusalem;
9. The cancellation of the VAT and all other Israeli taxes which are imposed on Palestinian residents in Jerusalem, the rest of the West Bank, and in Gaza; and the putting to an end of the harassments caused to Palestinian business and tradesmen;
10. The cancellation of all restrictions on political freedoms, including the restrictions on meetings and conventions; also making provisions for free municipal elections under the supervision of a neutral authority;
11. The immediate release of monies deducted from the wages of laborers from the Occupied Territories who worked and still work inside the green line, which amount to several hundreds of millions of dollars. These accumulated deductions, with interest, must be returned to their rightful owners through the agency of the nationalist institutions headed by the worker's unions;
12. The removal of all restrictions on building permits and licenses for industrial projects and artesian wells as well as agricultural development programs in the Occupied Territories, and the rescinding of all measures taken to deprive the Occupied Territories of their water resources;
13. The termination of the policy of discrimination being practiced against industrial and agricultural produce from the Occupied Territories either by removing the restrictions on the transfer of goods to within the green line, or by placing comparable trade restrictions on the transfer of Israeli goods into the Occupied Territories.
14. The removal of the restrictions on political contacts between inhabitants of the Occupied Territories and the PLO, in such a way as to allow for the participation of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories in the proceedings of the Palestinian National Council, in order to ensure a direct input into the decision-making processes of the Palestinian Nation by the Palestinians under occupation.



**SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER EDUARD A. SHEVARDNAZDE, LETTER TO THE UN
SECRETARY-GENERAL, 19 JANUARY 1988**

[The message - communicated by FM Shevardnadze. on 20 Jan. - outlined concrete practical steps to solve the core problems of the Middle East, incl. a special role for the UN.]

Recent events have again focused the attention of the international community on the situation in the Middle East. Massive Palestinian demonstrations in the territories occupied by Israel have reached the levels of a popular uprising. They show in a convincing manner the dangerous nature of the delusions of those who try at any cost to keep the land of others acquired through the use of armed force, who believe that time in the final analysis works to perpetuate the results of aggression and who refuse to look in a serious and business-like manner for means of unblocking the situation in the Middle East.

The unabated tensions in the Middle East adversely affect the political atmosphere not only in that region, but also in the international arena as a whole, and they hamper progress towards a more secure world. All States that are seriously interested in ensuring general security have a collective responsibility to reverse the dangerous trends in the Middle East.

We in the Soviet Union are gratified that the international community is becoming ever more deeply convinced of the need to find an immediate political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is evidenced by the growing support for the idea of an international conference on the Middle East as the only realistic and reliable means of achieving such a settlement. This support was clearly reflected at the recent forty-second session of the General Assembly. Of particular urgency now is the need to transform the political will of States reflected in the General Assembly's decisions into specific and practical steps to solve the hard-core problems of the Middle East. Encouraging trends in international life are creating favourable conditions for that process.

We are convinced that the United Nations possesses both the high prestige and the necessary potential to revitalize the process of a Middle East settlement. It has considerable untapped possibilities, which should be utilized to the fullest. Above all, we believe that the Security Council, as the primary United Nations body responsible for the maintenance of universal peace, should be immediately involved in the practical process of setting up and putting in motion the mechanism of the international conference on the Middle East, which should be designed to find, on the basis of multilateral efforts, a reasonable balance among the interests of all the parties and to ensure lasting peace and security in the region.

We suggest that the members of the Security Council proceed to consultations to consider the relevant questions. The initiative in this matter, we believe, could belong to the permanent members of the Council. Conclusions and recommendations arrived at during such consultations could be considered at a formal meeting of the Council. In view of the particular importance of this question for the maintenance of international security, we propose that such a meeting should be held at the foreign minister level. We hope that you, for your part, will use the means at your disposal and your personal authority to contribute effectively to a general agreement on immediate practical steps for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East.



EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK, PEACE INITIATIVE, 27 JANUARY 1988

[Mubarak's initiative was communicated to the UN Sec.-Gen. as appendix to a letter from the Deputy PM and FM of Egypt, Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid.]

The tragic events in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip confirm the urgency of resuming the peace process in the interest of all the parties concerned. In order to pave the way for meaningful negotiations, we propose the following:

The parties concerned would halt all forms of violence and repression in the occupied territories for six months; such a step would be accompanied by the following:

1. Ceasing all settlement activities.
2. Respecting the political rights and freedoms of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation.
3. Ensuring the safety and protection of this people through proper international mechanisms.
4. Movement towards the Convening of the International Peace Conference with the aim of reaching a comprehensive peace settlement that provides for the recognition of the right of all the States in the region to live in peace and for enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination.



**US SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ, STATEMENT TO THE PALESTINIANS,
AMERICAN COLONY HOTEL, JERUSALEM, 26 FEBRUARY 1988 [EXCERPTS]**

[The statement aimed at explaining the US govt.'s position regarding Middle East peace and became later known as part of the "The Shultz Initiative."]

[...] First, Palestinians and Israelis must deal differently with one another. Palestinians must achieve control over political and economic decisions that affect their lives. Palestinians must be active participants in negotiations to determine their future. Legitimate Palestinian rights can be achieved in a manner which protects Israeli security. Israeli security and Palestinian security are necessary conditions for a better future for Palestinians, as well as for Israelis.

Second, these moves must be part of a broader effort to reach a comprehensive settlement. Israel and the occupied territories do not exist in isolation. Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestinians living outside the territories have concerns which need to be resolved. In moving toward a comprehensive settlement, resolutions 242 and 338, in their entirety, must be the basis for negotiations.

Third, what we are seeking must be achieved through negotiations. Negotiations work. Negotiations produce agreements which meet the fundamental concerns of all parties. Experience shows you that you can have an agreement with Israel, and it will be kept by Israel.

Fourth, the start of negotiations must be soon, and the pace of negotiations must be rapid, so that results can be achieved with equal rapidity. [...]

Our vision is of Israelis and Palestinians living together in peace in this land; where the rights of each are respected; where the energies of all are directed at peaceful purposes; where security and trust exist. Israelis and Palestinians need to see in each other the embodiment of their own dreams. They will realize that the fulfillment of their own dreams is impossible without the fulfillment of the other side's dreams. They will see that dreams rooted in reality are dreams which can be fulfilled.



**US SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ, LETTER TO ISRAELI PRIME
MINISTER SHAMIR ("THE SHULTZ INITIATIVE"), WASHINGTON, DC, 4 MARCH 1988**

I set forth below the statement of understanding which I am convinced is necessary to achieve the prompt opening of negotiations on a comprehensive peace. This statement of understandings emerges from discussions held with you and other regional leaders. I look forward to the letter of reply of the Government of Israel in confirmation of this statement.

The agreed objective is a comprehensive peace providing for the security of all the states in the region and for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Negotiations will start on an early date certain between Israel and each of its neighbors which is willing to do so. These negotiations could begin May 1, 1988. Each of these negotiations will be based on the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, in all their parts. The parties to each bilateral negotiation will determine the procedure and agenda at their negotiation. All participants in the negotiations must state their willingness to negotiate with one another.

As concerns negotiations between the Israeli delegation and the Jordanian Palestinian delegation, negotiations will begin on arrangements for a transitional period, with the objective of completing them within six months. Seven months after transitional negotiations begin, final status negotiations will begin, with the objective of completing them within one year. These negotiations will be based on all the provisions and principles of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242. Finally status talks will start before the transitional period begins. The transitional period will begin three months after the conclusion of the transitional agreement and will last for three years. The United States will participate in both negotiations and will promote their rapid conclusion. In particular, the United States will submit a draft agreement for the parties' consideration at the outset of the negotiations on transitional arrangements.

Two weeks before the opening of negotiations, an international conference will be held. The secretary General of the United Nations will be asked to issue invitations to the parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict and the five permanent members of the United Nations Council. All participants in the conference must accept United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and renounce violence and terrorism. The parties to each bilateral negotiation may refer reports on the status of their negotiations to the conference, in a manner to be agreed. The conference will not be able to impose solutions or veto agreements reached.

Palestinian representation will be within the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. The Palestinian issue will be addressed in the negotiations between the Jordanian-Palestinian and Israeli delegations. Negotiations between the Israeli delegation and the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation will proceed independently of any other negotiations.

This statement of understandings in an integral whole. The United States understands that your acceptance is dependent on the implementation of each element in good faith.



**ISRAELI LABOR PARTY, "MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING"
SENT TO THE PLO, KUWAIT, 6 MARCH 1988**

[The secret memorandum - prepared by Arye Hess, member of the Labor party's political council and head of the Labor party's confederation group, and published by Al-Ra'y al-'Amm on 8 March 1988 - outlined Labor's vision of a settlement of the Palestine question and asked for the PLO's approval.]

Proposal for a memorandum of understanding between Israel and the PLO. This proposal is submitted to the PLO chairman and the other PLO leaders for study:

1. Israel and the PLO announce reciprocal political recognition between the Israeli and Palestinian people.
2. Israel and the PLO call for the establishment and development of a political and economic alliance between the Israeli and Palestinian people.

3. Israel and the PLO are committed to work jointly for the establishment of full peaceful relations among all the peoples and countries in the Middle East and between the state of Israel and the Arab and Islamic states.
4. Israel announces its recognition of the Palestinian people's right to establish an independent political framework in the Gaza Strip and the West bank that will be within a political and economic confederation with Israel and Jordan.
5. The PLO proclaims the Palestinian people's aspiration to establish a Palestinian political confederation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip that will be within a political and economic confederation with Israel and Jordan.
6. The Palestinian confederation in the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Strip will be like a state. These two areas will be demilitarized.
7. Israel decides to transfer sovereignty over the Gaza Strip to the PLO.
8. The PLO proclaims the Gaza Strip an independent Palestinian sovereign area.
9. The PLO decides to transfer the Palestinian national institutions from Tunis to Gaza. Israel agrees to the PLO's becoming a full member in UN bodies. The PLO announces the formation of a Palestinian government, a Palestinian parliament, a Palestinian authority and a Palestinian television station.
10. Israel decides that the Arab inhabitants in the West Bank are Palestinian citizens and that they have to hold Palestinian identity cards and passports issued by the Palestinian government in Gaza.
11. The government of Israel and the PLO decide to establish Palestinian cantons in the West Bank that will be recognized as Palestinian political areas which cannot be separated from the Gaza Strip and the Palestinian central government in Gaza. These cantons will be responsible for running the affairs of the Palestinians in the West Bank. With respect to foreign affairs, these cantons will be linked to the Palestinian government and parliament.
12. The Israeli government, Palestine, and Jordan proclaim a policy of open borders, economic unity, and of a political alliance, and will initiate negotiations for the establishment of a political and economic confederation among them.
13. Within the framework of these negotiations, contentious issues in the West Bank will be discussed, as well as the status of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and how they should be linked to the Israeli parliament and the Israeli state. The question of sovereignty over the West Bank will also be discussed. A discussion will be held for the announcement of shared Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian sovereignty on the West Bank. In case no agreement is reached in this respect, the issue will be referred for international arbitration.
14. Israel and the PLO agree to maintain Jerusalem united with one municipality. The municipal council will be formed from representatives of the Jewish and Arab quarters. This measure will be enforced for a period of ten years from the moment the Israeli-Palestinian peace treaty is signed. In case the governments of Israel and Palestine approve this agreement, Israel agrees to transfer the Palestinian national institutions to one of the Palestinian quarters in East-Jerusalem or to any other Palestinian city in the West Bank.
15. The PLO agrees that the first task of the Palestinian confederation will be to resettle the refugees in permanent quarters in the [West] Bank and [Gaza] Strip. For this purpose, the PLO will collect funds from the world countries and the Arab countries. The Palestinians will be assisted in this task by Israeli experts.
16. The Israeli and Palestinian governments will initiate political talks to establish a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Palestinian political confederation in the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Strip. This confederation will operate in a similar manner to the confederation in Malaysia.
17. The Palestinian confederation will assist Israel in establishing and promoting diplomatic, economic, and scientific relations with all the Arab and Islamic countries which are members in the Arab League.
18. Israel and the Palestinian confederation will take the initiative to establish large development plants in the field of energy, water, supplies, tourism, banking, international trade, science and culture.



**PLO CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND FATEH CENTRAL COMMITTEE, STATEMENTS ON
THE KILLING OF KHALIL AL-WAZIR (ABU JIHAD), BAGHDAD, 16 APRIL 1988**

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Among the believers are men who have been true to their covenant with God. Of them some have completed their vow to the extreme, and some still wait: but they have never changed their determination in the least.

To our Palestinian masses inside and outside our occupied homeland, to the masses of our blessed uprising, to our Arab masses everywhere, to the Arab and Palestinian fighters who are steadfastly resisting invasions of the Arab nation, to all those who fight for freedom, for the dignity and freedom of their nations and peoples in this world:

The PLO Executive Committee and the Central Committee of the Palestine National Liberation Movement-Fateh mourn a great hero of the Arab nation, a dauntless struggler of the world liberation movement, and a sublime symbol of the Palestinian national struggle, the mujahid Khalil al-Wazir, Abu Jihad, Fateh Central Committee member and deputy commander-in-chief of the Palestinian revolution forces, who was martyred at dawn today by the hands of the fascist, racist Israeli ruling clique which is deep in a sea of Palestinian blood, the blood of Palestinian children, women and old men who raised the homeland's banner, upheld freedom, and broke the chains of the Zionist occupation bondage.

O masses of our heroic people, O masses of our Arab nation, the martyrdom of the leader Abu Jihad will only increase the flames of our people's revolution and enhance our resolve and determination to continue our struggle until victory is realized. This struggle, which was sustained by the blood of our martyrs and in which our people never stopped to sacrifice their lives, continues to offer martyrs inside and outside the homeland. Today, these martyrs are led by the leader and the symbol, martyr Abu Jihad, who, along with his beloved comrade martyrs, is fueling the seething popular revolution in our occupied land. This revolution is being led by our new leaders in our great revolution and mammoth march. Let the banner of struggle continue to be high to realize freedom, honor, and victory.

O people in the occupied land, the leader and symbol Abu Jihad has fallen. All of us are proceeding on the path of martyrs and martyrdom because it is the road of freedom, strength, and victory. The enemy will be under an illusion if it imagines that through such actions it will be able to extinguish our revolution which is burning all over Palestine. The enemy did not know that the blood of our martyrs will increase our people's determination to continue [the] struggle until victory is realized.

God said: Fain would they extinguish God's light with their mouths, but God will not allow but that his light should be perfected, even though the believers may detest.

We pledge to you, Abu Jihad, that we will continue the struggle to which you have been devoting your efforts and sweat from the beginning and to which you are now devoting your chaste, precious blood. We pledge to you that the revolution and the uprising will continue strong and victorious as you wanted it to be and to realize what you have struggled for. We pledge to you, Abu Jihad, a pledge of revolutionaries, freedom, fighters, mujahidin, and strugglers. Let this gang, which is ruling the Zionist entity, and let those who back, feed, and support it know that your chaste blood and the blood of our martyrs will not go in vain.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. God hath purchased of the believers their persons and their goods for theirs in return is the garden of paradise. They fight in his cause and sally and are slain: a promise binding on him in truth, through the law, the Gospel, and the Koran. And who is more faithful to his covenant than God? Then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded; that is the achievement supreme.

Revolution until victory!



**UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 611 REGARDING ISRAEL'S ATTACK ON
TUNISIA, NEW YORK, 25 APRIL 1988**

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter dated 19 April 1988 (S/19798), in which Tunisia made a complaint against Israel following the new act of aggression committed by the latter against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia,

Having heard the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tunisia,

Having noted with concern that the aggression perpetrated on 16 April 1988 in the locality of Sidi Bou Said has caused loss of human life, particularly the assassination of Mr. Khalil El Wazir,

Recalling that in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations, all Member States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or acting in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

Considering that in its resolution 573 (1985), adopted following the act of aggression committed on 1 October 1985 by Israel against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia, it has condemned Israel and has demanded that Israel refrain from perpetrating such acts of aggression or from threatening to do so,

Gravely concerned by the act of aggression which constitutes a serious and renewed threat to peace, security and stability in the Mediterranean region,

1. *Condemns* vigorously the aggression perpetrated on 16 April 1988 against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and norms of conduct;
2. *Urges* Member states to take measures to prevent such acts against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States;
3. *Expresses* its determination to take the appropriate steps to ensure the implementation of the present resolution;
4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report urgently to the Security Council any new elements available to him and relating to this aggression;
5. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.



**ISRAELI LABOR PARTY, PLATFORM ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND SECURITY, 12TH KNESSET, MAY 1988 [EXCERPTS]**

1.1 Jerusalem

- 1.1.1. Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, will remain united under Israeli sovereignty.
- 1.1.2. The rights of all its inhabitants, irrespective of religion, nationality and citizenship, will be respected and upheld.
- 1.1.3. The special religious status of the places holy to Islam and Christianity will be guaranteed under self-administration.
- 1.1.4. Freedom of access to the holy places and freedom of religious worship will continue and be guaranteed.

1.2 Israel's Policy for Peace with Jordan and the Palestinians

1.2.1 Israel's goals in peace negotiations are:

- (a) Preserving the State of Israel as a democratic Jewish state with a large and stable Jewish majority, whose citizens, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, shall enjoy full equality of rights.
- (b) (i) The establishment of defensible borders which, once peace is established, will leave a defense deployment of the IDF forces and the settlements in the Jordan Rift, the north-west of the Dead Sea, Gush Etzion and the areas around Jerusalem as part of the sover-

eign territory of Israel. The Jordan will be Israel's security border. The territories which will be evacuated by Israel will be demilitarized.

Security arrangements vital to Israel will be concluded and no Arab or foreign army will cross or be found west of the River Jordan.

- (ii) Jewish settlements in the areas to be evacuated will be enabled to remain in their place, and the welfare and security of the settlers will be assured.
- (c) The resolution of the Palestinian problem within a Jordanian-Palestinian political framework, which will also comprise the areas with a dense Palestinian population in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, and will lead to a solution of the refugee problem.
- (d) The rejection of the establishment of an additional separate state in the area between Israel and the Jordan. A separate Palestinian state will not solve the conflict and could constitute a focus of hostility and the inflammation of passions.
- (e) The termination of Israeli rule over the one and a half million Palestinian Arabs who are inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.
- (f) The assurance of freedom of movement and passage across the border in accordance with agreements to be concluded in the peace treaty.

1.2.2. The Labor Party supports the energetic continuation of the initiatives of Shimon Peres and the Labor ministers for talks with Egypt and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation with the goal of furthering the peace process. These initiatives began when Shimon Peres was Prime Minister of Israel and also continued systematically when he served as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Labor Party denounces the loss of opportunities for furthering the peace process which were the result of the rejectionist and immobile policy of the Likud and especially of Yitzhak Shamir.

1.2.3 The Labor Party supports the continued involvement of the United States in furthering the peace process in the spirit of the 1987 initiative of Secretary of State George Shultz, the failure of which was caused by the Likud's obstinacy.

1.2.4 A government headed by the Alignment will renew, as a top priority the promotion of talks and negotiations with Jordan in partnership with a Palestinian representation in order to arrive at peace along the eastern border and a settlement of the Palestinian problem. In order to open negotiations with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, Israel will be willing to participate in an international conference which will not have the authority to dictate the conditions for negotiations, to impose a solution or to suspend any agreement which might be reached among the parties. Its task will be to enable the opening of direct, bilateral negotiations. The Labor Party supports the conditions for holding the conference as agreed to in contacts among Israel, Jordan and the United States (in the London document) of April 1987.

The negotiations will take place without preconditions, and will be conducted on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

Every delegation will be able to raise its own proposals, and every delegation will be able to relate to the proposals which will be raised by the other side.

1.2.5

- (a) In accordance with its aspiration to put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Alignment will be willing to hold talks with Palestinian personalities and bodies who will recognize Israel, denounce terrorism and accept Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.
- (b) The PLO, as based on the Palestinian Covenant, and any other organization which reject Israel's right to exist and the national existence of the Jewish people, or which uses terrorist means, cannot be partners to such negotiations.

1.2.6 On the road toward peace Israel will also initiate interim arrangements and will discuss any proposals for interim arrangements which might be proposed to it. Israel will be willing to negotiate with Jor-

dan and the Palestinians; or with authorized representatives of the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza about interim arrangements, even if Jordan will not participate in the negotiations. Within the framework of a possible interim agreement Israel will hand over broad spheres of responsibility and powers of self rule in municipal and civil issues to local authorities and to civilian bodies in these areas. Israel will concentrate primarily on maintaining security and preventing subversion and terror.

- 1.2.7 The outbreak in December 1987 of disturbances in the territories-disturbances which continue to the present day-was caused largely by the political paralysis imposed by the Likud on the Government. The IDF and the security services will continue to act decisively to restrain the disturbances in the territories, to prevent violence and to assure order and the welfare of the inhabitants.
- 1.2.8 Until the completion of the peace negotiations, Israel will act in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip on the basis of the following principles:
- (a) Normal public order will be preserved, and measures will be taken to ensure permanent and continuing security. Israel will resist manifestations of incitement, violence and terror used against it and against the Palestinian population.
 - (b) Israel will strengthen Jewish settlement in the vital security and settlement areas.
 - (c) Israel will prevent additional Jewish settlement in areas with a dense Palestinian population in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, and will stop the populating of these areas and investment by the Government of funds allotted for this purpose-both in rural and urban area. In this way the distortion or order of priorities laid down by the Likud since 1977, will be rectified.
 - (d) Israeli law will not be applied to Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.
 - (e) Israel will take, at its own initiative, additional measures and will hand over the broadest possible spheres of responsibility in civilian matters to local authorities and civilian Arab bodies in areas with a dense population.
 - (f) Israel will maintain the policy of open bridges, and will assure freedom of movement and contacts with the Arab world for the inhabitants.
 - (g) Israel will encourage initiative for economic development and the creation of sources of employment in the territories.
 - (h) Israel will safeguard the protection of the individual rights of the inhabitants, the rule of law and the equality of the inhabitants before it under the law and will act in accordance with the principles of international law.



**BASSAM ABU SHARIF, “PROSPECTS OF A PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT”,
ALGIERS, 7 JUNE 1988**

[Bassam Abu Sharif, special advisor to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, wrote this position paper to be distributed to international media on the eve of the Emergency Arab Summit Conference held in Algiers, 7-9 June 1988.]

Everything that has been said about the Middle East conflict has focused on the differences between Palestinians and Israelis and ignored the points on which they are in almost total agreement.

These points are easy to overlook, hidden as they are under a seventy-year accumulation of mutual hostility and suspicion, but they exist nevertheless and in them lies the hope that the peace that has eluded this region for so long is finally within reach.

Peel off the layers of fear and mistrust that successive Israeli leaders have piled on the substantive issues and you will find that the Palestinians and Israelis are in general agreement on ends and means:

Israeli's objectives are lasting peace and security. Lasting peace and security are also the objectives of the Palestinian people. No one can understand the Jewish people's centuries of suffering more than the Palestinians. We know what it means to be stateless and the object of the fear and prejudice of the nations. Thanks to the various Israeli and other governments that have had the power to determine the

course of our people's lives, we know what it feels like when human beings are considered somewhat less human than others and denied the basic rights that people around the globe take for granted. We feel that no people - neither the Jewish people nor the Palestinian people-deserves the abuse and disenfranchisement that homelessness inevitably entails. We believe that all peoples - the Jews and the Palestinians included - have the right to run their own affairs, expecting from their neighbors not only non-belligerence but the kind of political and economic cooperation without which no state can be truly secure, no matter how massive its war machine, and without which no nation can truly prosper, no matter how generous its friends in distant lands may be.

The Palestinians want that kind of lasting peace and security for themselves and the Israelis because no one can build his own future on the ruins of another's. We are confident that this desire and this realization are shared by all but an insignificant minority in Israel.

The means by which the Israelis want to achieve lasting peace and security is directed talks, with no attempt by any outside party to impose or veto a settlement. The Palestinians agree. We see no way for any dispute to be settled without direct talks between the parties to that dispute, and we feel that any settlement that has to be imposed by an outside power is a settlement that is unacceptable to one or both of the belligerents and therefore a settlement that will not stand to one or both of the belligerents and therefore a settlement that will not stand the test of time. The key to a Palestinian-Israeli settlement lies in talks between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The Palestinians would be deluding themselves if they thought that their problems with the Israelis can be solved in negotiations with non-Israelis, including the United States. By the same token, the Israelis-and US secretary of state George Shultz, who has been shuttling to the Middle East for discussions on his peace proposals - would be deluding themselves if they thought that Israel's problems with the Palestinians can be solved in negotiations with non-Palestinians, including Jordan.

The Palestinians would like to choose their Israeli interlocutor. We have little doubt that we could reach a satisfactory settlement with the Peace Now movement in a month. We know, however, that an agreement with Peace Now would not be an agreement with Israel, and since an agreement with Israel is what we are after, we are ready to talk to Mr. Shimon Peres' Labor alignment, or to Yitzhak Shamir's Likud block, or anyone else the Israelis choose to represent them.

The Israelis and Mr. Shultz would also prefer to deal with Palestinians of their own choosing. But it would be as futile for them as for us to talk to people who have no mandate to negotiate. If it is a settlement with the Palestinians that they seek, as we assume it is, then it is with the representatives of that people that they must negotiate, and the Palestinian people, by the only means that they have at their disposal, have chosen their representatives. Every Palestinian questioned by diplomats and newsmen of the international community has stated unequivocally that his unreliable expression of the Palestinians' free will, then give the Palestinians the chance to express their free will in a manner that will convince all doubters: arrange for an internationally-supervised referendum in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and allow the population to choose between the PLO and any other group of Palestinians that Israel or the United States or the international community wishes to nominate. The PLO is ready to abide by the outcome and step aside for any alternative leadership should the Palestinian people choose one.

The PLO will do this because its *raison d'être* is not the undoing of Israel, but the salvation of the Palestinian people and their rights, including their right to democratic self-expression and national self-determination.

Regardless of the satanic image that the PLO's struggle for those rights has given it in the United States and Israel, the fact remains that this organization was built on democratic principles and seeks democratic objectives. If Israel and its supports in the US administration can grasp that fact, the fears that prevent them from accepting the PLO as the only valid interlocutor toward any Palestinian-Israeli settlement would vanish.

Those fears, as far as I can tell from what has been written and said in Israel and the United States, center on the PLO's failure to unconditionally accept Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and

on the possibility that a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza would be a radical, totalitarian threat to its neighbor.

The PLO, however, does accept resolutions 242 and 338. What prevents it from saying to unconditionally is not what is in the resolutions but what is not in them: neither resolution says anything about the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their democratic right to self-expression and their national right to self-determination. For that reason, and that reason alone, we have repeatedly said that we accept resolutions 242 and 338 in the context of the other UN resolutions, which do recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people.

As for the fear that a Palestinian state would be a threat to its neighbor, the democratic nature of the PLO-with its legislative, executive, and other popularly-based institutions-should argue against it. If that does not constitute a solid enough guarantee that the state of Palestine would be a democratic one, the Palestinians would be open to the idea of a brief, mutually-acceptable transitional period during which an international mandate would guide the occupied Palestinian territories to democratic Palestinian statehood.

Beyond that, the Palestinians would accept-indeed, insist on-international guarantees for the security of all states in the region, including Palestine and Israel. It is precisely our desire for such guarantees that motivates our demand that bilateral peace talks with Israel be conducted in the context of a UN-sponsored international conference.

The Palestinians feel that they have much more to fear from Israel, with its mighty war machine and its nuclear arsenal, than Israel has to fear from them. They would therefore welcome any reasonable measure that would promote the security of their state and its neighbors, including the deployment of a UN buffer force on the Palestinian side of the Israeli-Palestinian border.

Time, sometimes the great healer, is often the great spoiler. Many Israelis no doubt realize this and are trying to communicate it to the rest of their people. As for us, we are ready for peace now, and we can deliver it. It is our hope that the opportunity that presents itself today will not be missed.

If it is missed, we will have no choice but to continue to exercise our right to resist the occupation, our ultimate aim being a free, dignified, and secure life not only for our children but also for the children of the Israelis.



**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ, 21ST ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING, BANGKOK, THAILAND,
4-5 JULY 1988 [EXCERPTS]**

INTRODUCTION

1. The Twenty-First ASEAN Ministerial Meeting was held in Bangkok on 4 - 5 July 1988. The Meeting was formally opened by His Excellency General Prem Tinsulanonda, Prime Minister of Thailand. [...]

WEST ASIA

60. The Foreign Ministers viewed with concern the unresolved Arab-Israeli conflict. They reiterated their full support for the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination, and the restoration of Arab sovereignty over their occupied territories. The Foreign Ministers called for renewed efforts to achieve a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement by negotiations. Towards this end, they expressed support for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations uprising in the occupied territory underlined need for the achievement of the settlement. [...]



**KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, SPEECH ON JORDAN'S DISENGAGEMENT
FROM THE WEST BANK, AMMAN, 31 JULY 1988**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,
and Peace be Upon His Faithful Arab Messenger

Brother Citizens,

I send you my greetings, and I am pleased to address you in your cities and villages, in your camps and dwellings, in your institutions of learning, and in your places of work. I would like to address your hearts and your minds, in all parts of our beloved Jordanian land. This is all the more important at this juncture when we have initiated, after seeking God's assistance, and in light of a thorough and extensive study, a series of measures with the aim of enhancing the Palestinian national orientation, and highlighting the Palestinian identity. Our objective is the benefit of the Palestinian cause and the Arab-Palestinian people.

Our decision, as you know, comes after thirty-eight years of the unity of the two banks, and fourteen years after the Rabat summit resolution, designating the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It also comes six years after the Fez summit resolution that agreed unanimously on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as one of the bases, and results of the peaceful settlement.

We are certain that our decision to initiate these measures does not come as a surprise to you. Many among you have anticipated it, and some of you have been calling for it for some time. As for its contents, it has been, for everyone, a topic for discussion and consideration since the Rabat conference.

Nevertheless, some may wonder: why now? Why today, and not after the Rabat or Fez summits, for instance? To answer this question, we need to recall certain facts that preceded the Rabat resolution. We also need to recall the factors that led to the debate, over the slogan-objective which the PLO raised, and worked to gain Arab and international support for: namely, the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. This meant, in addition to the PLO's ambition to embody the Palestinian identity on Palestinian national soil, the separation of the West Bank from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

I have reviewed the facts that preceded the Rabat resolutions, as you recall, before the Arab leaders in the Algiers extraordinary summit last June. It may be important to recall that one of the main facts that I stated was the text of the Unity Resolution of the Two Banks, of April 1950. This resolution affirms, "the reservation of all Arab rights in Palestine and the defense of such rights by all legitimate means - without prejudice to the final settlement of the just cause of the Palestinian people, within the scope of the people's aspirations and of Arab cooperation and international justice."

Another of these facts was our proposal of 1972 outlining alternative forms for the relationship between Jordan and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, after the latter's liberation. One of these alternatives was the maintenance of brotherly cooperation between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and an independent Palestinian state, if the Palestinian people so preferred. This means, simply, that we have declared clearly our commitment to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination on their national soil, including their right to establish their independent Palestinian state, more than two years before the Rabat resolution, and we shall adhere to it until the Palestinian people realize their national goals completely, God willing.

The considerations leading to the search to identify the relationship between the West Bank and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, against the background of the PLO's calls for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, are two-fold:

- A. The principle of Arab unity, this being a national objective to which all the Arab peoples aspire, and which they all seek to realize.
- B. The political reality of the scope of benefit to the Palestinian struggle that accrues from maintaining the legal relationship between the two banks of the kingdom.

Our answer to the question, “Why now?” also derives from these two factors, and the background of the clear and constant Jordanian position on the Palestinian cause, as already outlined.

Regarding the principle of Arab unity, we believe that such unity between two or more Arab peoples is a right of choice for every Arab people. Based on that, we have responded to the wish of the representatives of the Palestinian people for unity with Jordan in 1950. Within this context, we respect the wish of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to secede from us in an independent Palestinian state. We say this in all understanding. Nevertheless, Jordan will remain the proud bearer of the message of the great Arab revolt; faithful to its principles; believing in the common Arab destiny; and committed to join Arab action.

Regarding the political factor, it has been our belief, since the Israeli aggression of June 1967, that our first priority should be to liberate the land and holy places from Israeli occupation.

Accordingly, as is well known, we have concentrated all our efforts during the twenty-one years since the occupation toward this goal. We have never imagined that the preservation of the legal and administrative links between the two banks could constitute an obstacle to the liberation of the occupied Palestinian land. Consequently, during the period before adopting these measures, we did not see a reason to do so, particularly since our position, which calls for, and supports, the Palestinian people’s rights to self-determination, was clear beyond equivocation.

Lately, it has transpired that there is a general Palestinian and Arab orientation toward highlighting the Palestinian identity in a complete manner, in every effort or activity related to the Palestinian question and its developments. It has also become clear that there is a general conviction, that maintaining the legal and administrative links with the West Bank, and the ensuing Jordanian interaction with our Palestinian brothers under occupation, through Jordanian institutions in the occupied territories, contradicts this orientation. It is also viewed that these links hamper the Palestinian struggle to gain international support for the Palestinian cause, as the national cause of a people struggling against foreign occupation.

In view of this line of thought, which is certainly inspired by genuine Palestinian will, and Arab determination to support the Palestinian cause, it becomes our duty to be part of this direction, and to respond to its requirements. After all, we are a part of our nation, supportive of its causes, foremost among which is the Palestinian cause. Since there is a general conviction that the struggle to liberate the occupied Palestinian land could be enhanced by dismantling the legal and administrative links between the two banks, we have to fulfill our duty, and do what is required of us. At the Rabat summit of 1974 we responded to the Arab leaders’ appeal to us to continue our interaction with the occupied West Bank through the Jordanian institutions, to support the steadfastness of our brothers there. Today we respond to the wish of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and to the Arab orientation to affirm the Palestinian identity in all its aspects. We pray God that this step be a substantive addition to the intensifying Palestinian struggle for freedom and independence.

Brother Citizens,

These are the reasons, considerations, and convictions that led us to respond to the wish of the PLO, and the general Arab direction consistent with it. We cannot continue in this state of suspension, which can neither serve Jordan nor the Palestinian cause. We had to leave the labyrinth of fears and doubts, toward clearer horizons where mutual trust, understanding, and cooperation can prevail, to the benefit of the Palestinian cause and Arab unity. This unity will remain a goal which all the Arab peoples cherish and seek to realize.

At the same time, it has to be understood in all clarity, and without any ambiguity or equivocation, that our measures regarding the West Bank, concern only the occupied Palestinian land and its people. They naturally do not relate in any way to the Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. They all have the full rights of citizenship and all its obligations, the same as any other citizens irrespective of his origin. They are an integral part of the Jordanian state. They belong to it, they

live on its land, and they participate in its life and all its activities. Jordan is not Palestine; and the independent Palestinian state will be established on the occupied Palestinian land after its liberation, God willing. There the Palestinian identity will be embodied, and there the Palestinian struggle shall come to fruition, as confirmed by the glorious uprising of the Palestinian people under occupation.

National unity is precious in any country; but in Jordan it is more than that. It is the basis of our stability, and the spring-board of our development and prosperity. It is the foundation of our national security and the source of our faith in the future. It is the living embodiment of the principles of the Great Arab Revolt, which we inherited, and whose banner we proudly bear. It is a living example of constructive plurality, and a sound nucleus for wider Arab unity.

Based on that, safeguarding national unity is a sacred duty that will not be compromised. Any attempt to undermine it, under any pretext, would only help the enemy carry out his policy of expansion at the expense of Palestine and Jordan alike. Consequently, true nationalism lies in bolstering and fortifying national unity. Moreover, the responsibility to safeguard it falls on every one of you, leaving no place in our midst for sedition or treachery, with God's help, we shall be as always, a united cohesive family, whose members are joined by bonds of brotherhood, affection, awareness, and common national objective.

It is most important to remember, as we emphasize the importance of safeguarding national unity, that stable and productive societies, are those where orderliness and discipline prevail. Discipline is the solid fabric that binds all members of a community in a solid, harmonious structure, blocking all avenues before the enemies, and opening horizons of hope for future generations.

The constructive plurality which Jordan has lived since its foundation, and through which it has witnessed progress and prosperity in all aspects of life, emanates not only from our faith in the sanctity of national unity, but also in the importance of Jordan's Pan-Arab role. Jordan presents itself as the living example of the merger of various Arab groups on its soil, within the framework of good citizenship, and one Jordanian people. This paradigm that we live on our soil gives us faith in the inevitability of attaining Arab unity, God willing. In surveying contemporary tendencies, it becomes clear that the affirmation of national identity does not contradict the attainment of unitary institutional formats that can enjoin Arabs as a whole. There are living examples within our Arab homeland that attest to this, as there are living examples in foreign regions. Foremost among them is the European Community, which now seeks to realize European political unity, having successfully completed the process of economic complementarity among its members. It is well known that the bonds linking the Arabs are far greater than those linking European nations.

Citizens,

Palestinian Brothers in the Occupied Palestinian Lands,

To dispel any doubts that may arise out of our measures, we assure you that these measures do not mean the abandonment of our national duty, either toward the Arab-Israeli conflict, or towards the Palestinian cause. Nor do they mean relinquishing our faith in Arab unity. As I have stated, these steps were taken only in response to the wish of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the prevailing Arab conviction that such measures will contribute to the struggle of the Palestinian people and their glorious uprising. Jordan will continue its support for the steadfastness of the Palestinian people, and their courageous uprising in the occupied Palestinian land, within its capabilities. I have to mention, that when we decided to cancel the Jordanian development plan in the occupied territories, we contacted, at the same time, various friendly governments and international institutions, which had expressed their wish to contribute to the plan, urging them to continue financing development projects in the occupied Palestinian lands, through the relevant Palestinian quarters.

Jordan, dear brothers, has not, nor will it give up its support and assistance to the Palestinian people, until they achieve their national goals, God willing. No one outside Palestine has had, nor can have, an attachment to Palestine, or its cause, firmer than that of Jordan or of my family. Moreover, Jordan

is a confrontation state, whose borders with Israel are longer than those of any other Arab state, longer even than the combined borders of the West Bank and Gaza with Israel.

In addition, Jordan will not give up its commitment to take part in the peace process. We have contributed to the peace process until it reached the stage of a consensus to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East. The purpose of the conference would be to achieve a just and comprehensive peace settlement to the Arab Israeli conflict, and the settlement of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. We have defined our position in this regard, as everybody knows, through six principles which we have already made public.

Jordan, dear brothers, is a principal party to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and to the peace process. It shoulders its national responsibilities on that basis.

I thank you and salute you, and reiterate my heartfelt wishes to you, praying God the almighty to grant us assistance and guidance, and to grant our Palestinian brothers victory and success.

May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.



COVENANT OF THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (HAMAS) OF PALESTINE, 18 AUGUST 1988

In The Name of the Most Merciful Allah

"Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up unto mankind: ye command that which is just, and ye forbid that which is unjust, and ye believe in Allah. And if they who have received the scriptures had believed, it had surely been the better for them: there are believers among them, but the greater part of them are transgressors. They shall not hurt you, unless with a slight hurt; and if they fight against you, they shall turn their backs to you, and they shall not be helped. They are smitten with vileness wheresoever they are found; unless they obtain security by entering into a treaty with Allah, and a treaty with men; and they draw on themselves indignation from Allah, and they are afflicted with poverty. This they suffer, because they disbelieved the signs of Allah, and slew the prophets unjustly; this, because they were rebellious, and transgressed." (*Al-Imran - verses 109-111*).

Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it" (*The Martyr, Imam Hassan al-Banna, of blessed memory*).

"The Islamic world is on fire. Each of us should pour some water, no matter how little, to extinguish whatever one can without waiting for the others." (*Sheikh Amjad al-Zahawi, of blessed memory*).

In The Name of The Most Merciful Allah

INTRODUCTION

Praise be unto Allah, to whom we resort for help, and whose forgiveness, guidance and support we seek; Allah bless the Prophet and grant him salvation, his companions and supporters, and to those who carried out his message and adopted his laws - everlasting prayers and salvation as long as the earth and heaven will last. Hereafter:

O People:

Out of the midst of troubles and the sea of suffering, out of the palpitations of faithful hearts and cleansed arms; out of the sense of duty, and in response to Allah's command, the call has gone out rallying people together and making them follow the ways of Allah, leading them to have determined will in order to fulfill their role in life, to overcome all obstacles, and surmount the difficulties on the way. Constant preparation has continued and so has the readiness to sacrifice life and all that is precious for the sake of Allah.

Thus it was that the nucleus (of the movement) was formed and started to pave its way through the tempestuous sea of hopes and expectations, of wishes and yearnings, of troubles and obstacles, of pain and challenges, both inside and outside.

When the idea was ripe, the seed grew and the plant struck root in the soil of reality, away from passing emotions, and hateful haste. The Islamic Resistance Movement emerged to carry out its role through striving for the sake of its Creator, its arms intertwined with those of all the fighters for the liberation of Palestine. The spirits of its fighters meet with the spirits of all the fighters who have sacrificed their lives on the soil of Palestine, ever since it was conquered by the companions of the Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, and until this day.

This Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS), clarifies its picture, reveals its identity, outlines its stand, explains its aims, speaks about its hopes, and calls for its support, adoption and joining its ranks. Our struggle against the Jews is very great and very serious. It needs all sincere efforts. It is a step that inevitably should be followed by other steps. The Movement is but one squadron that should be supported by more and more squadrons from this vast Arab and Islamic world, until the enemy is vanquished and Allah's victory is realised.

Thus we see them coming on the horizon "and you shall learn about it hereafter" "Allah hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles: for Allah is strong and mighty." (*The Dispute - verse 21*).

"Say to them, This is my way: I invite you to Allah, by an evident demonstration; both I and he who followeth me; and, praise be unto Allah! I am not an idolator." (*Joseph - verse 107*).

CHAPTER ONE: DEFINITION OF THE MOVEMENT

Ideological Starting-Points

Article One:

The Islamic Resistance Movement: The Movement's programme is Islam. From it, it draws its ideas, ways of thinking and understanding of the universe, life and man. It resorts to it for judgement in all its conduct, and it is inspired by it for guidance of its steps.

The Islamic Resistance Movement's Relation With the Moslem Brotherhood Group:

Article Two:

The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the wings of Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine. Moslem Brotherhood Movement is a universal organization which constitutes the largest Islamic movement in modern times. It is characterised by its deep understanding, accurate comprehension and its complete embrace of all Islamic concepts of all aspects of life, culture, creed, politics, economics, education, society, justice and judgement, the spreading of Islam, education, art, information, science of the occult and conversion to Islam.

Structure and Formation

Article Three:

The basic structure of the Islamic Resistance Movement consists of Moslems who have given their allegiance to Allah whom they truly worship, - "I have created the jinn and humans only for the purpose of worshipping" - who know their duty towards themselves, their families and country. In all that, they fear Allah and raise the banner of Jihad in the face of the oppressors, so that they would rid the land and the people of their uncleanness, vileness and evils.

"But we will oppose truth to vanity, and it shall confound the same; and behold, it shall vanish away." (Prophets - verse 18).

Article Four:

The Islamic Resistance Movement welcomes every Moslem who embraces its faith, ideology, follows its programme, keeps its secrets, and wants to belong to its ranks and carry out the duty. Allah will certainly reward such one.

Time and Place Extent of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

Article Five:

Time extent of the Islamic Resistance Movement: By adopting Islam as its way of life, the Movement goes back to the time of the birth of the Islamic message, of the righteous ancestor, for Allah is its target, the Prophet is its example and the Koran is its constitution. Its extent in place is anywhere that there are Moslems who embrace Islam as their way of life everywhere in the globe. This being so, it extends to the depth of the earth and reaches out to the heaven.

"Dost thou not see how Allah putteth forth a parable; representing a good word, as a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed in the earth, and whose branches reach unto heaven; which bringeth forth its fruit in all seasons, by the will of its Lord? Allah propoundeth parables unto men, that they may be instructed." (*Abraham - verses 24-25*).

Characteristics and Independence:

Article Six:

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a distinguished Palestinian movement, whose allegiance is to Allah, and whose way of life is Islam. It strives to raise the banner of Allah over every inch of Palestine, for under the wing of Islam followers of all religions can coexist in security and safety where their lives, possessions and rights are concerned. In the absence of Islam, strife will be rife, oppression spreads, evil prevails and schisms and wars will break out.

How excellent was the Moslem poet, Mohamed Ikbal, when he wrote: "If faith is lost, there is no security and there is no life for him who does not adhere to religion. He who accepts life without religion, has taken annihilation as his companion for life."

The Universality of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

Article Seven:

As a result of the fact that those Moslems who adhere to the ways of the Islamic Resistance Movement spread all over the world, rally support for it and its stands, strive towards enhancing its struggle, the Movement is a universal one. It is well-equipped for that because of the clarity of its ideology, the nobility of its aim and the loftiness of its objectives.

On this basis, the Movement should be viewed and evaluated, and its role be recognised. He who denies its right, evades supporting it and turns a blind eye to facts, whether intentionally or unintentionally, would awaken to see that events have overtaken him and with no logic to justify his attitude. One should certainly learn from past examples. The injustice of next-of-kin is harder to bear than the smite of the Indian sword.

"We have also sent down unto thee the book of the Koran with truth, confirming that scripture which was revealed before it; and preserving the same safe from corruption. Judge therefore between them according to that which Allah hath revealed; and follow not their desires, by swerving from the truth which hath come unto thee. Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path; and if Allah had pleased, he had surely made you one people; but he hath thought it fit to give you different laws, that he might try you in that which he hath given you respectively. Therefore strive to excel each other in good works; unto Allah shall ye all return, and then will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed." (*The Table, verse 48*).

The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the links in the chain of the struggle against the Zionist invaders. It goes back to 1939, to the emergence of the martyr Izz al-Din al Kissam and his brethren the fighters, members of Moslem Brotherhood. It goes on to reach out and become one with another chain that includes the struggle of the Palestinians and Moslem Brotherhood in the 1948 war and the Jihad operations of the Moslem Brotherhood in 1968 and after.

Moreover, if the links have been distant from each other and if obstacles, placed by those who are the lackeys of Zionism in the way of the fighters obstructed the continuation of the struggle, the Islamic Resistance Movement aspires to the realisation of Allah's promise, no matter how long that should take. The Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, has said: "The Day of Judgement will not come about until Moslems fight the Jews (killing the Jews), when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say O Moslems, O Abdulla, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill

him. Only the Gharkad tree, (evidently a certain kind of tree) would not do that because it is one of the trees of the Jews." (related by al-Bukhari and Moslem).

The Slogan of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

Article Eight:

Allah is its target, the Prophet is its model, the Koran its constitution: Jihad is its path and death for the sake of Allah is the loftiest of its wishes.

CHAPTER TWO: OBJECTIVES

Incentives and Objectives:

Article Nine:

The Islamic Resistance Movement found itself at a time when Islam has disappeared from life. Thus rules shook, concepts were upset, values changed and evil people took control, oppression and darkness prevailed, cowards became like tigers: homelands were usurped, people were scattered and were caused to wander all over the world, the state of justice disappeared and the state of falsehood replaced it. Nothing remained in its right place. Thus, when Islam is absent from the arena, everything changes. From this state of affairs the incentives are drawn.

As for the objectives: They are the fighting against the false, defeating it and vanquishing it so that justice could prevail, homelands be retrieved and from its mosques would the voice of the mu'azen emerge declaring the establishment of the state of Islam, so that people and things would return each to their right places and Allah is our helper.

"...and if Allah had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted: but Allah is beneficent towards his creatures." (*The Cow - verse 251*).

Article Ten:

As the Islamic Resistance Movement paves its way, it will back the oppressed and support the wronged with all its might. It will spare no effort to bring about justice and defeat injustice, in word and deed, in this place and everywhere it can reach and have influence therein.

CHAPTER THREE: STRATEGIES AND METHODS

Strategies of the Islamic Resistance Movement: Palestine is Islamic Waqf:

Article Eleven:

The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf consecrated for future Moslem generations until Judgement Day. It, or any part of it, should not be squandered: it, or any part of it, should not be given up. Neither a single Arab country nor all Arab countries, neither any king or president, nor all the kings and presidents, neither any organization nor all of them, be they Palestinian or Arab, possess the right to do that. Palestine is an Islamic Waqf land consecrated for Moslem generations until Judgement Day. This being so, who could claim to have the right to represent Moslem generations till Judgement Day?

This is the law governing the land of Palestine in the Islamic Sharia (law) and the same goes for any land the Moslems have conquered by force, because during the times of (Islamic) conquests, the Moslems consecrated these lands to Moslem generations till the Day of Judgement.

It happened like this: When the leaders of the Islamic armies conquered Syria and Iraq, they sent to the Caliph of the Moslems, Umar bin-el-Khatab, asking for his advice concerning the conquered land - whether they should divide it among the soldiers, or leave it for its owners, or what? After consultations and discussions between the Caliph of the Moslems, Omar bin-el-Khatab and companions of the Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, it was decided that the land should be left with its owners who could benefit by its fruit. As for the real ownership of the land and the land itself, it should be consecrated for Moslem generations till Judgement Day. Those who are on the land, are there only to benefit from its fruit. This Waqf remains as long as earth and heaven remain. Any procedure in contradiction to Islamic Sharia, where Palestine is concerned, is null and void.

"Verily, this is a certain truth. Wherefore praise the name of thy Lord, the great Allah." (*The Inevitable - verse 95*).

*Homeland and Nationalism from the Point of
View of the Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine:*

Article Twelve:

Nationalism, from the point of view of the Islamic Resistance Movement, is part of the religious creed. Nothing in nationalism is more significant or deeper than in the case when an enemy should tread Moslem land. Resisting and quelling the enemy become the individual duty of every Moslem, male or female. A woman can go out to fight the enemy without her husband's permission, and so does the slave: without his master's permission.

Nothing of the sort is to be found in any other regime. This is an undisputed fact. If other nationalist movements are connected with materialistic, human or regional causes, nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement has all these elements as well as the more important elements that give it soul and life. It is connected to the source of spirit and the granter of life, hoisting in the sky of the homeland the heavenly banner that joins earth and heaven with a strong bond.

If Moses comes and throws his staff, both witch and magic are annulled.

"Now is the right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit: whoever therefore shall deny Tagut, and believe in Allah, he shall surely take hold with a strong handle, which shall not be broken; Allah is he who heareth and seeth." (*The Cow - Verse 256*).

Peaceful Solutions, Initiatives and International Conferences:

Article Thirteen:

Initiatives, and so-called peaceful solutions and international conferences, are in contradiction to the principles of the Islamic Resistance Movement. Abusing any part of Palestine is abuse directed against part of religion. Nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement is part of its religion. Its members have been fed on that. For the sake of hoisting the banner of Allah over their homeland they fight. "Allah will be prominent, but most people do not know."

Now and then the call goes out for the convening of an international conference to look for ways of solving the (Palestinian) question. Some accept, others reject the idea, for this or other reason, with one stipulation or more for consent to convening the conference and participating in it. Knowing the parties constituting the conference, their past and present attitudes towards Moslem problems, the Islamic Resistance Movement does not consider these conferences capable of realising the demands, restoring the rights or doing justice to the oppressed. These conferences are only ways of setting the infidels in the land of the Moslems as arbitrators. When did the infidels do justice to the believers? "But the Jews will not be pleased with thee, neither the Christians, until thou follow their religion; say, The direction of Allah is the true direction. And verily if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou shalt find no patron or protector against Allah." (*The Cow - verse 120*).

There is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad. Initiatives, proposals and international conferences are all a waste of time and vain endeavors. The Palestinian people know better than to consent to having their future, rights and fate toyed with. As in said in the honourable Hadith:

"The people of Syria are Allah's lash in His land. He wreaks His vengeance through them against whomsoever He wishes among His slaves It is unthinkable that those who are double-faced among them should prosper over the faithful. They will certainly die out of grief and desperation."

The Three Circles:

Article Fourteen:

The question of the liberation of Palestine is bound to three circles: the Palestinian circle, the Arab circle and the Islamic circle. Each of these circles has its role in the struggle against Zionism. Each has its duties, and it is a horrible mistake and a sign of deep ignorance to overlook any of these circles. Palestine is an Islamic land which has the first of the two kiblans (direction to which Moslems turn in praying), the third of the holy (Islamic) sanctuaries, and the point of departure for Mohamed's midnight journey to the seven heavens (i.e. Jerusalem). "Praise be unto him who transported his servant by night, from the sacred temple of Mecca to the farther temple of Jerusalem, the circuit of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs; for Allah is he who heareth, and seeth." (*The Night-Journey - verse 1*).

Since this is the case, liberation of Palestine is then an individual duty for every Moslem wherever he may be. On this basis, the problem should be viewed. This should be realised by every Moslem. The day the problem is dealt with on this basis, when the three circles mobilize their capabilities, the present state of affairs will change and the day of liberation will come nearer. "Verily ye are stronger than they, by reason of the terror cast into their breasts from Allah. This, because they are not people of prudence." (*The Emigration - verse 13*).

The Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine is an Individual Duty:

Article Fifteen:

The day that enemies usurp part of Moslem land, Jihad becomes the individual duty of every Moslem. In face of the Jews' usurpation of Palestine, it is compulsory that the banner of Jihad be raised. To do this requires the diffusion of Islamic consciousness among the masses, both on the regional, Arab and Islamic levels. It is necessary to instill the spirit of Jihad in the heart of the nation so that they would confront the enemies and join the ranks of the fighters.

It is necessary that scientists, educators and teachers, information and media people, as well as the educated masses, especially the youth and sheikhs of the Islamic movements, should take part in the operation of awakening (the masses). It is important that basic changes be made in the school curriculum, to cleanse it of the traces of ideological invasion that affected it as a result of the orientalist and missionaries who infiltrated the region following the defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Salah el-Din (Saladin). The Crusaders realised that it was impossible to defeat the Moslems without first having ideological invasion pave the way by upsetting their thoughts, disfiguring their heritage and violating their ideals. Only then could they invade with soldiers. This, in its turn, paved the way for the imperialistic invasion that made Allenby declare on entering Jerusalem: "Only now have the Crusades ended." General Guru stood at Salah el-Din's grave and said: "We have returned, O Salah el-Din." Imperialism has helped towards the strengthening of ideological invasion, deepening, and still does, its roots. All this has paved the way towards the loss of Palestine.

It is necessary to instill in the minds of the Moslem generations that the Palestinian problem is a religious problem, and should be dealt with on this basis. Palestine contains Islamic holy sites. In it there is al- Aqsa Mosque which is bound to the great Mosque in Mecca in an inseparable bond as long as heaven and earth speak of Isra` (Mohammed's midnight journey to the seven heavens) and Mi'raj (Mohammed's ascension to the seven heavens from Jerusalem).

"The bond of one day for the sake of Allah is better than the world and whatever there is on it. The place of one's whip in Paradise is far better than the world and whatever there is on it. A worshipper's going and coming in the service of Allah is better than the world and whatever there is on it." (As related by al-Bukhari, Moslem, al-Tarmdhi and Ibn Maja).

"I swear by the holder of Mohammed's soul that I would like to invade and be killed for the sake of Allah, then invade and be killed, and then invade again and be killed." (As related by al-Bukhari and Moslem).

The Education of the Generations:

Article Sixteen:

It is necessary to follow Islamic orientation in educating the Islamic generations in our region by teaching the religious duties, comprehensive study of the Koran, the study of the Prophet's Sunna (his sayings and doings), and learning about Islamic history and heritage from their authentic sources. This should be done by specialised and learned people, using a curriculum that would healthily form the thoughts and faith of the Moslem student. Side by side with this, a comprehensive study of the enemy, his human and financial capabilities, learning about his points of weakness and strength, and getting to know the forces supporting and helping him, should also be included. Also, it is important to be acquainted with the current events, to follow what is new and to study the analysis and commentaries made of these events. Planning for the present and future, studying every trend appearing, is a must so that the fighting Moslem would live knowing his aim, objective and his way in the midst of what is going on around him.

"O my son, verily every matter, whether good or bad, though it be the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and be hidden in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, Allah will bring the same to light; for Allah is clear-sighted and knowing. O my son, be constant at prayer, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil: and be patient under the afflictions which shall befall thee; for this is a

duty absolutely incumbent on all men. Distort not thy face out of contempt to men, neither walk in the earth with insolence; for Allah loveth no arrogant, vain-glorious person." (*Lokman - verses 16-18*).

The Role of the Moslem Woman:

Article Seventeen:

The Moslem woman has a role no less important than that of the Moslem man in the battle of liberation. She is the maker of men. Her role in guiding and educating the new generations is great. The enemies have realised the importance of her role. They consider that if they are able to direct and bring her up they way they wish, far from Islam, they would have won the battle. That is why you find them giving these attempts constant attention through information campaigns, films, and the school curriculum, using for that purpose their lackeys who are infiltrated through Zionist organizations under various names and shapes, such as Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, espionage groups and others, which are all nothing more than cells of subversion and saboteurs. These organizations have ample resources that enable them to play their role in societies for the purpose of achieving the Zionist targets and to deepen the concepts that would serve the enemy. These organizations operate in the absence of Islam and its estrangement among its people. The Islamic peoples should perform their role in confronting the conspiracies of these saboteurs. The day Islam is in control of guiding the affairs of life, these organizations, hostile to humanity and Islam, will be obliterated.

Article Eighteen:

Woman in the home of the fighting family, whether she is a mother or a sister, plays the most important role in looking after the family, rearing the children and imbuing them with moral values and thoughts derived from Islam. She has to teach them to perform the religious duties in preparation for the role of fighting awaiting them. That is why it is necessary to pay great attention to schools and the curriculum followed in educating Moslem girls, so that they would grow up to be good mothers, aware of their role in the battle of liberation.

She has to be of sufficient knowledge and understanding where the performance of housekeeping matters are concerned, because economy and avoidance of waste of the family budget, is one of the requirements for the ability to continue moving forward in the difficult conditions surrounding us. She should put before her eyes the fact that the money available to her is just like blood which should never flow except through the veins so that both children and grown-ups could continue to live.

"Verily, the Moslems of either sex, and the true believers of either sex, and the devout men, and the devout women, and the men of veracity, and the women of veracity, and the patient men, and the patient women, and the humble men, and the humble women, and the alms-givers of either sex who remember Allah frequently; for them hath Allah prepared forgiveness and a great reward." (*The Confederates - verse 25*).

The Role of Islamic Art in the Battle of Liberation:

Article Nineteen:

Art has regulations and measures by which it can be determined whether it is Islamic or pre-Islamic (Jahili) art. The issues of Islamic liberation are in need of Islamic art that would take the spirit high, without raising one side of human nature above the other, but rather raise all of them harmoniously in an equilibrium.

Man is a unique and wonderful creature, made out of a handful of clay and a breath from Allah. Islamic art addresses man on this basis, while pre-Islamic art addresses the body giving preference to the clay component in it.

The book, the article, the bulletin, the sermon, the thesis, the popular poem, the poetic ode, the song, the play and others, contain the characteristics of Islamic art, then these are among the requirements of ideological mobilization, renewed food for the journey and recreation for the soul. The road is long and suffering is plenty. The soul will be bored, but Islamic art renews the energies, resurrects the movement, arousing in them lofty meanings and proper conduct. "Nothing can improve the self if it is in retreat except shifting from one mood to another."

All this is utterly serious and no jest, for those who are fighters do not jest.

*Social Mutual Responsibility:*Article Twenty:

Moslem society is a mutually responsible society. The Prophet, prayers and greetings be unto him, said: "Blessed are the generous, whether they were in town or on a journey, who have collected all that they had and shared it equally among themselves."

The Islamic spirit is what should prevail in every Moslem society. The society that confronts a vicious enemy which acts in a way similar to Nazism, making no differentiation between man and woman, between children and old people - such a society is entitled to this Islamic spirit. Our enemy relies on the methods of collective punishment. He has deprived people of their homeland and properties, pursued them in their places of exile and gathering, breaking bones, shooting at women, children and old people, with or without a reason. The enemy has opened detention camps where thousands and thousands of people are thrown and kept under sub-human conditions. Added to this, are the demolition of houses, rendering children orphans, meting cruel sentences against thousands of young people, and causing them to spend the best years of their lives in the dungeons of prisons.

In their Nazi treatment, the Jews made no exception for women or children. Their policy of striking fear in the heart is meant for all. They attack people where their breadwinning is concerned, extorting their money and threatening their honour. They deal with people as if they were the worst war criminals. Deportation from the homeland is a kind of murder.

To counter these deeds, it is necessary that social mutual responsibility should prevail among the people. The enemy should be faced by the people as a single body which if one member of it should complain, the rest of the body would respond by feeling the same pains.

Article Twenty-One:

Mutual social responsibility means extending assistance, financial or moral, to all those who are in need and joining in the execution of some of the work. Members of the Islamic Resistance Movement should consider the interests of the masses as their own personal interests. They must spare no effort in achieving and preserving them. They must prevent any foul play with the future of the upcoming generations and anything that could cause loss to society. The masses are part of them and they are part of the masses. Their strength is theirs, and their future is theirs. Members of the Islamic Resistance Movement should share the people's joy and grief, adopt the demands of the public and whatever means by which they could be realised. The day that such a spirit prevails, brotherliness would deepen, cooperation, sympathy and unity will be enhanced and the ranks will be solidified to confront the enemies.

*Supportive Forces Behind the Enemy:*Article Twenty-Two:

For a long time, the enemies have been planning, skillfully and with precision, for the achievement of what they have attained. They took into consideration the causes affecting the current of events. They strived to amass great and substantive material wealth which they devoted to the realisation of their dream. With their money, they took control of the world media, news agencies, the press, publishing houses, broadcasting stations, and others. With their money they stirred revolutions in various parts of the world with the purpose of achieving their interests and reaping the fruit therein. They were behind the French Revolution, the Communist revolution and most of the revolutions we heard and hear about, here and there. With their money they formed secret societies, such as Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, the Lions and others in different parts of the world for the purpose of sabotaging societies and achieving Zionist interests. With their money they were able to control imperialistic countries and instigate them to colonize many countries in order to enable them to exploit their resources and spread corruption there.

You may speak as much as you want about regional and world wars. They were behind World War I, when they were able to destroy the Islamic Caliphate, making financial gains and controlling resources. They obtained the Balfour Declaration, formed the League of Nations through which they could rule the world. They were behind World War II, through which they made huge financial gains by trading in armaments, and paved the way for the establishment of their state. It was they who instigated the replacement of the League of Nations with the United Nations and the Security Council to enable them to rule the world through them. There is no war going on anywhere, without having their finger in it.

"So often as they shall kindle a fire for war, Allah shall extinguish it; and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but Allah loveth not the corrupt doers." (*The Table- verse 64*).

The imperialistic forces in the Capitalist West and Communist East, support the enemy with all their might, in money and in men. These forces take turns in doing that. The day Islam appears, the forces of infidelity would unite to challenge it, for the infidels are of one nation.

"O true believers, contract not an intimate friendship with any besides yourselves: they will not fail to corrupt you. They wish for that which may cause you to perish: their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths; but what their breasts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already shown you signs of their ill will towards you, if ye understand." (*The Family of Imran - verse 118*).

It is not in vain that the verse is ended with Allah's words "if ye understand."

CHAPTER FOUR: OUR ATTITUDES TOWARDS:

A. Islamic Movements:

Article Twenty-Three:

Article Twenty-Three: The Islamic Resistance Movement views other Islamic movements with respect and appreciation. If it were at variance with them on one point or opinion, it is in agreement with them on other points and understandings. It considers these movements, if they reveal good intentions and dedication to Allah, that they fall into the category of those who are trying hard since they act within the Islamic circle. Each active person has his share.

The Islamic Resistance Movement considers all these movements as a fund for itself. It prays to Allah for guidance and directions for all and it spares no effort to keep the banner of unity raised, ever striving for its realisation in accordance with the Koran and the Prophet's directives.

"And cleave all of you unto the covenant of Allah, and depart not from it, and remember the favour of Allah towards you: since ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour: and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Allah declareth unto you his signs, that ye may be directed." (*The Family of Imran - Verse 102*).

Article Twenty-Four:

The Islamic Resistance Movement does not allow slandering or speaking ill of individuals or groups, for the believer does not indulge in such malpractices. It is necessary to differentiate between this behaviour and the stands taken by certain individuals and groups. Whenever those stands are erroneous, the Islamic Resistance Movement preserves the right to expound the error and to warn against it. It will strive to show the right path and to judge the case in question with objectivity. Wise conduct is indeed the target of the believer who follows it wherever he discerns it.

"Allah loveth not the speaking ill of anyone in public, unless he who is injured call for assistance; and Allah heareth and knoweth: whether ye publish a good action, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily Allah is gracious and powerful." (*Women - verses 147-148*).

B. Nationalist Movements in the Palestinian Arena:

Article Twenty-Five:

The Islamic Resistance Movement respects these movements and appreciates their circumstances and the conditions surrounding and affecting them. It encourages them as long as they do not give their allegiance to the Communist East or the Crusading West. It confirms to all those who are integrated in it, or sympathetic towards it, that the Islamic Resistance Movement is a fighting movement that has a moral and enlightened look of life and the way it should cooperate with the other (movements). It detests opportunism and desires only the good of people, individuals and groups alike. It does not seek material gains, personal fame, nor does it look for a reward from others. It works with its own resources and whatever is at its disposal "and prepare for them whatever force you can", for the fulfilment of the duty, and the earning of Allah's favour. It has no other desire than that.

The Movement assures all the nationalist trends operating in the Palestinian arena for the liberation of Palestine, that it is there for their support and assistance. It will never be more than that, both in words and deeds, now and in the future. It is there to bring together and not to divide, to preserve and

not to squander, to unify and not to throw asunder. It evaluates every good word, sincere effort and good offices. It closes the door in the face of side disagreements and does not lend an ear to rumours and slanders, while at the same time fully realising the right for self-defence.

Anything contrary or contradictory to these trends, is a lie disseminated by enemies or their lackeys for the purpose of sowing confusion, disrupting the ranks and occupy them with side issues.

"O true believers, if a wicked man come unto you with a tale, inquire strictly into the truth thereof; lest ye hurt people through ignorance, and afterwards repent of what ye have done."
(*The Inner Apartments - verse 6*).

Article Twenty-Six:

In viewing the Palestinian nationalist movements that give allegiance neither to the East nor the West, in this positive way, the Islamic Resistance Movement does not refrain from discussing new situations on the regional or international levels where the Palestinian question is concerned. It does that in such an objective manner revealing the extent of how much it is in harmony or contradiction with the national interests in the light of the Islamic point of view.

C. The Palestinian Liberation Organization:

Article Twenty-Seven:

The Palestinian Liberation Organization is the closest to the heart of the Islamic Resistance Movement. It contains the father and the brother, the next of kin and the friend. The Moslem does not estrange himself from his father, brother, next of kin or friend. Our homeland is one, our situation is one, our fate is one and the enemy is a joint enemy to all of us.

Because of the situations surrounding the formation of the Organization, of the ideological confusion prevailing in the Arab world as a result of the ideological invasion under whose influence the Arab world has fallen since the defeat of the Crusaders and which was, and still is, intensified through orientalists, missionaries and imperialists, the Organization adopted the idea of the secular state. And that is how we view it.

Secularism completely contradicts religious ideology. Attitudes, conduct and decisions stem from ideologies. That is why, with all our appreciation for the Palestine Liberation Organization - and what it can develop into - and without belittling its role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, we are unable to exchange the present or future Islamic Palestine with the secular idea. The Islamic nature of Palestine is part of our religion and whoever takes his religion lightly is a loser. "Who will be adverse to the religion of Abraham, but he whose mind is infatuated? (*The Cow - verse 130*).

The day the Palestine Liberation Organization adopts Islam as its way of life, we will become its soldiers, and fuel for its fire that will burn the enemies.

Until such a day, and we pray to Allah that it will be soon, the Islamic Resistance Movement's stand towards the PLO is that of the son towards his father, the brother towards his brother, and the relative to relative, suffers his pain and supports him in confronting the enemies, wishing him to be wise and well-guided.

"Stand by your brother, for he who is brotherless is like the fighter who goes to battle without arms. One's cousin is the wing one flies with - could the bird fly without wings?"

D. Arab and Islamic Countries:

Article Twenty-Eight:

The Zionist invasion is a vicious invasion. It does not refrain from resorting to all methods, using all evil and contemptible ways to achieve its end. It relies greatly in its infiltration and espionage operations on the secret organizations it gave rise to, such as the Freemasons, The Rotary and Lions clubs, and other sabotage groups. All these organizations, whether secret or open, work in the interest of Zionism and according to its instructions. They aim at undermining societies, destroying values, corrupting consciences, deteriorating character and annihilating Islam. It is behind the drug trade and alcoholism in all its kinds so as to facilitate its control and expansion.

Arab countries surrounding Israel are asked to open their borders before the fighters from among the Arab and Islamic nations so that they could consolidate their efforts with those of their Moslem brethren in Palestine.

As for the other Arab and Islamic countries, they are asked to facilitate the movement of the fighters from and to it, and this is the least thing they could do.

We should not forget to remind every Moslem that when the Jews conquered the Holy City in 1967, they stood on the threshold of the Aqsa Mosque and proclaimed that "Mohammed is dead, and his descendants are all women."

Israel, Judaism and Jews challenge Islam and the Moslem people. "May the cowards never sleep."

*E. Nationalist and Religious Groupings, Institutions,
Intellectuals, the Arab and Islamic World:*

Article Twenty-Nine:

The Islamic Resistance Movement hopes that all these groupings will side with it in all spheres, would support it, adopt its stand and solidify its activities and moves, work towards rallying support for it so that the Islamic people will be a base and a stay for it, supplying it with strategic depth an all human material and informative spheres, in time and in place. This should be done through the convening of solidarity conferences, the issuing of explanatory bulletins, favourable articles and booklets, enlightening the masses regarding the Palestinian issue, clarifying what confronts it and the conspiracies woven around it. They should mobilize the Islamic nations, ideologically, educationally and culturally, so that these peoples would be equipped to perform their role in the decisive battle of liberation, just as they did when they vanquished the Crusaders and the Tatars and saved human civilization. Indeed, that is not difficult for Allah.

"Allah hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles: for Allah is strong and mighty."
(*The Dispute - verse 21*).

Article Thirty:

Writers, intellectuals, media people, orators, educators and teachers, and all the various sectors in the Arab and Islamic world - all of them are called upon to perform their role, and to fulfill their duty, because of the ferocity of the Zionist offensive and the Zionist influence in many countries exercised through financial and media control, as well as the consequences that all this lead to in the greater part of the world.

Jihad is not confined to the carrying of arms and the confrontation of the enemy. The effective word, the good article, the useful book, support and solidarity - together with the presence of sincere purpose for the hoisting of Allah's banner higher and higher - all these are elements of the Jihad for Allah's sake.

"Whosoever mobilises a fighter for the sake of Allah is himself a fighter. Whosoever supports the relatives of a fighter, he himself is a fighter." (related by al-Bukhari, Moslem, Abu-Dawood and al-Tarmadhi).

F. Followers of Other Religions:

The Islamic Resistance Movement Is A Humanistic Movement:

Article Thirty-One:

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a humanistic movement. It takes care of human rights and is guided by Islamic tolerance when dealing with the followers of other religions. It does not antagonize anyone of them except if it is antagonized by it or stands in its way to hamper its moves and waste its efforts.

Under the wing of Islam, it is possible for the followers of the three religions - Islam, Christianity and Judaism - to coexist in peace and quiet with each other. Peace and quiet would not be possible except under the wing of Islam. Past and present history are the best witness to that.

It is the duty of the followers of other religions to stop disputing the sovereignty of Islam in this region, because the day these followers should take over there will be nothing but carnage, displacement and terror. Everyone of them is at variance with his fellow-religionists, not to speak about followers of other religionists. Past and present history are full of examples to prove this fact.

"They will not fight against you in a body, except in fenced towns, or from behind walls. Their strength in war among themselves is great: thou thinkest them to be united; but their hearts are divided. This, because they are people who do not understand." (*The Emigration - verse 14*).

Islam confers upon everyone his legitimate rights. Islam prevents the incursion on other people's rights. The Zionist Nazi activities against our people will not last for long. "For the state of injustice lasts but one day, while the state of justice lasts till Doomsday."

"As to those who have not borne arms against you on account of religion, nor turned you out of your dwellings, Allah forbiddeth you not to deal kindly with them, and to behave justly towards them; for Allah loveth those who act justly." (*The Tried - verse 8*).

The Attempt to Isolate the Palestinian People:

Article Thirty-Two:

World Zionism, together with imperialistic powers, try through a studied plan and an intelligent strategy to remove one Arab state after another from the circle of struggle against Zionism, in order to have it finally face the Palestinian people only. Egypt was, to a great extent, removed from the circle of the struggle, through the treacherous Camp David Agreement. They are trying to draw other Arab countries into similar agreements and to bring them outside the circle of struggle.

The Islamic Resistance Movement calls on Arab and Islamic nations to take up the line of serious and persevering action to prevent the success of this horrendous plan, to warn the people of the danger emanating from leaving the circle of struggle against Zionism. Today it is Palestine, tomorrow it will be one country or another. The Zionist plan is limitless. After Palestine, the Zionists aspire to expand from the Nile to the Euphrates. When they will have digested the region they overtook, they will aspire to further expansion, and so on. Their plan is embodied in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", and their present conduct is the best proof of what we are saying.

Leaving the circle of struggle with Zionism is high treason, and cursed be he who does that. "for whoso shall turn his back unto them on that day, unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to another party of the faithful, shall draw on himself the indignation of Allah, and his abode shall be hell; an ill journey shall it be thither." (*The Spoils - verse 16*). There is no way out except by concentrating all powers and energies to face this Nazi, vicious Tatar invasion. The alternative is loss of one's country, the dispersion of citizens, the spread of vice on earth and the destruction of religious values. Let every person know that he is responsible before Allah, for "the doer of the slightest good deed is rewarded in like, and the doer of the slightest evil deed is also rewarded in like."

The Islamic Resistance Movement consider itself to be the spearhead of the circle of struggle with world Zionism and a step on the road. The Movement adds its efforts to the efforts of all those who are active in the Palestinian arena. Arab and Islamic Peoples should augment by further steps on their part; Islamic groupings all over the Arab world should also do the same, since all of these are the best-equipped for the future role in the fight with the warmongering Jews.

"..and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of resurrection. So often as they shall kindle a fire of war, Allah shall extinguish it; and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but Allah loveth not the corrupt doers." (*The Table - verse 64*).

Article Thirty-Three:

The Islamic Resistance Movement, being based on the common coordinated and interdependent conceptions of the laws of the universe, and flowing in the stream of destiny in confronting and fighting the enemies in defence of the Moslems and Islamic civilization and sacred sites, the first among which is the Aqsa Mosque, urges the Arab and Islamic peoples, their governments, popular and official groupings, to fear Allah where their view of the Islamic Resistance Movement and their dealings with it are concerned. They should back and support it, as Allah wants them to, extending to it more and more funds till Allah's purpose is achieved when ranks will close up, fighters join other fighters and masses everywhere in the Islamic world will come forward in response to the call of duty while loudly proclaiming: Hail to Jihad. Their cry will reach the heavens and will go on being resounded until liberation is achieved, the invaders vanquished and Allah's victory comes about.

"And Allah will certainly assist him who shall be on his side: for Allah is strong and mighty." (*The Pilgrimage - verse 40*).

CHAPTER FIVE: THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY

Across History in Confronting the Invaders:

Article Thirty-Four:

Palestine is the navel of the globe and the crossroad of the continents. Since the dawn of history, it has been the target of expansionists. The Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, had himself pointed

to this fact in the noble Hadith in which he called on his honourable companion, Ma'adh ben-Jabal, saying: O Ma'ath, Allah throw open before you, when I am gone, Syria, from Al-Arish to the Euphrates. Its men, women and slaves will stay firmly there till the Day of Judgement. Whoever of you should choose one of the Syrian shores, or the Holy Land, he will be in constant struggle till the Day of Judgement."

Expansionists have more than once put their eye on Palestine which they attacked with their armies to fulfill their designs on it. Thus it was that the Crusaders came with their armies, bringing with them their creed and carrying their Cross. They were able to defeat the Moslems for a while, but the Moslems were able to retrieve the land only when they stood under the wing of their religious banner, united their word, hallowed the name of Allah and surged out fighting under the leadership of Salah ed-Din al-Ayyubi. They fought for almost twenty years and at the end the Crusaders were defeated and Palestine was liberated. "Say unto those who believe not, Ye shall be overcome, and thrown together into hell; an unhappy couch it shall be." (The Family of Imran - verse 12).

This is the only way to liberate Palestine. There is no doubt about the testimony of history. It is one of the laws of the universe and one of the rules of existence. Nothing can overcome iron except iron. Their false futile creed can only be defeated by the righteous Islamic creed. A creed could not be fought except by a creed, and in the last analysis, victory is for the just, for justice is certainly victorious.

"Our word hath formerly been given unto our servants the apostles; that they should certainly be assisted against the infidels, and that our armies should surely be the conquerors." (*Those Who Rank Themselves - verses 171-172*).

Article Thirty-Five:

The Islamic Resistance Movement views seriously the defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Salah ed-Din al-Ayyubi and the rescuing of Palestine from their hands, as well as the defeat of the Tatars at Ein Galot, breaking their power at the hands of Qataz and Al-Dhaher Bivers and saving the Arab world from the Tatar onslaught which aimed at the destruction of every meaning of human civilization. The Movement draws lessons and examples from all this. The present Zionist onslaught has also been preceded by Crusading raids from the West and other Tatar raids from the East. Just as the Moslems faced those raids and planned fighting and defeating them, they should be able to confront the Zionist invasion and defeat it. This is indeed no problem for the Almighty Allah, provided that the intentions are pure, the determination is true and that Moslems have benefited from past experiences, rid themselves of the effects of ideological invasion and followed the customs of their ancestors.

CONCLUSION

The Islamic Resistance Movement is Composed of Soldiers:

Article Thirty-Six:

While paving its way, the Islamic Resistance Movement, emphasizes time and again to all the sons of our people, to the Arab and Islamic nations, that it does not seek personal fame, material gain, or social prominence. It does not aim to compete against any one from among our people, or take his place. Nothing of the sort at all. It will not act against any of the sons of Moslems or those who are peaceful towards it from among non-Moslems, be they here or anywhere else. It will only serve as a support for all groupings and organizations operating against the Zionist enemy and its lackeys.

The Islamic Resistance Movement adopts Islam as its way of life. Islam is its creed and religion. Whoever takes Islam as his way of life, be it an organization, a grouping, a country or any other body, the Islamic Resistance Movement considers itself as their soldiers and nothing more.

We ask Allah to show us the right course, to make us an example to others and to judge between us and our people with truth. "O Lord, do thou judge between us and our nation with truth; for thou art the best judge." (*Al Araf - Verse 89*).

The last of our prayers will be praise to Allah, the Master of the Universe.

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**WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, APPEAL BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE
UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, HANNOVER, GERMANY, 20 AUGUST 1988**

Dear Secretary-General,

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, meeting in Hannover from the 10th to 20th August 1988, sends this appeal to you, convinced of the urgency of finding a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

We request you to undertake immediately preparatory measures to convene the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, in accordance with the General Assembly Resolution 38/58.

The popular uprising in the Occupied Territories, which has entered the ninth month, reflects a new and profoundly significant stage in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The occupation can no longer be prolonged without exorbitant costs, human and material, on both sides, in addition to the ongoing suffering of the Palestinian people and the likelihood of escalation of the conflict with disastrous consequences.

We believe that concerted efforts by the international community for finding a comprehensive solution to the problem have to be intensified. We believe that there is today a new opportunity for peace-making.

In making this appeal to you, Mr. Secretary-General, we are greatly encouraged by the successful role played by the UN in resolving conflicts like Afghanistan. We express appreciation for your new initiative on Cyprus with the hope that it will lead to the unity of the country. We are encouraged by the increasing recognition among the nations of the world, including the major powers, about the legitimate and unique role of the United Nations in the peaceful resolution of conflict. The United Nations and you deserve congratulations for its recent achievements.

We specially welcome the declaration of cease fire in the Iran-Iraq war which we hope will end the eight year old war and with the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 598 will lead to a comprehensive settlement. The end of this war provides a fresh opportunity to resolve other Middle East conflicts enhancing the role of the UN in the region, including that of the UN peace-keeping force.

The Middle East is a region which demanded the attention of the WCC from the day this organization was inaugurated forty years ago. We have been engaged in the region through our member churches ministering to the needs of the people, especially the displaced and the uprooted, seeking justice and promoting reconciliation.

This is the year in which the international community observes the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The International Covenants on Human Rights, which are the extension of the Declaration, begin with the affirmation of the right of self-determination of all peoples. Therefore it is most appropriate that we make this appeal to you on this occasion on an issue which centers around the right of self-determination.

The World Council of Churches has affirmed its conviction that the mutual recognition of the Israeli and Palestinian people on the bases of equality is the only guarantee for peace and security in the region. It has further affirmed that the rights of self-determination of the Israeli and Palestinian people are mutually interdependent.

We believe that the International Peace Conference should ensure:

1. the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied since 1967;
2. the realization of the rights of the Palestinian people including their right to establish a state of their own;
3. recognizing and guaranteeing the rights and security of all states in the region including the state of Israel for existence within internationally recognized boundaries;

4. recognizing and guaranteeing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon;
5. recognizing that Jerusalem is a Holy City for the three monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) and safeguarding and confirming the special legislation known as the Status Quo of the Holy Places in any agreement concerning Jerusalem.

We express our conviction that the International Conference will be effective only if all parties to the conflict, including Israel, the Palestinian Liberation Organization, neighboring Arab states, as well as the USA, USSR and other concerned states participate in the Conference. Such participation is essential for the successful outcome of the Conference.

We are confident, Mr Secretary-General, that you will intensify your efforts, including consultation with members of the Security Council and the parties directly involved, for the convening of the Conference at the earliest.

We assure you of our continuing support for all your efforts for peace and justice. May God's blessings be upon you.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the WCC,

Emilio Castro
General Secretary



**PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT, ADDRESS TO THE SOCIALIST MEMBERS
OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, STRASBOURG, 13 SEPTEMBER 1988**

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,

It was a source of pleasure for me to receive and accept your invitation to this encounter in the hope that it will lead to greater mutual understanding over the problem of the Palestinian people and the Arab-Israeli conflict, the essence and crux of which is the Palestine cause.

As human beings, we need a genuine understanding which satisfies the heart and the conscience, for the interaction of the conscience and the mind enables us to take the right stand, the correct decision, and the proper action.

I want to address your consciences and your minds because I am fully convinced that the best weapon to be used in presenting the Palestine cause is the weapon of truth which addresses the mind while interacting with the conscience.

I also attach special importance to discussion and dialogue with you because, as parliamentarians, you represent the people - the natural source of authority - who have given you their confidence and, consequently, the prerogative to turn words into law.

That's why I do not view the parliamentarian only as a politician or a representative of his people. I also see in him a conscience or a mind with special responsibility. Whoever enacts laws cannot break with justice. Justice is the corollary of law; it is also the corollary of peace. There can be no peace without justice. There can also be no permanent stability without real peace.

Because I am convinced that the aforementioned points are human rules, hence universal, allow me to say this: the proof of truthfulness and seriousness about affinity to democracy, freedom, national independence, peace, and justice is the belief in the right of others to all that. To restrict these to one people or a group of peoples to the exclusion of others runs contrary to all what they mean, with preclusion becoming some sort of vicious selfishness concealing masked dictatorship. Democracy, freedom, national independence, human rights, peace, and justice are for all human beings. This is the course charted by the history of mankind.

It is only natural for our discussion then to revolve around the right of the Palestinian people to freedom, independence, peace, and stability after a near century old struggle in that strategic and sensitive part of the world which interweaves with Europe and where one of the parties to the conflict, namely Israel, has become a nuclear force.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,

The European socialist movement and others in the Western world exerted special efforts to help set up the State of Israel. It had not crossed anyone's mind that the outcome of international diplomacy to solve the problem of Nazi victims would be at the Palestinian people's expense, in that our people have been victimized by the victim and its allies, becoming stateless and without identity or the most elementary human rights. Today, 60 percent of our people find themselves scattered all over the world and 40 percent of them are living under the yoke of a hateful occupation.

I imagine, ladies and gentlemen, that you would agree with me if I described this condition as being the cause of great suffering for any people. It is the most difficult type of persecution to which any people can be subjected in modern times.

In this perspective, I think you, with others in the Western world, bear the ethical, moral, and political responsibility of restoring the national rights to this people, particularly that the people of Palestine have aggressed no one. Never in their history did they practice discrimination because of race, color, creed, or religion. Instead, they have given the world its three monotheistic religions - Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,

International law is binding for everyone. Likewise, truth reaching world public opinion is the greatest deterrent to nations and international groups when their policies and objectives are not geared to peace and justice.

No one is entitled to overrule international law and international legitimacy in terms of procedure or jurisdiction to solve international problems, including the problem of Palestine.

We all realize that the establishment of the State of Israel was the outcome of an international posture and an international decision taken by the major powers in the period between the two world wars.

I quote, in this context, Mr. Abba Eban, the former Israeli foreign minister who said that international legitimacy, represented by United National General Assembly partition resolution 181 (1947), is Israel's only birth certificate.

When Israel signed the Protocol of Lausanne, it undertook to execute this resolution as a precondition for its admission to UN membership.

Israel is also the only nation to have been admitted to the UN on another specific condition. It is the only nation for whom international legitimacy spelled out the terms of its future relations with the Arab state in Palestine.

I think you would concur with me in attributing the continuation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict to the repudiation of these international decisions and the lack of seriousness in endeavors to achieve a just and permanent settlement of the problem of Palestine.

At this juncture, we witness the beginning of a drive toward international entente to bolster world peace through disarmament, economics, political, and cultural cooperation, and the settlement of regional disputes by peaceful means.

Therein lies the opportunity for us to create the international conditions for a just political settlement of the problem of the people of Palestine.

Arab summit resolutions relevant to the Palestinian problem—particularly those of Fez and Algiers—were based on international legitimacy and resolutions, and were approved at successive meetings of our Palestine National Council and were endorsed at its eighteenth session in Algiers.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,

I realize you have a lot of queries, especially in the light of the historic steadfastness of the Palestinian people as manifested by the uprising of its masses to end the occupation and wrest independence.

Granted, they are legitimate queries: it is your right to get clear and specific answers to them from us outlining our overall line of thinking and action, without necessarily going into specific details, especially when they are sensitive. The final decision on these rests with our own parliament, the Palestine National Council, which expresses all trends and intellectual and political forces among our people, whether those under occupation or in the Diaspora. We are proud of this parliament and its legislative stature among Palestinians and of the deliberations and democratic practices taking place under its roof.

I don't think it would be an overstatement on my part to say that we are a national liberation movement which has been able to intertwine the requirements of revolutionary endeavor with our commitment to the rules of democracy through a parliament endowed with full legislative prerogatives to oversee all executive powers without exception.

Our parliament meets regularly. This is probably because of the nature of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is a revolution for liberation and peace, but with the role of a state.

In addition to exercising all means of legitimate struggle against occupation, the PLO assumes the responsibility - by virtue of legislation by the PNC and through various institutions for industry, agriculture, health, education, labor, social affairs, and the like - of catering to the needs of the homeland and of citizens, in all aspects of their lives and whether living under occupation or in the Diaspora.

I hope you will understand us the way we are, not through the images in which we are portrayed by Israel and the US administration, who are linked by a strategic alliance, one of the main objectives of which is to dismiss the existence of the Palestinian people from history altogether, from today's reality, and from the future, and to disregard the Palestine Liberation Organization as the main party to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,

We are all happy to read into the looming international entente an end to a long period of cold and proxy wars, now that the two superpowers have realized the importance of settling regional disputes by peaceful means in order to secure comprehensive peace for all.

But it is painful to sense that American policy and that of others in the international community has been not to tackle a regional dispute unless it is hot and on the verge of exploding.

The people of Palestine have waited for justice from the international community for long, drawn out years. Unfortunately, the people of Palestine and their cause were forgotten and overlooked under one pretext or another. It was therefore natural for the people of Palestine to resume their struggle in 1965.

Our people within the occupied lands and outside had no choice but to continue their struggle, to face their destiny, and to pay a high price in the course of the confrontations and aggressions which were imposed on them, whether during the siege of Beirut, or in the massacres of Sabra, Shatila, and Burj [al-Barajinah], or in the air and naval raids, or in the course of the attacks currently underway on Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps in south Lebanon, or in the course of what is now taking place against our women, children, and masses in the occupied territories.

The *Intifada* was an expression of the extent of our people's alertness and their determination to resist the occupation by all means at their disposal, exercising thereby their legal right under the UN Charter and resolutions.

Today, our people are confronting the iron fist policy and the Israeli war machine with stones, children, and youths, creating the image of a Palestinian David pitted against a Goliath armed to the teeth with the latest means of warfare and destruction.

We had hoped that the sight of children throwing stones to confront armored vehicles, gunfire, and suffocating gas would be sufficient to arouse the conscience of the Israeli occupiers and to open their minds to the future, realizing that recognition of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination and independence is the only road to peace - away from the massacres and daily killings to which our men, women, and children are being subjected and in favor of a future built on peace and justice for all.

But Shamir refuses to use his mind and insists on using his muscles instead to crush what he calls "Palestinian grasshoppers." He insists on pressing ahead with plans to annex the occupied territories and on ordering both soldiers and armed settlers to fire at our children and kinspeople.

Peres, his partner in the coalition, continues to speak of the "Jordanian option" and of "alternative leaderships" while Rabin tries to overbid Shamir in his practice of the iron fist policy. More dangerous than that are the mounting voices among the Likud calling for the mass deportation of Palestinians to Jordan by force. There are others, too, clamoring for the expulsion of all Palestinians from throughout Palestine.

Sharon announces for his part a scheme to occupy Jordan and to create therein a substitute homeland for the Palestinians.

All this exposes political stands and inhuman practices which are unimaginable by human society, especially after the Second World War and in the era of international entente, disarmament, the settlement of regional conflicts by peaceful means, the technological revolution, and the impending challenges of the twenty-first century, which necessitate full cooperation among producing and consuming nations.

The people of the Intifadah and the revolution of the "children of stones" are now confronting the iron fist policy, including the use of plastic and rubber bullets, live ammunition, internationally-banned suffocating gases, the burning and burial of people alive, miscarriages, the breaking of bones, the murder of prisoners, the torture of some detainees to death, the murder of children, the demolition of homes, collective punishments, inhuman mass detention centers, mass administrative arrests without trial or charge, deportation, desecration of Muslim and Christian sanctuaries, and a series of other practices which go against the principles set in Nuremberg.

When the occupation authorities realized the negative impact of these practices on world public opinion generally, and on Western public opinion in particular, and even on Jewish public opinion, they proceeded, on the advice of Mr. Kissinger, to kill Palestinians away from camera lenses. They also undertook to bar television and other media from recording and relaying events to the world, thus compounding their iron fist policy with the transformation of Israel into another South Africa. This exposed the true face of Israel, harming not only the Palestinians, but also Judaism and all democratic and progressive Israelis who reject these methods, practices, and crimes.

Here a question flies in the face of the motives behind this policy which runs counter to the course of history. It certainly is not insensitivity to the crime committed by these Israeli leaderships as much as fear from peace on their part. They hope that their intransigent and negative policies and their aggressive practices will deepen hatred and grudge between Israelis and Palestinians, pushing the Palestinian people to despair of peace based on justice and ordinary Israeli citizens to shut themselves out and acquiesce in fascism and racism.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,

I hereby declare that the people of the *Intifada*, the Palestinian people whom I represent, are committed to peace based on justice. Our heritage and culture and our Islam, Christianity, and Judaism disallow hatred and repudiate aggression. Inasmuch as they open our minds to peace based on justice, they shape our resolve to defend ourselves, uphold our rights, and resist the occupation.

We respect our international commitments. We also respect international legitimacy. At the same time, we believe that a just peace cannot be achieved through the selective application of half of what international legitimacy provided for and the dumping of the other half.

That is why it is imperative that we witness and sense the respect by Israel and the US administration of international resolutions, particularly those upholding the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination and statehood, and which constitute the cornerstone of the proposed international peace conference.

I also declare from this rostrum that several contentions points as well as issues raised as preconditions in their minute details hinge on the success of negotiations at the international conference. Other points will figure on the agenda of negotiations to take place at the authoritative international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the permanent Security Council members and all the parties to the conflict in the region, including Israel and the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

It would be possible at the said conference and through the negotiations which will take place within its framework to discuss and agree (upon) arrangements for international guarantees of peace among all states of the region, including the independent Palestinian state.

Israel has never defined the terms of reference for the settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli dispute. We wonder: Are they the UN Charter? Or the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council? Or the US Declaration of Human Rights? Or the 1977 Vance-Gromyko statement? Or the natural right of peoples? Or international legitimacy with all its implications in as far as the establishment of the State of Israel is concerned?

As far as we are concerned, many of you wonder about our position vis-à-vis resolutions 242 and 338 in view of our commitment to international legitimacy.

We endorse the Charter of the United Nations Organization and all its resolutions, including 242 and 338. International legitimacy is an indivisible whole and no one can choose to accept only what suits him and discard what does not.

How can the United States and Israel accept the only birth certificate of the State of the Israel, namely Resolution 194 (1948), which provided for the creation of two states in Palestine, and simultaneously reject, for instance, Resolution 194 (1948), which called for the repatriation of the Palestinian refugees or the payment of compensation for the property of those choosing not to return?

How can we be asked to accept Resolution 242 and forget the other international resolutions, the most recent of which were Security Council resolutions 605, 607, and 608 as well as resolutions 252, 446, and 465 and General Assembly resolutions 3236 and 3237 - especially since Resolution 242 concerned Israel and a number of Arab states and did not address the Palestine question or the rights of the people of Palestine? It only referred to the need to achieve a settlement of the refugee problem. Even this reference was interpreted in the US Israeli (or "Vance-Mayan") statement of 1977 as meaning Jewish and Arab refugees.

Consequently, we declare our acceptance of one of the two following options as the basis for convening the international conference under UN auspices and with the participation of the Security Council's permanent members and all the parties to the conflict in the region, including the PLO and Israel:

- (a) All UN resolutions relevant to the Palestine question, including Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.
- (b) Resolutions 242 and 338 along with the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is their right to self-determination.

Allow me to cite another example where the selective application of international legitimacy led to distorted results, undermining international legitimacy as such. The example relates to Mr. George Shultz, the US secretary of state, and his so-called Middle East initiative.

In the course of his fourth and last visit to the area, he stood up in Cairo to declare that he had discovered that the conflict in Palestine is one between two peoples over the same land and that the solution lies in the recognition of both people's rights.

We saw in this the first positive stand by Washington in terms of recognizing the Palestinian people and their rights.

No sooner had Shultz made his statement than he reverted to the practice of partitioning international legitimacy by translating Israeli rights into an independent state, a government, and a people, while dismissing the Palestinian state, government, and people by speaking of Palestinian rights in terms of a mere entity attached to the Kingdom of Jordan and of Palestinian residents being absorbed within the Jordanian population.

In this context, and in order to create an atmosphere of good will conducive to a just peace, we responded positively - and still do - to all proposals calling for the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 and placing these under UN administration or an internationally-supervised European force for a limited interim period. The proposed international force could stay on after the establishment of the independent Palestinian state for as long as the Security Council deems necessary to guarantee the security of everyone concerned.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,

We all know of the measures recently adopted by Jordan concerning the West Bank. The PLO Central Council accepted these measures and decided to shoulder the responsibilities resulting therefrom, including the political among them, regardless of the timing and the manner in which the measure were introduced - without consultation or coordination with us - and irrespective of the difficulties which we found ourselves facing.

The Jordanian measures ended the European, American, and Israeli debate on Palestinian representation at the international conference. No one can claim anymore that there is someone else to share with the PLO the representation of the Palestinian people, particularly after the cessation of the Jordanian option and the failure of the autonomy option. The only option left is the right, realistic, and irreplaceable one-namely, the Palestinian option, the essence of which is the independent Palestinian state.

The Jordanian measures also contributed to ushering in a new political phase which interacted with the achievements of the *Intifadah* and the overall Palestinian struggle on the international level and within world public opinion, Israeli society, and the Jewish communities in the United States and Europe. The communities rejected the Israeli authorities' distortion of their Jewish beliefs, which do not condone aggression, oppression, and coercion.

The Central Council set up a legal-political committee to study all matters related to these developments. Once it ends its studies shortly, they will be put before the Palestine National Council, which will take the necessary decisions in its capacity as the Palestinian people's highest legislative democratic institute.

All those who genuinely believe in peace based on justice and in the right of peoples to self-determination and national independence were stunned by the Israeli outcry over the repercussions of

the Jordanian measures, i.e., the moves to declare Palestinian national independence and to set up a provisional government for the forthcoming Palestinian state, or to place the occupied Palestinian territories under United Nations trusteeship.

I remind the Israeli leadership of what Mr. Nahum Goldmann, the later president of the World Jewish Congress, said about US policy in the region as conceived by Henry Kissinger. Mr. Goldmann said there was not point in avoiding the inevitable, because it is bound to come, no matter how long it is put off.

I would add that putting off the inevitable means more victims and an atmosphere poisoned by aggressive policies and organized state terrorism.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,

The people of Palestine do not fight for the sake of fighting. Like other peoples in the world who yearn for peace, freedom, democracy, and national independence, the Palestinian people played throughout history, and aspire to play in the near future, a role in achieving peace and progress for themselves and the rest of humanity. The Palestinian people are eager to contribute their share to human civilization, as they did in the past.

As a national liberation movement which took up arms against the oppression and illegitimate terrorism of the occupier, we have invariably, and in the clearest and strongest of terms, denounced terrorism in all its forms and from whatever source - be it by individuals, groups, or states.

Our people, including their leaders, cadres, and citizens, have invariably been the target of organized Israeli state terrorism as practiced directly or indirectly by armed settlers acting alongside troops in full view of all. In spite of this, we made the Cairo Declaration against terrorism in 1985 on the basis of international law and the United Nations Charter and resolutions.

But an unchecked Israel continued to practice all forms of terrorism, including state terrorism, against the Palestinian people and their leaders within the occupied territories and in every corner of the globe.

This terrorism reached its climax with the bombardment of my headquarters at Hammam al-Shatt in Tunis and the assassination of Brother Abu Jihad, my deputy and one of the most prominent symbols of Palestinian leadership, who was gunned down in front of his family in Tunis. Israel also perpetrated acts of piracy against civilian shipping in the high seas and in international waters and assassinated our leaders and cadres in Cyprus, Athens, and elsewhere.

We reaffirm our commitment to the Cairo Declaration made in 1985 in the presence of President Mubarak as well as to the relevant United Nations resolution, No. 42/159 (1987).

We also reaffirm that we cling to our right to resist the occupation until Israel pulls out from our occupied territories and our Palestinian people achieve their national independence in their sovereign state, so our children can live in peace and liberty on their free soil, like other children of the world.

I would like to add here that we are working to set up an independent Palestinian state on the land liberated from Israeli occupation. This state will have a republican, democratic, and multi-party system; it will abide by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and will not discriminate among its citizens on the basis of color, race, or religion.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to conclude my address by dwelling on the Palestinian view of Europe's status and role in the present and future.

By virtue of historical ties, geopolitics, mutual interests, and the uninterrupted interaction between the two civilization, Europe has always had, and still has, strong links with the Middle East in general, and the Arab world in particular.

This was evidence throughout all crises and developments which occurred in the Middle East region in old and recent times. The most prominent recent example is the Iraq-Iran war, which is at the beginning of its end after Iran's acceptance of Security Council Resolution 598, the implementation of the cease-fire, and the opening of negotiations aimed at achieving comprehensive peace between the two countries and in the Gulf region as a whole.



**KING FAHD BIN ABDULAZIZ AL-SAUD OF SAUDI ARABIA, STATEMENT DELIVERED
ON HIS BEHALF BY PRINCE SAUD AL-FAISAL TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
43RD SESSION, NEW YORK, 30 SEPTEMBER 1988 [EXCERPTS]**

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate.
May Peace and Prayer be bestowed upon His Messenger

Mr. President:

[...] We are also observing with interest the efforts currently being undertaken to solve the problem of Namibia and to restore the rights to their owners. It is a problem which threatens stability and peace in Africa and draws great concern. We hope that the indications of the breakthrough taking place in this direction are genuine and will achieve their natural conclusion. We also support every effort approved by the international organization in support of the people of South Africa and in deterring aggression against the neighboring states. We stand with the African states in resisting the oppression inflicted upon the people of South Africa; we are with them in isolating the apartheid regime and in condemning its evil alliance with the Zionist entity in Palestine. It is a regime based upon the worst in the human soul of selfish traits, grudge and the abandonment of human values. A halt should be put to its oppressive and tyrannical measures against the black citizens, and to its aggression against the peace and security of neighboring states.

What is regrettable is that in this atmosphere of breakthrough which is taking place in different problems of the world, the question of Palestine and the Middle East, the question which was created in the arena of the United Nations itself, remains the most dangerous of problems undermining the progress of this breakthrough, and the most dangerous of threats confronting regional security and world peace. It is unfortunate that this problem has not moved nearer to the hope of a solution in one way or another.

Peace is an indivisible totality; it is a right which should not be the preserve of the one group or applied to one cause at the expense of another. Peace does not stand and does not endure unless it is based upon justice. Peace is not the acceptance of the status quo, nor a surrender to force and oppression, which do not create a right nor establish peace. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has always believed that no real peace can prevail in the Middle East unless a just and permanent solution to the Palestinian problem, which is the core of the struggle taking place in the region, is found. Those who imagine that the passing of time is a guarantee that the status quo will become an accepted fact, seem to forget that the rights of peoples in their countries do not fade with the lapse of time and are never forfeited by forgetfulness. The Palestinians, after waiting for over forty years, without any glimmer of hope for a just peace, found only the stones of their land to express their rights and their rejection of the Israeli oppression.

Israel thought that by its continuous oppressive actions, it could eradicate the Palestinians from their roots while they are on their own land, and erase their history from the memory of their new generations, as well as from the annals of history. Then the intifada came, a revolution against oppression, a reminder that right never dies, and as a daily and unanimous action for their just demands. Through its determination and sacrifices the uprising has been able to create a new reality, proclaiming its identity and vitality on both the local and international levels.

With over nine months moving passed since its beginning, it is clear that the Israeli violence has only reinforced its determination, and that the logical result of the impossibility of things remaining as they are is the need for a movement towards a change. If the intifada has put an end to the false belief in the permanence of the status quo, and killed the illusion that Israel had worked to create in regard to the question of Palestinian representation, it has at the same time paved the way for a concerted action which aims to attain a just and permanent solution to the Palestinian problem. The blood of the martyrs and the sufferings of the victims are too dear to be squandered or uselessly lost. Therefore there should be a conscious movement for the uprising of the Palestinian people to realize its desired objectives. The Palestinians have given all that they can for peace, and nothing demonstrates this better than the speech that was delivered recently by Mr. Yassir Arafat, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in Strasbourg.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has frequently expressed its full support and continued backing for whatever the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, considers for the realization of its legitimate rights, and for the establishment of its independent state on its lands and the right to self-determination. The Kingdom will continue its efforts in this direction according to what the Palestine Liberation Organization will decide and considers to be a realization of these goals.

As Chairman of the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council during its current session, I sent messages to the leaders of the permanent member states of the Security Council, to draw their attention that these developments do require from all parties a re-evaluation of the situation in a more realistic way, and a greater perception of the dimensions of what is taking place in the occupied Arab territories, for putting an end to this tragedy, in all its dimensions and in all that it entails of dangers, concerns and threats to security, peace and stability. This will not find a result except through a comprehensive and just solution to the Palestinian problem by the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, as the ideal means for realizing this solution. It is worthy to mention that the two Arab Summit conferences which took place in Amman and Algiers adopted a clear position towards supporting the convening of an international conference without pre-conditions.

If the question of Palestine is our primary concern, the problem of Holy Jerusalem constitutes, in our view, the core of the Palestinian problem. In this regard the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia renews its support for the necessity to preserve the Islamic and Arab character of Jerusalem and to restore the Holy City to Arab sovereignty, so that it will return to being, as it always used to be, as the gathering place for the faithful of all the divine religions, and a sanctuary for forgiveness and creative co-existence between the different religions. [...]



**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RESOLUTION 43/21 ON THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING,
NEW YORK, 3 NOVEMBER 1988**

The General Assembly,

Aware of the uprising (intifada) of the Palestinian people since 9 December 1987 against Israeli occupation, which has received significant attention and sympathy from world public opinion,

Deeply concerned at the alarming situation in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, as well as in the other occupied Arab territories, as a result of the continued occupation by Israel, the occupying Power, and of its persistent policies and practices against the Palestinian people,

Reaffirming that the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

Recalling its relevant resolutions as well as Security Council resolutions 605 (1987) of 22 December 1987, 607 (1988) of 5 January 1988 and 608 (1988) of 14 January 1988,

Recognizing the need for increased support and aid for, and solidarity with the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation,

Conscious of the urgent need to resolve the underlying problem through a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement, including a solution to the Palestinian problem in all its aspects,

1. *Condemns* Israel's persistent policies and practices violating the human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and, in particular, such acts as the opening of fire by the Israeli army and settlers that result in the killing and wounding of defenceless Palestinian civilians, the beating and breaking of bones, the deportation of Palestinian civilians, the imposition of restrictive economic measures, the demolition of houses, collective punishment and detentions, as well as denial of access to the media;
2. *Strongly deploras* the continuing disregard by Israel, the occupying Power, of the relevant decisions of the Security Council;
3. *Reaffirms* that the occupation by Israel of the Palestinian territories since 1967, including Jerusalem, in no way changes the legal status of those territories;
4. *Demands* that Israel, the occupying Power, abide immediately and scrupulously by the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and desist forthwith from its policies and practices that are in violation of the provisions of the Convention;
5. *Calls upon* all the High Contracting Parties to the Convention to take appropriate measures to ensure respect by Israel, the occupying Power, for the Convention in all circumstances in conformity with their obligation under article I thereof;
6. *Invites* Member States, the organizations of the United Nations system, governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, and the mass communications media to continue and enhance their support for the Palestinian people;
7. *Urges* the Security Council to consider the current situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, taking into account the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General;
8. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to examine the present situation in the occupied Palestinian territories by all means available to him and to submit periodic reports thereon, the first such report no later than 17 November 1988.



**PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL, "POLITICAL COMMUNIQUÉ,"
ALGIERS, 15 NOVEMBER 1988**

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

In the valiant land of Algeria, hosted by its people and its President Chedli Benjedid, the Palestine National Council held its nineteenth extraordinary session—the session of the *Intifadah* and independence, the session of the martyred hero Abu Jihad - in the period between 12 and 15 November 1988.

This session culminated in the announcement of the rise of the Palestinian state in our Palestinian land, the natural climax of a daring and tenacious popular struggle that started more than seventy years ago and was baptized in the immense sacrifices offered by our people in our homeland, along its borders, and in the camps and other sites of our Diaspora.

The session was also distinguished by its focus on the great national Palestinian *Intifadah* as one of the major milestones in the contemporary history of the Palestinian people's revolution, on a par with the legendary steadfastness of our people in their camps in our occupied land and outside it.

The primary features of our great people's *Intifadah* were obvious from its inception and have become clearer in the twelve months since then during which it has continued unabated: It is a total popular revolution that embodies the consensus of an entire nation—women and men, old and young,

in the camps, in the villages, and the cities-on the rejection of the occupation and on the determination to struggle until the occupation is defeated and terminated.

This glorious *Intifadah* has demonstrated our people's deeply rooted national unity and their full adherence to the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of our people, all our people, wherever they congregate-in our homeland or outside it. This was manifested by the participation of the Palestinian masses-their unions, their vocational organizations, their students, their workers, their farmers, their women, their merchants, their landlords, their artisans, their academics-in the *Intifadah* through its Unified National Command and the popular committees that were formed in the urban neighborhoods, the villages, and the camps.

This, our people's revolutionary furnace and their blessed *Intifadah*, along with the cumulative impact of our innovative and continuous revolution inside and outside of our homeland, have destroyed the illusion our people's enemies have harbored that they can turn the occupation of Palestinian land into a permanent *fait accompli* and consign the Palestinian issue to oblivion. For our generations have been weaned on the goals and principles of the Palestinian revolution and have lived all its battles since its birth in 1965-including the heroic resistance against the Zionist invasion of 1982 and the steadfastness of the revolution's camps as they endured the siege and starvation in Lebanon. Those generations-the children of the revolution and of the Palestine Liberation Organization-rose to demonstrate the dynamism and continuity of the revolution, detonating the land under the feet of its occupiers and proving that our people's reserves of resistance are inexhaustible and their faith is too deep to uproot.

Thus did the struggle of the children of the RPG's outside our homeland and the struggle of the children of the sacred stones inside it blend into a single revolutionary melody.

Our people have stood fast against all the attempts of our enemy's authorities to end our revolution, and those authorities have tried everything at their disposal: they have used terrorism, they have imprisoned us, they have sent us into exile, they have desecrated our holy places and restricted our religious freedoms, they have demolished our homes, they have killed us indiscriminately, and premeditatedly, they have sent bands of armed settlers into our villages and camps, they have burned our crops, they have cut off our water and power supplies, they have beaten our women and children, they have used toxic gases that have caused many deaths and abortions, and they have waged an ignorance war [sic.] against us by closing our schools and universities.

Our people's heroic steadfastness has cost them hundreds of martyrs and tens of thousand of casualties, prisoners, and exiles. But our people's genius was always at hand, ready in their darkest hours to innovate the means and formulas of struggle that stiffened their resistance, bolstered their steadfastness, and enabled them to confront the crimes and measures of the enemy and carry on with their heroic, tenacious struggle...

In all this, our people relied on the sustenance of the masses and forces of our Arab nation, which have stood by us and backed us, as demonstrated by the wide popular support for the *Intifadah* and by the consensus and resolutions that emerged at the Arab summit in Algiers-all of which goes to confirm that our people do not stand alone as they face the fascist, racist assault, and this precludes any possibility of the Israeli aggressors' isolating our people and cutting them off from the support of their Arab nation.

In addition to this Arab solidarity, our people's revolution and their blessed *Intifadah* have attracted widespread worldwide solidarity, as seen in the increased understanding of the Palestinian people's issue, the growing support of our just struggle by the peoples and states of the world, and the corresponding condemnation of Israeli occupation and the crimes it is committing, which has helped to expose Israel and increase its isolation and the isolation of its supporters.

It has thus been demonstrated that the occupation cannot continue to reap the fruits of its actions at the expense of the Palestinian people's rights without paying a price-either on the ground or in terms of international public opinion.

In addition to the rejection of the occupation and the condemnation of its repressive measures by the democratic and progressive Israeli forces, Jewish groups all over the world are no longer able to continue their defense of Israel or maintain their silence about its crimes against the Palestinian people. Many voices have risen among those groups to demand an end to these crimes and call for Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories in order to allow the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination.

The fruits that our people's revolution and their blessed *Intifadah* have borne on the local, Arab, and international levels have established the soundness and realism of the Palestine Liberation Organization's national program, a program aimed at the termination of the occupation and the achievement of our people's right to return, self-determination, and statehood. Those results have also confirmed that the struggle of our people is the decisive factor in the effort to snatch our national rights from the jaws of the occupation. It is the authority of our people, as represented in the Popular Committees, that controls the situation as we challenge the authority of the occupation's crumbling agencies.....

In the light of this, and toward the reinforcement of the steadfastness and blessed *Intifadah* of our people, and in accordance with the will of our masses in and outside of our homeland, and in fidelity to those of our people that have been martyred, wounded, or taken captive, the Palestine National Council resolves:

First: On the Escalation and Continuity of the Intifadah

- A. To provide all the means and capabilities needed to escalate our people's *Intifadah* in various ways and on various levels to guarantee its continuation and intensification.
- B. To support the popular institutions and organizations in the occupied Palestinian territories.
- C. To bolster and develop the popular committees and other specialized popular and trade union bodies, including the attack groups and the popular army, with a view to expanding their role and increasing their effectiveness.
- D. To consolidate the national unity that emerged and developed during the *Intifadah*.
- E. To intensify efforts on the international level for the release of detainees, the return of those expelled, and the termination of the organized, official acts of repression and terrorism against our children, our women, our men, and our institutions.
- F. To call on the United Nations to place the occupied Palestinian land under international supervision for the protection of our people and the termination of the Israeli occupation.
- G. To call on the Palestinian people outside our homeland to intensify and increase their support, and to expand the family-assistance program.
- H. To call on the Arab nation, its people, forces, institutions, and governments, to increase their political, material, and informational support for the *Intifadah*.
- I. To call on all free and honorable people worldwide to stand by our people, our revolution, our *Intifadah* against the Israeli occupation, the repression, and the organized, fascist official terrorism to which the occupation forces and the armed fanatic settlers are subjecting our people, our universities, our institutions, our national economy, and our Islamic and Christian holy places.

Second: In the Political Arena

Proceeding from the above, the Palestinian National Council, being responsible to the Palestinian people, their national rights and their desire for peace as expressed in the Declaration of Independence issued on 15 November 1988; and in response to the humanitarian quest for international entente, nuclear disarmament, and the settlement of regional conflict by peaceful means, affirms the determination of the Palestine Liberation Organization to arrive at a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and its core, which is the question of Palestine, within the framework of the United Nations Charter, the principles and provisions of international legality, the norms of international law, and the resolutions of the United Nations ... and the resolutions of the Arab summits, in such a manner that safeguards the Palestinian Arab people's rights to return, to self-determination, and the establishment of their independent national state on their national soil, and that institutes arrangements for the security and peace of all states in the region.

Toward the achievement of this, the Palestine National Council affirms:

1. The necessity of convening the effective international conference on the issue of the Middle East and its core, the question of Palestine, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and all parties to the conflict in the region including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing, and by considering that the international peace conference be convened on the basis of United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and the attainment of the legitimate self-determination and in accordance with the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter concerning the right of peoples to self-determination, and by the inadmissibility of the acquisition of the territory of others by force or military conquest, and in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine.
2. The withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and Arab territories it occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem.
3. The annulment of all measures of annexation and appropriation and the removal of settlements established by Israel in the Palestinian and Arab territories since 1967.
4. Endeavoring to place the occupied Palestinian territories, including Arab Jerusalem, under the auspices of the United Nations for a limited period in order to protect our people and afford the appropriate atmosphere for the success of the proceeding of the international conference toward the attainment of a comprehensive political settlement and the attainment of peace and security for all on the basis of mutual acquiescence and consent, and to enable the Palestinian state to exercise its effective authority in these territories.
5. The settlement of the question of the Palestinian refugees in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.
6. Guaranteeing the freedom of worship and religious practice for all faiths in the holy places in Palestine.
7. The Security Council is to formulate and guarantee arrangements for security and peace between all the states concerned in the region, including the Palestinian state.

The Palestine National Council affirms its previous resolutions concerning the distinctive relationship between the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples, and affirms that the future relationship between the two states of Palestine and Jordan should be on a confederal basis as a result [of] the free and voluntary choice of the two fraternal peoples in order to strengthen the historical bonds and the vital interests they hold in common ...

The Palestine National Council also addresses itself to the American people, calling on them all to strive to put an end to the American policy that denies the Palestinian people's national rights, including their sacred right to self-determination, and urging them to work toward the adoption of policies that conform with the human rights charter and the international conventions and resolutions and serve the quest for peace in the Middle East and security for all its peoples, including the Palestinian peoples ...

In conclusion, the Palestine National Council affirms its complete confidence that the justice of the Palestinian cause and of the demands for which the Palestinian people are struggling will continue to draw increasing support from honorable and free people around the world; and also affirms its complete confidence in victory on the road to Jerusalem, the capital of our independent Palestinian state.



**PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL, DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,
ALGIERS, 15 NOVEMBER 1988**

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Palestine, the Land of the three monotheistic faiths, is where the Palestinian Arab people was born, on which it grew, developed and excelled. The Palestinian people was never separated from or diminished in its integral bonds with Palestine. Thus the Palestinian Arab people ensured for itself an everlasting union between itself, its land and its history.

Resolute throughout that history, the Palestinian Arab people forged its national identity, rising even to unimagined levels in its defense, as invasion, the design of others, and the appeal special to Palestine's ancient and luminous place on that eminence where powers and civilizations are joined...All this intervened thereby to deprive the people of its political independence. Yet the undying connection between Palestine and its people, secured for the Land its character, and for the people its national genius.

Nourished by an unfolding series of civilizations and cultures, inspired by a heritage rich in variety and kind, the Palestinian Arab people added to its stature by consolidating a union between itself and its patrimonial Land. The call went out from Temple, Church and Mosque that to praise the Creator, to celebrate compassion and peace was indeed the message of Palestine. And in generation after generation, the Palestinian Arab people gave of itself unsparingly in the valiant battle for liberation and homeland. For what has been the unbroken chain of our people's rebellions but the heroic embodiment of our will for national independence? And so the people was sustained in the struggle to stay and to prevail.

When in the course of modern times a new order of values was declared with norms and values fair for all, it was the Palestinian Arab people that had been excluded from the destiny of all other peoples by a hostile array of local and foreign powers. Yet again had unaided justice been revealed as insufficient to drive the world's history along its preferred course.

And it was the Palestinian people, already wounded in its body, that was submitted to yet another type of occupation over which floated the falsehood that "Palestine was a land without people." This notion was foisted upon some in the world, whereas in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations (1919) and in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), the community of nations had recognized that all the Arab territories, including Palestine, of the formerly Ottoman provinces, were to have granted to them their freedom as provisionally independent nations.

Despite the historical injustice inflicted on the Palestinian Arab people resulting in their dispersion and depriving them of their right to self-determination, following upon UN General Assembly Resolution 181 (1947), which partitioned Palestine into two states, one Arab, one Jewish, yet it is this resolution that still provides those conditions of international legitimacy that ensure the right of the Palestinian Arab people to sovereignty. By stages, the occupation of Palestine and parts of other Arab territories by Israeli forces, the willed dispossession and expulsion from their ancestral homes of the majority of Palestine's civilian inhabitants was achieved by organized terror; those Palestinians who remained, as a vestige subjugated in its homeland, were persecuted and forced to endure the destruction of their national life.

Thus were principles of international legitimacy violated. Thus were the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions disfigured, for they had recognized the Palestinian Arab people's national rights, including the right of Return, the right to independence, the right to sovereignty over territory and homeland.

In Palestine and on its perimeters, in exile distant and near, the Palestinian Arab people never faltered and never abandoned its conviction in its right of Return and independence. Occupation, massacres and dispersion achieved no gain in the unabated Palestinian consciousness of self and political identity, as Palestinians went forward with their destiny, undeterred and unbowed. And from out of the long years of trial in ever mounting struggle, the Palestinian political identity emerged further consolidated and confirmed. And the collective Palestinian national will forged for itself a political embodiment, the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole, legitimate representative recognized by the world community as a whole, as well as by related regional and international institutions. Standing on the very rock of conviction in the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, and on the ground of Arab national consensus, and of international legitimacy, the PLO led the campaigns of its great people, moulded into unity and powerful resolve, one and indivisible in its triumphs, even as it suffered massacres and confinement within and without its home. And so Palestinian resistance was clarified and raised into the forefront of Arab and world awareness, as the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people achieved unique prominence among the world's liberation movements in the modern era.

The massive national uprising, the Intifada, now intensifying in cumulative scope and power on occupied Palestinian territories, as well as the unflinching resistance of the refugee camps outside the homeland, have elevated awareness of the Palestinian truth and right into still higher realms of comprehension and actuality. Now at last the curtain has been dropped around a whole epoch of prevarication and negation. The Intifada has set siege to the mind of official Israel, which has for too long relied exclusively upon myth and terror to deny Palestinian existence altogether. Because of the Intifada and its revolutionary irreversible impulse, the history of Palestine has therefore arrived at a decisive juncture.

Whereas the Palestinian people reaffirms most definitively its inalienable rights in the Land of its patrimony:

Now by virtue of natural, historical and legal rights, and the sacrifices of successive generations who gave of themselves in defense of the freedom and independence of their homeland; In pursuance of Resolutions adopted by Arab Summit Conferences and relying on the authority bestowed by international legitimacy as embodied in the resolutions of the United Nations Organization since 1947; And in exercise by the Palestinian Arab people of its rights to self-determination, political independence, and sovereignty over its territory;

The Palestine National Council, in the name of God, and in the name of the Palestinian Arab people; hereby proclaims the establishment of the State of Palestine on our Palestinian territory with its capital Holy Jerusalem (Al-Quds Ash-Sharif).

The State of Palestine is the state of Palestinians wherever they may be. The state is for them to enjoy in it their collective national and cultural identity, theirs to pursue in it a complete equality of rights. In it will be safeguarded their political and religious convictions and their human dignity by means of a parliamentary democratic system of governance, itself based on freedom of expression and the freedom to form parties. The rights of minorities will duly be respected by the majority, as minorities must abide by decisions of the majority. Governance will be based on principles of social justice, equality and non-discrimination in public rights of men or women, on grounds of race, religion, color or sex under the aegis of a constitution which ensures the rule of law and an independent judiciary. Thus shall these principles allow no departure from Palestine's age-old spiritual and civilizational heritage of tolerance and religious coexistence.

The State of Palestine is an Arab state, an integral and indivisible part of the Arab nation, at one with that nation in heritage and civilization, with it also in its aspiration for liberation, progress, democracy and unity. The State of Palestine affirms its obligation to abide by the Charter of the League of Arab States, whereby the coordination of the Arab states with each other shall be strengthened. It calls upon Arab compatriots to consolidate and enhance the emergence in reality of our state, to mobilize potential, and to intensify efforts whose goal is to end Israeli occupation.

The State of Palestine proclaims its commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations, and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It proclaims its commitment as well to the principles and policies of the Non-Aligned Movement.

It further announces itself to be a peace-loving State, in adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence. It will join with all states and peoples in order to assure a permanent peace based upon justice and the respect of rights so that humanity's potential for well-being may be assured, an earnest competition for excellence may be maintained, and in which confidence in the future will eliminate fear for those who are just and for whom justice is the only recourse.

In the context of its struggle for peace in the Land of Love and Peace, the State of Palestine calls upon the United Nations to bear special responsibility for the Palestinian Arab people and its homeland. It calls upon all peace- and freedom-loving peoples and states to assist it in the attainment of its objectives, to provide it with security, to alleviate the tragedy of its people, and to help it terminate Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories.

The State of Palestine herewith declares that it believes in the settlement of regional and international disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with the UN Charter and resolutions. Without prejudice to its natural right to defend its territorial integrity and independence, it therefore rejects the threat or use of force, violence and terrorism against its territorial integrity or political independence, as it also rejects their use against the territorial integrity of other states.

Therefore, on this day unlike all others, November 15, 1988, as we stand at the threshold of a new dawn, in all honor and modesty we humbly bow to the sacred spirits of our fallen ones, Palestinian and Arab, by the purity of whose sacrifice for the homeland our sky has been illuminated and our land given life. Our hearts are lifted up and irradiated by the light emanating from the much blessed Intifada, from those who have endured and have fought the fight of the camps, of dispersion, of exile, from those who have borne the standard for freedom, our children, our aged, our youth, our prisoners, detainees and wounded, all those whose ties to our sacred soil are confirmed in camp, village and town. We render special tribute to that brave Palestinian woman, guardian of sustenance and life, keeper of our people's perennial flame. To the souls of our sainted martyrs, to the whole of our Palestinian Arab people, to all free and honorable peoples everywhere, we pledge that our struggle shall be continued until the occupation ends, and the foundation of our sovereignty and independence shall be fortified accordingly.

Therefore, we call upon our great people to rally to the banner of Palestine, to cherish and defend it, so that it may forever be the symbol of our freedom and dignity in that homeland, which is a homeland for the free, now and always.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful:

"Say:

*"O God, Master of the Kingdom,
Thou givest the Kingdom to whom Thou wilt,
and seizest the Kingdom from whom Thou wilt,
Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt,
and Thou abasest whom Thou wilt;
in Thy hand is the good;
Thou art powerful over everything."*



**ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTRY, STATEMENT ON THE PNC DECISIONS
TAKEN IN ALGIERS, JERUSALEM, 15 NOVEMBER 1988**

Once again the organization that claims to represent the Palestinian People proves unable or unwilling to recognize reality. In its new statement, ambiguity and double talk are again employed to obscure its advocacy of violence and [that it] resorts to terrorism and adheres to extreme positions. Hence, any recognition or legitimization of the declarations will not be conducive to peace in the Middle East. No unilateral step can substitute for a negotiated settlement, no gimmick can mask the tragedy inflicted upon the Palestinian People time and again by the absence of reasonable, realistic and peace-seeking leadership. As it continues to shoulder its responsibility for tranquility in the territories, Israel remains committed to the pursuit of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace with all its neighbors, first and foremost Jordan and the Palestinians. Israel's policy remains equally firm in its adherence to an insistence upon U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 as the only commonly accepted basis for peace negotiations.



**ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR, STATEMENT
ON THE PNC DECISIONS, JERUSALEM, 15 NOVEMBER 1988**

The PLO's decisions and the declaration of a state are a deceptive propaganda exercise, intended to create an impression of moderation and of achievements for those carrying out violent acts in the territories of Judea and Samaria. The terrorist organizations' exhibitionistic decisions are not relevant to reality, and will not affect the political process. The PLO continues to adhere to an ideology of violent opposition to Israel's existence, and aspires to eliminate it in accordance with its stages program. It demonstrates in this way that it continues to be diametrically opposed to peace.

Israel, for its part, continues to adhere to its commitment to peace through negotiations with Arab countries and Palestinian Arab representatives who are not PLO members, in an effort to implement the Camp David accords.



**ISRAELI CABINET, STATEMENT ON THE PNC DECISIONS, JERUSALEM, 20
NOVEMBER 1988**

Following its meeting, the cabinet made the following announcement: The PNC declaration is an additional attempt at disinformation, a jumble of illusions, meant to mislead world public opinion. The PLO has not changed its covenant, its policy, its path of terrorism or its character. This has been discussed at length previously. It is worth adding for those countries seeking to promote peace in the Middle East that the PLO was and remains the main obstacle to peace, and that therefore, it would be desirable for them to refrain from backing it and recognizing its declarations. Peace between Israel and its neighbors will be attained only through negotiations and the PNC's latest plot will only result in preventing serious and fruitful negotiations. All those who aid the PLO in this matter are preventing peace in our region and making it more distant.



**EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, DECLARATION BY THE TWELVE MEMBERS
ON THE DECISION OF THE PNC, BRUSSELS, 21 NOVEMBER 1988**

The Twelve attached particular importance to the decisions adopted by the Palestinian National Council at Algiers which reflect the will of the Palestinian people to assert their national identity and which include positive steps toward the peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

They welcome in this respect the acceptance by the PNC of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as a basis for an international conference, which implies acceptance of the right of existence and of security of all the states of the region, including Israel. Respect for this principle goes together with that of justice for the people of the region, in particular the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people with all this implies. For the Twelve it constitutes a necessary condition for the establishment of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Near East, as they have repeatedly asserted since the Declaration of Venice. The Twelve also express their satisfaction that the PNC has explicitly condemned terrorism.

The Twelve appeal to all the parties concerned, while abstaining from any act of violence and any action which could further aggravate the tense situation in the Near East, to take this opportunity and contribute to the peace process in a positive way with a view a just, global and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. This solution can only be achieved through an international peace conference, under the auspices of the UN, which presents the suitable framework for the necessary negotiations between the parties directly concerned.

The Twelve are deeply concerned by the deterioration of the situation in the Occupied Territories and the increasing feeling of disappointment and desperation among the population of those territories which might become worse if there is no prospect of a negotiated solution.

They reiterate their commitment to participate actively in all efforts contributing to a negotiated solution.



PLO-AMERICAN JEWISH DELEGATION, JOINT STATEMENT (“STOCKHOLM STATEMENT”), STOCKHOLM, 7 DECEMBER 1988

[In Stockholm PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat met with five US-Jewish leaders from the International Center for Peace in the Middle East with the full knowledge and support of the US and Swedish gov.t.s. The aim was finding a formula that would enable the start of a US-PLO dialogue. Two days of talks produced the following statement which was read out by Sweden's FM Sten Andersson.]

The Palestinian National Council met in Algiers from November 12 to 15, 1988, and announced the declaration of independence which proclaimed the state of Palestine and issued a political statement.

The following explanation was given by the representatives of the PLO of certain important points in the Palestinian declaration of independence and the political statement adopted by the PNC in Algiers.

Affirming the principle incorporated in those UN resolutions which call for a two-state solution of Israel and Palestine, the PNC:

1. Agreed to enter into peace negotiations at an international conference under the auspices of the UN with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on equal footing with the other parties to the conflict; such an international conference is to be held on the basis of UN resolutions 242 and 338 and the right of the Palestinian people of self-determination, without external interference, as provided in the UN Charter, including the right to an independent state, which conference should resolve the Palestinian problem in all aspects;
2. Established the independent state of Palestine and accepted the existence of Israel as a state in the region;
3. Declared its rejection and condemnation of terrorism in all its forms, including state terrorism;
4. Called for a solution to the Palestinian refugee problem in accordance with international law and practices and relevant UN resolutions (including right of return or compensation).

The American personalities strongly supported and applauded the Palestinian declaration of independence and the political statement adopted in Algiers, and felt there was no further impediment to a direct dialogue between the United States Government and the PLO.



PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT, SPEECH ON THE PALESTINIAN PEACE INITIATIVE, UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 13 DECEMBER 1988

(Following the Palestinian Declaration of Independence under internal and external pressure, Arafat declared before the UNGA that the PLO recognizes UN Resolution 242].

Mr. President and members:

It never occurred to me that my second meeting since 1974 with this esteemed assembly would take place in the hospitable city of Geneva. I believed that with the new position and political stands which our Palestinian people adopted during the PNC meeting in Algiers, all of which were announced amid great international appreciation and welcome, it would have been fitting for me to go

to UN headquarters in New York to acquaint you with our resolutions and views regarding the cause of peace in our homeland as formulated by our PNC, which is the highest legislative authority in the Palestinian political body.

Therefore, my meeting with you in Geneva today after an unjust US decision which prevented me from going to you there is a cause of my pride and joy. My pride stems from the fact that I am with you and among you because you are the main platform for all issues of right and justice in the world. My joy derives from the fact that I am present in Geneva where justice and neutrality are words on all tongues and a constitution in a world in which the arrogance of the strong makes them lose their neutrality and sense of justice.

Consequently, the resolution to hold this meeting issued by your esteemed assembly, with the concurrence of 154 states, was not a victory over the US decision but a victory for international unanimity in upholding right and the cause of peace in an unparalleled referendum. It is also evidence that our people's just cause has taken root in the fabric of the human conscience.

Our Palestinian people will not forget this noble stand by your esteemed assembly and these friendly states in support of right and justice to safeguard the values and principles for which the UN was established. This stand will be translated into a feeling of confidence and reassurance by all the peoples who suffer injustice, coercion and occupation, and who, like our Palestinian people, are struggling for freedom, dignity and life.

On this occasion, I express the deepest thanks to all the countries, forces, international organisations and world personalities that have supported our people and backed their national rights, particularly our friends in the Soviet Union, the PRC, the socialist countries, the nonaligned countries, the Islamic countries, the African countries, the Asian countries, the Latin American countries and all the other friendly countries.

I also thank the countries of Western Europe and Japan for their recent stands towards our people. I call on them to take further steps for the positive development of these decisions in order to open up vistas for peace and a just solution in our region, the Middle East region. I also underline our solidarity with and backing for the liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa in their struggle, and also our support for the African front line states against the aggressions of the racist South African regime. I seize this opportunity too to express my thanks and gratitude to the friendly countries which have supported us and backed our PNC resolutions, and which also recognised the state of Palestine.

I also thank His Excellency the UN Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his assistants for their constant efforts to achieve the international detente sought by humanity and solutions to world problems, particularly those concerning the Palestinian issue. I also express my thanks and appreciation to the chairman and the members of the committee for the Palestinian people's exercise of their inalienable rights for their efforts on behalf of our people's cause. I also greet and thank the nine-member committee of the non-aligned countries on the Palestinian issue for all its constructive work for our people's cause. To you, Mr President, I express the warmest greetings on the occasion of your election as President of this assembly. I am fully confident of your wisdom and knowledge. I also greet your predecessor for his noble chairmanship of the former session. Lastly, I express my greetings and deep thanks to the Swiss government and people for the great help, facilities and efforts they have extended for this session.

Mr President, members: On 13th November 1974 - 14 years ago - I received with gratitude an invitation from you to present the cause of our Palestinian people before this esteemed assembly. I now return to you here after all these years, which were fraught with grave events, to see that new peoples have taken their places among you, thus crowning their victories in the battles for freedom and independence. To the representatives of these peoples I extend the warm congratulations of our people, and to everybody I announce that I return to you with a louder voice, stronger determination and greater confidence to emphasise that our struggle must bear fruit and that the state of Palestine, which we proclaimed in our National Council, must take its place among you, so that it can take part with

you in consolidating the Charter of this organisation and the Human Rights Convention, in putting an end to the tragedies to which humanity is being subjected, and in laying down the bases of right, justice, peace and freedom for all, for all, for all.

Fourteen years ago, when you said to us in the General Assembly hall 'yes' to Palestine and the Palestinian people, 'yes' to the PLO and 'yes' to the firm national rights of the Palestinian people, some people thought that your decisions would have hardly any effect. They failed to realise that these decisions were among the most important springs that watered the olive branch that I carried on that day. This branch, after we watered it with blood, sweat, and tears became a tree with its roots in the ground and its branches in the sky, promising the yields of victory over repression, injustice and occupation. You have given us hope for the victory of freedom and justice, and we have given you a generation from the sons of our people that have devoted their lives to achieving this dream. This is the generation of the blessed uprising, which today is carrying the stones of the homeland to defend the homeland's honour, so that it may be worthy of belonging to a people that yearn for freedom and independence.

Greetings to all of you from the sons of our hero people – men and women – and from the masses of our blessed uprising, which enters its second year with a huge momentum, meticulous tactics and a democratic civilised method of confronting the occupation, oppression, injustice and the bestial crimes which the Israeli occupiers are committing against them daily.

Greetings to you from our young men and women in occupation prisons and mass detention camps. Greetings to you from the stone-throwing children, who are challenging the occupation and its aircraft, tanks and weaponry, recalling the new image of the defenceless Palestinian David opposing the heavily-armed Israeli Goliath.

At the conclusion of my speech during our first meeting I said that as Chairman of the PLO and leader of the Palestinian revolution, we emphasise our desire not to see a drop of Jewish or Arab blood spilled. Nor do we want to continue the fighting for one minute more. At that time I appealed to you to end all this suffering and pain and to hasten to draw up the basis for a just peace based on the guaranteeing of our people's rights, aspirations and hopes and the rights of all peoples.

At that time I appealed to you to support the struggle of our people to exercise their right to self-determination to enable our people to return from the compulsory exile into which they had been pushed at bayonet point, and to help us end this injustice which generations of our people have been suffering for several decades in order that they can live free and sovereign in their homeland and country while enjoying all their national and human rights.

The last thing I said from this platform was, that war erupts from Palestine and that peace starts in Palestine. Our dream then was to set up the democratic stage of Palestine, in which Muslims, Christians and Jews would live on an equal footing, in terms of rights and duties, in a single, unified society, like other peoples on this Earth and in our contemporary world. We were greatly astonished when we saw Israeli officials interpreting this Palestinian dream - which is inspired by the heavenly messages that have illuminated the skies of Palestine and by the civilised and humane values that call for coexistence in a free and democratic society - as a scheme that aims to destroy and annihilate their entity. It was our duty, Mr President, to learn a lesson from this difficult situation and to note the distance between this situation and the dream. We in the PLO began searching for realistic alternative formulas which would be applicable in order to find a solution to the problem based on the possible and not on absolute justice, which would guarantee our people's rights to freedom, sovereignty and independence; guarantee peace, security and stability to all; and avoid the wars and battles in Palestine and the Middle East which have, regrettably, been going on for 40 years.

Mr President: Did we not adopt the UN Charter and its resolutions, the declaration of Human Rights and international legitimacy as a basis for solving the Arab-Israeli conflict? Did we not welcome the 1974 Vance-Gromyko declaration as an initiative which could serve as a basis for a plan to solve this conflict?

Did we not support Brezhnev's peace plan for the Middle East? Did we not welcome and support the declaration issued by the EC countries in Venice concerning the establishment of a just peace in the region? Did we not welcome and support the initiative of Presidents Gorbachev and Mitterrand concerning the preparatory committee for an international conference? Did we not welcome scores of political statements and initiatives put forward by African, Muslim, non-aligned, socialist, European and other nations with the aim of finding a peaceful settlement, in accordance with the principles of international law, and with the goal of establishing peace and resolving the conflict? What was Israel's reaction to all that? Please note that all these peace initiatives, plans and statements to which I have referred were even-handed.

None of these initiatives ignored the demands and interests of any of the parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel reacted to all that by building more settlements, escalating its expansionist policies and exacerbating the conflict. Israel engaged in a policy of destruction and bloodshed, and widened the front of hostility to include fraternal Lebanon. The occupation armies of Israel swept over Lebanon in 1982. The invasion of Lebanon was accompanied by the slaughter and massacre of the Lebanese and Palestinian people, including the Sabra and Shatila massacres. Israel is still at this moment occupying a part of the Lebanese south. Lebanon is coming under daily Israeli land, air and sea attacks and raids against its towns and villages, a fate shared by our camps in the south of that country.

It is painful and regrettable that the US government alone should continue to back and support these Israeli expansionist and aggressive plans; support Israel's continuing occupation of Palestinian and Arab territory; and support its crimes and iron-fist policy against our children and women. It is sad and painful, too, that the US government should continue to refuse to recognise the right of six million Palestinians to self-determination. This is a sacred right to the American people themselves and to all the peoples of the Earth.

I remind them of the stand of President Wilson, the architect of the two universal principles of international relations: namely, the inadmissibility of occupying the territories of others by force, and the right of peoples to self-determination. When the Palestinian people were consulted in 1919 by the King-Crane commission, they chose the USA as the mandate country. But circumstances prevented this and Britain took its place. I ask the American people; I ask the American people: Is it right, is it right that what President Wilson decreed should not be applied to the Palestinian people? Subsequent US administrations know that the only birth certificate for the establishment of the state of Israel is international Resolution 181, which was issued by the UN General Assembly on 29th November 1947. At that time, the United States and the Soviet Union approved this resolution. It stipulates the establishment of two states in Palestine – a Palestinian Arab state and a Jewish state.

How can the US government explain its stand, which acknowledges and recognizes this resolution as it pertains to Israel, while simultaneously rejecting the other half of this resolution as it pertains to the Palestinian state? How can the US government explain its non-commitment to implementing a resolution which it repeatedly sponsored in your esteemed assembly: Resolution 194, which provides for the Palestinians' right to return to their homeland and property from which they were expelled, or for compensation for those who do not wish to return.

The US government is aware that it is neither its right nor the right of others to divide international legitimacy and break up the provisions of international laws. Mr President and members of the assembly: The continuing struggle of our people for their rights dates back scores of years, during which our people have offered hundreds of thousands of martyrs and wounded and suffered all kinds of tragic tortures. But these people have not relented and their determination has not faltered. Rather, it has consolidated their determination to cling to their Palestinian homeland and their national identity.

Israel's leaders, who were overtaken by deceptive intoxication, believed that, after our departure from Beirut, the sea would swallow up the PLO. They did not expect that the departure into oblivion would be transformed into a road leading back to the homeland, the real arena of the struggle, and to occu-

pied Palestine. The valiant popular uprising inside our occupied land broke out and will continue until our goals of freedom and national independence are realised.

I have the honour, Mr President, of being one of the sons of these people, who record with the blood of their children, women and men, the most splendid epics of national resistance and who create daily miracles of which legends are made, so that their uprising can continue and so that this uprising can develop and grow stronger until they impose their will and until they prove that right can defeat might.

I extend greetings of admiration to the masses of our people who are now carrying out this unique revolutionary and democratic experiment. Their faith has not been shaken by all of Israel's war machine, has not been terrorised by all kinds of bullets and has not been affected by people being buried alive or having their bones broken, or by causing pregnant women to abort or by the seizure of water sources. The resolve of the masses has not been weakened by detention, imprisonment, deportation and expulsion outside the homeland. The collective punishment and demolition of houses, the closure of universities, schools, trade unions, societies and establishments, the suspension of newspapers and the besieging of camps, villages and towns have only established this faith more firmly. The revolution has spread to every house and taken root in every inch of the homeland's soil. A people with such conduct and history cannot be defeated.

All the forces of repression and terrorism cannot dissuade the people from their firm belief in their right to their homeland and in the values of justice, peace, love and tolerant coexistence. The rebel's rifle has protected us and precluded our liquidation and the destruction of our national identity in the fields of hot confrontation. We are fully confident of our ability to protect the green olive branch in the fields of political confrontation. The fact that the world is rallying around our just cause to achieve a just peace brilliantly indicates that the world realises in no uncertain terms who is the executioner and who is the victim, who is the aggressor and who is the victim of aggression, and who is the struggler for freedom and peace and who is the terrorist. The daily practices of the occupation army's forces and the fanatical armed settler gangs against our people, children and women expose the ugly face and aggressive nature of the Israeli occupation.

This growing world awareness has affected Jewish communities themselves inside and outside Israel. It has opened these communities' eyes to the reality of the problem and the essence of the conflict, particularly to Israeli inhuman daily practices which destroy the very spirit of the tolerant Jewish religion itself. It has become difficult, almost impossible, for a Jew to declare his rejection of racial oppression and his adherence to freedom and human rights while remaining silent over Israel's crimes and violations of the rights of the Palestinian man, the Palestinian people and the Palestinian homeland, particularly over the abominable daily practices of the occupiers and gangs of armed settlers.

Mr President: We differentiate between the Jewish citizen, whose awareness and (word indistinct) of his conscience have been subject to the Israeli ruling circles' continual efforts to obliterate and falsify, and the practices of Israel's leaders. Furthermore, we realise that both inside and outside Israel there are honourable and courageous Jews who do not agree with the government of Israel over the policy of repression, massacres, expansion, settlement and deportation, and who admit the equal rights of our people to life, freedom and independence. In the name of the Palestinian people, I thank them, thank them, thank them for this courageous and frank position.

Our people do not want any right to which they are not entitled and which is not compatible with international legality and laws. They are not seeking any freedom that encroaches upon the freedom of others or any destiny that negates the destiny of another people. Our people refuse to be more privileged than others, or for others to be more privileged than they are. Our people want equality with all other peoples, with the same rights and obligations. Today I address this appeal to all the people of the world, particularly those who suffered from the Nazi occupation and who believed it to be their duty to turn the page of repression and injustice by one people against another and to extend help to all the victims of terrorism, fascism and Nazism, so that they can clearly see the responsibili-

ties which history dictates to them for our suffering people, who want a place under the sun for their children in their homeland in which they can live like the rest of the children of the world. They want a place under the sun for their children in their homeland in which they can live like the rest of the children of the world, free in their liberated land.

Mr President, members:

It is a cause for optimism that our march of struggle has culminated in the ongoing uprising at a time when the international climate is one of earnest detente and prosperity. We have been following with great satisfaction the successes of the UN and the UN Secretary-General in bringing about solutions to many problems and in many areas of tension in the world in this new climate of international detente. The improvement in the international climate cannot be consolidated without attention being paid to regional problems and areas of tension. We need to forge a human conscience that is more sensitive and responsible in assessing the efforts of man and the policies of nations and more capable of carrying us into the next century. We have new challenges and responsibilities to face (to take us) away from, away from wars and destruction, and for more, for more freedom, prosperity, peace and progress for all mankind.

Mr President:

It is indisputable that the Palestinian issue is the most complicated problem of our time. It is the earliest problem on UN records, the most intricate issue and the most menacing to international peace and security. Therefore, the Palestinian issue, more than any other international problem, should be a cause for concern to the two superpowers and other nations of the world. Efforts should be made to find a solution to this issue. A just solution of the Palestinian problem would be the best guarantee for peace in the Middle East.

The PLO leadership, being responsible for the Palestinian people and its future, faithful to the struggle of the Palestinian people, loyal to the memory of the martyrs, responsive to the climate of detente, aware of the need to engage in peaceful political efforts and desirous of a political solution ending the course of war and fighting and opening the door to a peaceful existence governed by the norms of international law, called for an extraordinary session of the PNC in Algiers from 12th to 15th November of this year. The goal was to define and clarify our position as a major party to the Arab-Israeli conflict, a party without the participation and endorsement of which a solution to this conflict cannot be achieved.

I am very proud to tell you that our National Council, completely democratically and in complete freedom, once again proved its ability to shoulder its supreme national responsibilities, and made serious, constructive and responsible decisions that have paved the way for deepening and showing our desire and our contribution towards finding a peaceful settlement that will guarantee the national and political rights of our people and that will ensure security and peace for everybody.

Mr President:

The first and decisive resolution adopted by our National Council was the declaration of the establishment of the Palestinian state with Holy Jerusalem as its capital, on the basis of the natural, historic and legal right of the Palestinian Arab people to their homeland and the sacrifices of successive generations in defence of their homeland's freedom and independence. It also stems from the resolutions of Arab summits and from the strength of international legitimacy, which is embodied by the UN resolutions since 1947. This is the Palestinian Arab people's exercise of their right to self-determination, political independence and sovereignty over their lands in accordance with your successive resolutions.

I would like to reiterate before the international community that this historic resolution – now that it has become an official UN document – is irreversible and that we will not cease working until the occupation ends and our people exercise their sovereignty in their own state, the state of Palestine, for all Palestinians wherever they are. In this state they can develop their national and cultural identity, enjoy full equality of rights and have their religious and political beliefs and their human dignity upheld in a democratic parliamentary system, established on the basis of freedom of opinion, the formation of parties, due regard by the majority for the rights of the minority, respect by the minority for the decisions of the majority, social justice and equality, and no discrimination on the basis of race, religion and colour, or between

men and women under a constitution that imposes the rule of law, the rule of law, and an independent judiciary and on the basis of full loyalty to Palestine's spiritual and cultural heritage of tolerance and generous coexistence among religions throughout the centuries. The state of Palestine is an Arab state and its people constitute a part of the Arab nation in terms of heritage, culture and ambitions for social development, unity and liberation. This state abides by the Arab League Charter, the UN principles, the Universal declaration of Human Rights, and the principles of non-alignment.

It is a peace-loving state committed to the principles of peaceful coexistence and to working alongside all countries and peoples to establish a just, lasting peace based on justice and the respect of rights. It is a state which believes in the settlement of international and regional problems through peaceful means in accordance with the UN Charter and resolutions. It rejects threats of violence, force or terrorism against its territorial integrity and political independence, and the territorial integrity of any other state, as well as any encroachment on its natural right to defend its territories and independence. It is a state which believes that the future will only bring security to those who have acted justly, or even to those who have returned to justice.

This, Mr Chairman, is the state of Palestine, which we proclaimed and which we will consolidate so that it will assume its position among the world's countries and participate and excel in building a free world in which justice will prevail and peace will be enjoyed. Our state will have its own provisional government at the first opportunity, God willing.

The PNC has entrusted the PLO Executive Committee with the obligation of assuming the tasks of this provisional government until it is formed. In order to implement this decision, the PNC adopted several important decisions which emphasise our determination to forge ahead seriously in the process of reaching a just, peaceful settlement and to exert the utmost efforts to render it a success.

Our National Council stressed the need to convene an international conference on the Middle East problem, with the issue of Palestine as its core, under UN auspices and with the participation of the permanent member states of the Security Council and all parties to the conflict in the region including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing since the international conference will convene in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and on the basis of guaranteeing the legitimate national and political rights of the Palestinian people, the foremost being their right to self-determination.

Our National Council also emphasised that Israel must withdraw from all Palestinian and Arab territories which it has occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem – including Arab Jerusalem; that the Palestinian state must be set up; that all the annexation decisions must be cancelled; and that the settlements which Israel has established in Palestinian and Arab territories since 1967 must be removed. Arab summits, particularly the Fez and Algiers summits, endorsed this.

Our National Council asserted that efforts must be made to place the occupied Palestinian territories, including Arab Jerusalem, under UN supervision for a limited period in order to defend our people and create the appropriate climate to ensure the success of an international conference, achieve a comprehensive political settlement and establish peace and security for all the peoples and states in the Middle East with their mutual consent, so that the state of Palestine can exercise real power in these territories. This also has been emphasised by resolutions adopted at Arab summits.

Our Council also emphasised the need to settle the issue of the Palestinian refugees in accordance with the UN resolutions. It also emphasised that freedom of worship and to perform religious rites in the holy places in Palestine will be guaranteed to the followers of all religions. The National Council reaffirmed its previous decisions regarding the distinguished and special relationship between the fraternal Jordanian and Palestinian peoples. It affirmed that the future relationship between the state of Palestine and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan will be established on a confederal basis and on

the basis of a voluntary and free choice of the two fraternal peoples in order to strengthen the historical bonds and vital interests between them.

The Council reasserted the need for the Security Council to lay down and guarantee the security and peace arrangements among all the states concerned with the conflict in the region. I would like to point out here, Mr President, that these decisions reflect – as it is clear from their content and phraseology – our firm conviction with regard to peace and freedom and with regard to our deep understanding and appreciation of the climate of the international rapprochement and detente and of the eagerness of the world community to achieve balanced solutions which meet the basic interests and demands of the parties to the conflict.

These decisions also reflect the seriousness of the Palestinian stand towards the issue of peace, its eagerness for it, and the need to guarantee and ensure it through the Security Council and under the supervision of the UN. These decisions convey the clear-cut and decisive answer to all the excuses, preconditions and pretexts which some countries have used with respect to the positions and policy of the PLO.

At a time when our people have been voting for peace through their uprising and their representatives in the PNC, at a time when our PNC has been voting for peace, stressing its response to the prevailing trend which is being strengthened by the era of a new detente in international relations to resolve world conflicts by peaceful means, the Israeli government is nurturing aggressive and expansionist tendencies and religious fanaticism in order to stress its adherence to the option of aggression and of ignoring our peoples' right. The Palestinian side, for its part, has formulated clear-cut and responsible political stands that are in line with the will of the international community, in a bid to help convene an international peace conference and to ensure its success. The courageous international support, as demonstrated by the recognition of the state of Palestine, which we appreciate, constitutes irrefutable evidence of the soundness of our course, the credibility of our decisions and their compatibility with the international will for peace.

Despite our great appreciation for the free US voices which have hastened to explain and support our positions and decisions, the US administration still has no unified criterion to apply to the parties to the conflict, requiring us alone to adopt positions that cannot be resolved (Arabic: la yumkin has-maha) before negotiations and dialogue start within the framework of an international conference. I would like to state that acknowledging the equality and rights of the two parties to the conflict on a mutual basis is the sole prelude to answering the clarifications requested by any quarter.

If policies and deeds are any indication of intentions, the Palestinian side has a better reason to worry and demand clarifications and assurances about its destiny and future with regard to the state of Israel, which is armed with the most modern weapons, including nuclear weapons.

Mr President, members:

Our PNC reiterated its adherence to UN resolutions endorsing the right of nations to resist foreign occupation, imperialism and racial discrimination, as well as the right of nations to struggle for freedom. The PNC reiterated its rejections of terrorism; it reiterated its rejection of terrorism of all kinds, of terrorism of all kinds, including state terrorism, including state terrorism. In this respect, the PNC underlined its commitment to its own previous resolutions, to the resolutions of the Arab summit in Algiers in 1988, to UN Resolutions 159/42 of 1987 and 40/61 of 1985, and to the Cairo declaration issued on 7th November 1985 in this regard.

Our position, Mr President, is clear and unambiguous. However, in my capacity as Chairman of the PLO, I declare from here once more, declare from here once more: I condemn terrorism in all its forms, but at the same time I salute all those in front of me in this hall who have been accused by their executioners and the colonialists of being terrorists during the battles for the liberation of their land from the yoke of colonialism. They are today the faithful leaders of their people and sincerely devoted to the principles and values of justice and freedom.

I reverently salute the martyrs who have fallen at the hand of terrorism and terrorists, chief among them being my life-long comrade, my deputy, Khalil al-Wazir, alias Abu Jihad, and the martyrs of the massacres which were inflicted on our people in many areas, towns, villages and camps in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and in South Lebanon.

Mr President, members,

The situation in our Palestinian homeland can no longer be tolerated. The masses of our people, our heroes, are leading the way and holding high the torches of freedom. They die every day so that the occupiers will leave and so that peace will be established in their free and independent homeland and in the entire region. Therefore, the PNC based its resolutions on a realistic understanding of the conditions of both the Palestinians and the Israelis. The goal of these resolutions is to establish a climate of tolerance between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

The UN has a historic and singular obligation towards our people, their cause and their rights. Over 40 years ago, the UN issued Resolution 181 setting up two states in Palestine, as I have mentioned – one to be an Arab Palestinian state and the other a Jewish state. Today, despite the historic injustice that has been committed against our people, we still see that this resolution continues to provide international legitimacy to the right of the Arab Palestinian people to sovereignty and national independence. Therefore, the acceleration of the peace process in the region requires additional efforts by all the parties concerned and by international powers, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, both of which have a great responsibility towards the issue of peace in our region. The UN, the permanent members of the UN Security Council and all international groups and organisations have a vital and essential role to play at the current stage.

I hereby present the following Palestinian peace initiative in my capacity as Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, which assumes the tasks of the provisional government of the state of Palestine:

- (1) Serious work be undertaken to convene the preparatory committee of an international conference for peace in the Middle East under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General in accordance with the Gorbachev-Mitterrand initiative, which has been supported by many countries and which President Mitterrand was pleased to present to your assembly at the end of last September, prior to convening an international conference, which is supported by all the world's countries with the exception of the government of Israel.
- (2) Proceeding from our faith in the UN's vital role and the international legitimacy, we believe that the UN should assume temporary supervision of our Palestinian land; UN forces should be deployed to protect our people; and, at the same time, the UN forces should supervise the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from our country.
- (3) The PLO will work to reach a comprehensive peaceful settlement between the parties involved in the Arab-Israeli struggle, including the state of Palestine and Israel, as well as the other neighbouring states, within the framework of an international conference for peace in the Middle East in order to realise equality and a balance of interests, particularly the right of our people to freedom and national independence, and the respect of the right to life and the right of peace and security for everyone, namely, all the parties involved in the struggle in the area, in accordance with Resolutions 242 and 338.

In the event that these bases are recognised within the framework of such a conference, we would have made a major stride towards a just solution which would pave the way for an agreement covering all the security and peace arrangements.

Mr President:

I hope that it is clear that, just as our Palestinian people are eager to attain their legitimate national right to self-determination and their return, and to secure an end to the occupation of their Palestinian land, of their homeland, our Palestinian people are also eager to safeguard the peace process

so as to achieve these goals within the framework of an international conference under UN auspices and in accordance with its Charter and resolutions.

I stress that we are a people who yearn for peace like all the peoples on earth; perhaps more enthusiastically, because of our long suffering over the years, because of the harsh life that confronts our people and children, and because of their deprivation of an enjoyable, normal life without wars, tragedies, agonies, displacements and harsh sufferings in their daily life.

Let voices be raised in support of the olive branch, the policy of peaceful coexistence and the climate of international detente. Let hands unite in defence of a historic opportunity, which may not be repeated, to put an end to a long tragedy which has claimed the sacrifices of thousands of souls and resulted in the destruction of hundreds of towns and villages. When we extend our hand with an olive branch, a branch of peace, we do so because this branch stems from the tree of the homeland and freedom planted in our hearts.

Mr President, members:

I have come to you in the name of our people to extend my hand so that we may establish a real, just peace. It is from this premise that I call on the leaders of Israel to come here, to come here, under UN auspices to create this peace. I also tell them that our people want dignity, freedom and peace. They want peace for their state just as they want it for all the countries and parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

I hereby address greetings to all Israeli factions, forces and sections led by the forces of democracy and peace. I tell them: move away from fear and intimidation so that we can make peace, make peace, make peace; move away from the spectre of the wars of this conflict which have been raging for 40 years; and away from the flare-up of coming wars whose only fuel will be their children and our children. Come, let us make peace. Come let us create peace - the peace of the brave - and move away from the arrogance of the strong and the weapons of destruction, and away from occupation, coercion, humiliation, killing and torture. Say: people of the book, come to common terms to establish peace in the land of peace – the land of Palestine. Glory be to God in the heavens, peace on Earth and joy to the people. God, you are peace, peace comes from you and peace returns to you.

Make us live in peace, O Lord; and admit us to paradise, the house of peace.

Finally, I tell our people: the dawn is coming and victory is coming. I see the homeland represented in your sacred stones. I see the flag of our independent Palestinian state flying over the hills of the dear homeland. Thanks and God's peace and blessing be with you.



**ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR, REACTION TO CHAIRMAN
ARAFAT'S SPEECH AT GENEVA, JERUSALEM, 13 DECEMBER 1988**

We are witnessing a monumental act of deception. In Algiers, Stockholm, Strassbourg and now Geneva, a mirage was created to deceive the international community by an illusion of moderation. However, in all his appearances and in particular in the Algiers terrorist conference, the PLO chief repeats his basic position, in different versions. Its simple meaning is the rejection of Israel's existence, the continuation of terrorism and the encouragement of violence.

The United States has promised Israel that it will not recognize the PLO nor negotiate with it unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and 338 and renounces terror and violence.

It is our conviction that the PLO has not accepted these conditions. In his Geneva speech Arafat did not announce that he recognizes Israel's right to exist. He ostensibly renounced terror but, at the same time, hailed what he calls a struggle of liberation. We do not believe that the PLO is inherently capable of accepting the United States conditions that contradict its very existence and *raison d'être*.

I hope that for the sake of promoting the chances of peace and advancing the struggle against terror and violence, the United States will never establish any contact with the PLO. Such a step will only encourage extremism and violence and will suppress the voices of those who are really interested in coexistence, negotiation and peace between Israel and its neighbors.

Israel is a peace loving nation, yearning for peace with all its neighbors. We repeat our invitation to our neighbors, including the Palestinian Arabs, to join us for genuine uninterrupted negotiations, among equals, with no preconditions, until peace agreements are achieved. Whoever truly desires peace will find us ready, as faithful partners to the attainment of this noble goal.



**PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT, PRESS STATEMENT CLARIFYING HIS SPEECH
BEFORE THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, GENEVA, 14 DECEMBER 1988**

[With the involvement of third party intermediaries seeking to find a formula acceptable to the US, Arafat clarified his remarks made a day earlier.]

Let me highlight my views before you. Our desire for peace is a strategy and not an interim tactic. We are bent to peace come what may. Our statehood provides salvation to the Palestinians and peace to both Palestinians and Israelis. Self-determination means survival for the Palestinians. And our survival does not destroy the survival of the Israelis as their rulers claim."

Recognition of UN resolutions 242 and 338

Yesterday (Tuesday) in my speech I made a reference to the United Nations Resolution 181 (on the partition of Palestine) as the basis for Palestinian independence. I also made a reference to our acceptance of Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for negotiations with Israel within the framework of an international conference. These three resolutions were endorsed at our Palestinian National Council session in Algiers."

Recognition of Israel's right to exist

In my speech also yesterday (Tuesday) it was clear that we mean our people's right to freedom and national independence according to Resolution 181 and the right of all parties concerned in the Middle East conflict to exist in peace and security and as I have mentioned including the state of Palestine and Israel and other neighbours according to the Resolutions 242 and 338."

Renunciation of terrorism

As for terrorism, I renounced it yesterday (Tuesday) in no uncertain terms and yet I repeat for the record that we totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorism, including individual, group and state terrorism. Between Geneva and Algiers we have made our position crystal clear.

Any more talk such as the Palestinians should give more - you remember this slogan, the Palestinians should give it more - or it is not enough, or the Palestinians are engaging in propaganda games and public relations exercise, will be damaging and counterproductive.

Enough is enough. Enough is enough. Enough is enough. All remaining matters should be discussed around the table and within the international conference. Let it be absolutely clear that neither Arafat nor any (one else) for that matter can stop the intifada, the uprising. The intifada will come to an end only when practical and tangible steps have been taken towards the achievement of our national aims and the establishment of our independent Palestinian state.

In this context I expect the EEC to play a more effective role in promoting peace in our region. They have political responsibility, they have moral responsibility and they can deal with it.

Finally, I declare before you and I ask you to kindly quote me on that: We want peace. We want peace. We are committed to peace. We want to live in our Palestinian state and let live.



**US PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN, STATEMENT ON US-PLO DIALOGUE,
WASHINGTON, DC, 14 DECEMBER 1988**

The Palestine Liberation Organization today issued a statement in which it accepted United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, recognized Israel's right to exist, and renounced terrorism. These have long been our conditions for a substantive dialogue. They have been met. Therefore, I have authorized the State Department to enter into a substantive dialogue with PLO representatives. The Palestine Liberation Organization must live up to its statements. In particular, it must demonstrate that its renunciation of terrorism is pervasive and permanent.

The initiation of a dialogue between the United States and PLO representatives is an important step in the peace process, the more so because it represents the serious evolution of Palestinian thinking toward realistic and pragmatic positions on the key issues. But the objective of the United States remains, as always, a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. In that light, we view this development as one more step toward the beginning of direct negotiations between the parties, which alone can lead to such a peace.

The United States' special commitment to Israel's security and well-being remains unshakable. Indeed, a major reason for our entry into this dialogue is to help Israel achieve the recognition and security it deserves.



**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RESOLUTION 43/176 ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE,
NEW YORK, 15 DECEMBER 1988**

The General Assembly,

Having considered the reports of the secretary-general,

Having noted with appreciation the statement made on 13 December 1988 by the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization,

Stressing that achieving peace in the Middle East would constitute a significant contribution to international peace and security,

Aware of the overwhelming support for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East,

Noting with appreciation the endeavors of the secretary-general to achieve the convening of the Conference,

Welcoming the outcome of the nineteenth Extraordinary Session of the Palestine National Council as a positive contribution towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region,

Aware of the ongoing uprising (*Intifada*) of the Palestinian people since 9 December 1987, aimed at ending Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory occupied since 1967,

1. *Affirms* the urgent need to achieve a just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the core of which is the question of Palestine;
2. *Calls for* the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, on an equal footing, and the five permanent members of the Security Council, based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) of 22 November

- 1967 and 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973 and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, primarily the right to self-determination;
3. *Affirms* the following principal for the achievement of comprehensive peace:
 - (a) The withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and from the other occupied Arab territories;
 - (b) Guaranteeing arrangements for security of all states in the region, including those named in resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, within secure and internationally recognized boundaries;
 - (c) Resolving the problem of the Palestine refugees in conformity with General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, and subsequent relevant resolutions;
 - (d) Dismantling the Israeli settlements in the territories occupied since 1967;
 - (e) Guaranteeing freedom of access to Holy Places, religious buildings, and sites;
 4. *Notes* the expressed desire and endeavors to place the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, under the supervision of the United Nations for a limited period, as part of the peace process;
 5. *Requests* the Security Council to consider measures needed to convene the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, including the establishment of a preparatory committee, and to consider guarantees for security measures agreed upon by the conference for all states in the region;
 6. *Requests* the secretary-general to continue his efforts with the parties concerned, and in consultation with the Security Council, to facilitate the convening of the Conference, and to submit progress reports on developments in this matter.



**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RESOLUTION 43/177 ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE,
NEW YORK, 15 DECEMBER 1988**

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item entitled "Question of Palestine,"

Recalling its resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, in which, *inter alia*, it called for the establishment of an Arab State and a Jewish State in Palestine,

Mindful of the special responsibility of the United Nations to achieve a just solution to the question of Palestine,

Aware of the proclamation of the State of Palestine by the Palestine National Council in line with General Assembly resolution 181 (II) and in exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people,

Affirming the urgent need to achieve a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East which, *inter alia*, provides for peaceful coexistence for all States in the region,

Recalling its resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 on the observer status for the Palestine Liberation Organization and subsequent relevant resolutions,

1. *Acknowledges* the proclamation of the State of Palestine by the Palestine National Council on 15 November 1988;
2. *Affirms* the need to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their sovereignty over their territory occupied since 1967;
3. *Decides* that, effective as of 15 December 1988, the designation "Palestine" should be used in place of the designation "Palestine Liberation Organization" in the United Nations system, without prejudice to the observer status and functions of the Palestine Liberation Organization within the United Nations system, in conformity with relevant United Nations resolutions and practice;
4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take the necessary action to implement the present resolution.



**ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR, FOUR-POINT PLAN
(PEACE PROPOSALS), 6 APRIL 1989**

[Prior to his visit to Washington, PM Shamir worked with Yitzhak Rabin, Moshe Arens and Shimon Peres on his proposals, calling for making the Camp David Accords the basis of a peace process; ending Arab hostility to Israel; a multinational effort to solve the refugee problem; and election of Palestinian delegates to negotiate an interim period of self-governing administration. The plan was approved by the govt. on 14 May with a vote of 20:6 (=Likud members Ariel Sharon, Itzhak Modai and David Levy; Mafdal member Avner Shaki; and Labor members Ezer Weizmann and Rafi Edri)]

1. The Camp David Partners - Reconfirmation of the Commitment to Peace.

Ten years ago, the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt was concluded on the basis of the Camp David Accords. When the accords were signed, it was expected that more Arab countries would shortly join the circle of peace. This expectation was not realized.

The strength of Israeli-Egyptian relations and the cooperation between the three partners to the accords have a decisive influence on the chances for Middle East peace, and the Israeli-Egyptian treaty is the cornerstone to the building of peace in the region.

Therefore, the prime minister has called on the three countries whose leaders affixed their signature to the Camp David Accords, the U.S., Egypt and Israel, to renew, 10 years later, their commitment to the agreements and to peace.

2. The Arab Countries - From a State of War to a Process of Peace.

The prime minister urged the U.S. and Egypt to call on the other Arab countries to desist from hostility towards Israel and to replace belligerency and boycott with negotiation and cooperation. Of all the Arab countries, only Egypt has recognized Israel and its right to exist. Many of these states actively participated in wars against Israel by direct involvement or indirect assistance. To this day, the Arab countries are partners in an economic boycott against Israel, refuse to recognize it and refuse to establish diplomatic relations with it.

The solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the building of confidence leading to a permanent settlement require a change in the attitude of the Arab countries towards Israel. Israel, therefore, calls on these states to put an end to this historic anomaly and to join direct bilateral negotiations aimed at normalization and peace.

3. A Solution to the Refugee Problem - An International Effort.

The prime minister has called for an international effort, led by the U.S., and with the significant participation of Israel, to solve the problem of the Arab refugees. The refugee problem has been perpetuated by the leaders of the Arab countries, while Israel with its meagre resources is absorbing hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Arab countries. Settling the refugees must not wait for a political process or come in its stead.

The matter must be viewed as a humanitarian problem and action must be taken to ease the human distress of the refugees and to ensure for their families appropriate living quarters and self respect.

Some 300,000 people live in refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District. In the 1970s, Israel unilaterally undertook the rehabilitation of residents of refugee camps in Gaza and erected 10 neighbourhoods in which 11,000 families reside. This operation was carried out in partnership with the residents despite PLO objections.

The time has now come to ensure appropriate infrastructure, living quarters and services for the rest of the residents of the camps who, at the same time are victims of the conflict, hostages to it, and an element which perpetuates its continued existence.

Goodwill and an international effort to allocate the necessary resources will ensure a satisfactory solution to this humanitarian effort and will help improve the political climate in the region.

4. Free Elections in Judea, Samaria and Gaza on the Road to Negotiations.

In order to bring about a process of political negotiations and in order to locate legitimate representatives of the Palestinian population, the prime minister proposes that free elections be held among the Arabs of Judea, Samaria and Gaza - elections that will be free of the intimidation and terror of the PLO.

These elections will permit the development of an authentic representation that is not self-appointed appointed from the outside. This representation will be comprised of people who will be chosen by the population in free elections and who will express, in advance, their willingness to take part in the following diplomatic process:

The aim of the elections is to bring about the establishment of a delegation that will participate in negotiations on an interim settlement, in which a self-governing administration will be set up. The interim period will serve as an essential test of cooperation and coexistence. It will be followed by negotiations on the final settlement, in which Israel will be prepared to discuss any option which will be presented.

The U.S. administration has expressed its support for the idea and following the prime minister's return, his proposals will be discussed here, and the various questions surrounding the holding of elections will be examined. Contacts necessary for the implementation of the proposals will be maintained.



ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR, ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE ON ISRAEL'S PROPOSAL OF ELECTIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, WASHINGTON DC, 6 APRIL 1989 [EXCERPTS]

We know there are no quick fixes for the Middle East conflict. We believe our plan is reasonable and fair. It rejects the PLO-terrorist-inspired solution. It advocates a democratic solution. It is based on the Camp David Accords and the Egypt-Israel peace treaty signed ten years ago almost to the day. We believe in honoring a contract. We believe the other signatories should honor it, too. If this contract is declared dead ten years after its birth, and after we made enormous sacrifices for it, there is no use asking us to put faith in other contracts.

But we believe we can expand on this treaty, in its spirit. We propose that for the first time in their history the Palestinians of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza hold elections to choose their representatives for negotiations with us on interim arrangements. By doing so they will be the only Arabs in the Middle East, except Israeli Arab citizens, who will participate in a true democratic election.

But to have free elections, people must be free to express their opinions without fear of terror and assassination. Over the past year, the PLO has murdered dozens of Palestinian Arabs who expressed independent views. Clearly a first requirement for free elections is an atmosphere free of violence and terror.

The free nations of the world have a clear choice. They can promote the PLO campaign for a PLO-dominated state, and ensure deterioration to tyranny and war.

Let me remind all those who worry about human rights that the PLO once ruled a mini-state in Lebanon where no human rights existed at all. For this reason, and to secure our very existence, Israel will

resist this course. But the free nations have another option. They can support a realistic and positive proposal to achieve co-existence between Israel, the Arab states, and the Palestinian Arabs.

We share with the free nations a fervent desire to change the *status quo*. But we hope they realize that as in the case of Iran, a reckless rush to change can bring disaster.

Our proposals for a settlement will be futile unless the Arab states around us also embark on the road to peace. They must renounce belligerency and advocate a peaceful solution. They must renounce belligerency and advocate a peaceful solution. They must stop objecting to the resettling of the Arab refugees. They must stop the arms race.

The international community can help by supporting the resettlement of the refugees. Their situation is intolerable. But to shed tears over their fate while vetoing Israeli projects of resettlement neither improves their lot nor contributes to the relaxation of tensions.

Our proposals will safeguard Israel's security and give maximum self-rule to the Palestinian Arabs. They will give, following the Camp David formula, equal opportunity to both sides to put forward and negotiate their positions. Some may reject our plan out of hand. But I believe a joint effort by the United States and Israel, based on these proposals, can bring about their acceptance and bring a just and lasting peace to our region.



PALESTINIAN WEST BANK LEADERS, LETTER REJECTING ISRAEL'S ELECTION PLAN, 27 APRIL 1989

As the Palestinian uprising enters its eighteenth month with continued vigor and self-confidence, it illustrates its aim to continue until its objectives are achieved: putting an end to the occupation, guaranteeing the right of Palestinian refugees to return, and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital under the leadership of the PLO. While the PLO fights our political battle within the framework of the Palestine National Council resolutions from Algiers, the Israeli government finds itself more internationally isolated than ever before: Israel has been stripped of its main support and has been revealed as a terrorist state suppressing, with blood and force, a civilian population struggling with legitimate means for national independence.

Instead of responding to the Palestinians' call for peace and the demands of the uprising and to being negotiations with the PLO within the framework of an international peace conference, which will be able to achieve a comprehensive, just peace and to give guarantees of security for all states in the region, the Israeli government offers the project of Shamir, which is nothing more than a maneuver for the media to save Israel from its international isolation.

Shamir's project stands in total contradiction to the practice of his government's policies in the occupied State of Palestine: the military forces at the disposal of Shamir are physically searching for Palestinian national leaders and political activities to imprison, exile, and, at times, kill them.

Israel is violating the human rights of the Palestinians, brutally suppressing the Palestinians in the occupied states, and blatantly ignoring their declared political points of view which clearly address the concept of Shamir's "elections." These declared points of view are the following:

1. The PLO is the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in the occupied State of Palestine and the Diaspora. The Palestinians chose their representatives decades ago and have reiterated their choice through the uprising. The price of declaring this choice of the PLO as our

sole, legitimate representative is shown in the daily count of martyrs in the course of the uprising. Shamir's proposal ignores this fact.

2. The Palestinian people is an indivisible whole, and the PLO, as an official body and with its legitimate leadership, is the symbol of the unity and national identity of our people, both inside and outside Palestine. The attempt to select local representatives is an attempt to divide our people into "inside" and "outside" Palestinians. Shamir's project indicates his lack of seriousness: what is needed is to negotiate with the Palestinian people as a whole to solve the Palestinian question, not with any isolated fragment. Negotiations must begin with the representatives of the Palestinian people as a whole and not with the representatives of any fragment.
3. In addition to being the sole, legitimate representative of our people, the PLO is the framework of our struggle for freedom and a symbol which embodies the identity of the Palestinian people as a whole and its aspirations for return, self-determination, and an independent state. Shamir's attempt to ignore the PLO is an attempt to ignore our political legitimacy as well as our legitimate aspirations. By initiating and focusing a debate in the media and international community on the issue of representation of the population of the [occupied] territories, and by-passing the question of an entire people's search for national independence, we see that the rejection of negotiations with the PLO is a rejection of the existence of a Palestinian people searching for self-determination.

The Palestinian people's rejection of the idea of any elections held prior to the withdrawal of the Israeli army from the West Bank and Gaza Strip emanates from what has been mentioned above; it is not an indication, as some Israelis claim, of the people's rejection of democratic practices. At the Algiers PNC sessions, our people proved its love for, and practice of, democracy. The PLO in general and the uprising in particular have completed the establishment of an internal democratic structure. Our rejection of the election proposal does not indicate a rejection of elections as democratic practice, but is the rejection of a project which ignores the essence of the conflict. The elections proposed by Shamir do not constitute democratic practice within an entire political process with clearly defined principles: this isolated occurrence of elections does not illustrate how it will lead to the end of the occupation and to Palestinian national independence.

We believe real peace in the region cannot be achieved by projects that are calculated to appeal to the media, to end the uprising, and to win time. We believe that the achievement of a real solution and a lasting peace require that:

1. the Israeli government recognize the Palestinians as a people with a right to a secure life and an independent state.
2. the Israeli government recognize the necessity of negotiations with the PLO within the framework of an international conference until the establishment of a Palestinian state.
3. the United Nations administer the affairs of the occupied territories in the transitional period.
4. the international conference give suitable guarantees of security for all states in the region, according to definite principles agreed upon by all the parties.

We believe the Israeli government now bears the responsibility of taking the next step towards peace: there is, so far, a total lack of any serious response by the Israeli government to the Palestinian peace initiative taken at the PNC by the leadership of the Palestinian people - the PLO. If Israel wants to prove its seriousness, the Israeli government should respond positively to the Palestinian initiative and immediately cease its suppressive and inhuman practices in the land of our occupied state - this response is far more realistic than to propose projects which illustrate only a lack of commitment to the establishment of a lasting peace.



**ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, PEACE INITIATIVE: PLAN FOR ELECTIONS
IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, JERUSALEM, 15 MAY 1989**

[The following is the informal translation of the peace initiative formulated by PM Shamir (Likud) and DM Rabin (Labor) as adopted by the Israeli govt. on 14 May 1989 and authorized on 15 May 1989, and transmitted to the UN Sec.-Gen. by Israel's Ambassador to the UN Johanan Bein with the request to have it circulated as an official document of the UNGA and UNSC.]

It is decided to approve the attached peace initiative of the Government of Israel.

General: A Peace Initiative by the Government of Israel

1. This document presents the principles of a political initiative of the Government of Israel which deals with the continuation of the peace process; the termination of the state of war with the Arab States; a solution for the Arabs of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district; peace with Jordan; and a resolution of the problem of the residents of the refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.
2. The document includes:
 - a) The principles upon which the initiative is based.
 - b) Details of the processes for its implementation.
 - c) Reference to the subject of the elections under consideration. Further details relating to the elections as well as other subjects of the initiative will be dealt with separately.

Basic Premises:

3. The initiative is founded upon the assumption that there is a national consensus for it on the basis of the basic guidelines of the Government of Israel, including the following points:
 - a) Israel yearns for peace and the continuation of the political process by means of direct negotiations based on the principles of Camp David Accords.
 - b) Israel opposes the establishment of an additional Palestinian State in the Gaza district and in the area between Israel and Jordan.
 - c) Israel will not conduct negotiations with the PLO.
 - d) There will be no change in the status of Judea, Samaria and Gaza other than in accordance with the basic guidelines of the Government.

Subjects to be dealt with in the Peace Process:

4.
 - a) Israel views as important that the peace between Israel and Egypt, based on the Camp David Accords, will serve as a corner stone for enlarging the circle of peace in the region, and calls for a common endeavor for the strengthening of the peace and its extension, through continued consultation.
 - b) Israel calls for the establishment of peaceful relations between it and those Arab States which still maintain a state of war with it for the purpose of promoting a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict, including recognition, direct negotiations, ending the boycott, diplomatic relations, cessation of hostile activity in international institutions or forums and regional and bilateral cooperation.
 - c) Israel calls for an international endeavor to resolve the problem of the residents of the Arab refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in order to improve their living conditions and rehabilitate them. Israel is prepared to be a partner in this endeavor.
 - d) In order to advance the political negotiation process leading to peace, Israel proposes free and democratic elections among the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza district in an atmosphere devoid of violence threats and terror. In these elections a representation will be chosen to conduct negotiations for a transitional period of self-rule. This period will constitute a test for coexistence and cooperation. At a later stage, negotiations will be conducted for a permanent solution during which all the proposed options for an agreed settlement will be examined, and peace between Israel and Jordan will be achieved.
 - e) All the above-mentioned steps should be dealt with simultaneously. If the details of what has been mentioned in (d) above will be given below.

The Principles Constituting the Initiative

Stages:

5. The initiative is based on two stages:
 - a) Stage A - a transitional period for an interim agreement.
 - b) Stage B - permanent solution.
6. The interlock between the stages is a time table on which the Plan is built; the peace process delineated by the initiative is based on resolutions 242 and 338 upon which the Camp David Accords are founded.

Timetable:

7. The transitional period will continue for five years.
8. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations for achieving a permanent solution will begin.

Parties Participating in the Negotiations in both Stages:

9. The parties participating in the negotiations for the first Stage (the interim agreement) shall include Israel and the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. Jordan and Egypt will be invited to participate in these negotiations if they so desire.
10. The parties participating in the negotiations for the Second Stage (permanent solution) shall include Israel and the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, as well as Jordan; furthermore, Egypt may participate in these negotiations. In negotiations between Israel and Jordan, in which the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will participate, the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan will be concluded.

Substance of Transitional Period

11. During the transitional period the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of the Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be accorded self-rule by means of which they will, themselves, conduct their affairs of daily life. Israel will continue to be responsible for security, foreign affairs and all matters concerning Israeli citizens in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. Topics involving the implementation of the plan for self-rule will be considered and decided within the framework of the negotiations for an interim agreement.

Substance of Permanent Solution

12. In the negotiations for a permanent solution every party shall be entitled to present for discussion all the subjects it may wish to raise.
13. The aim of the negotiations should be:
 - a) The achievement of a permanent solution acceptable to the negotiating parties.
 - b) The arrangements for peace and borders between Israel and Jordan.

Details of the Process for the Implementation of the Initiative

14. First and foremost dialogue and basic agreement by the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, as well as Egypt and Jordan if they wish to take part, as above mentioned in the negotiations, on the principles constituting the initiative.
15. a) Immediately afterwards will follow the stage of preparations and implementation of the election process in which a representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza will be elected. This representation:
 - I. Shall be a partner to the conduct of negotiations for the transitional period (interim agreement).
 - II. Shall constitute a self-governing authority in the course of the transitional period.
 - III. Shall be the central Palestinian component, subject to agreement after three years, in the negotiations for the permanent solution.

- b) In the period of the preparation and implementation there shall be a calming of the violence in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.
16. As to the substance of the elections, it is recommended that a proposal of regional elections be adopted, the details of which shall be determined in further discussions.
 17. Every Palestinian Arab residing in the Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, who shall be elected by the inhabitants to represent them - after having submitted his candidacy in accordance with the detailed document which shall determine the subject of the elections - may be a legitimate participant in the conduct of negotiations with Israel.
 18. The elections shall be free, democratic and secret.
 19. Immediately after the elections of the Palestinian representation, negotiations shall be conducted with it on an interim agreement for a transitional period which shall continue for five years, as mentioned above. In these negotiations the parties shall determine all the subjects relating to the substance of the self-rule and the arrangements necessary for its implementation.
 20. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the establishment of the self-rule, negotiations for a permanent solution shall begin. During the whole period of these negotiations until the signing of the agreement for a permanent solution, the self-rule shall continue in effect as determined in the negotiations for an interim agreement.



PALESTINIAN PERSONALITIES, POLITICAL STATEMENT, JERUSALEM, 16 MAY 1989

[Prominent Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza met with US State Department staff, headed by Dennis Ross, at the National Palace Hotel in East Jerusalem, handing him the following memorandum.]

Against the background of recent political developments and given the opportunity we have today to convey to you our views concerning those developments, we hereby would like to affirm to you the following points, in continuation of our letter to the Consul-General of 14th May 1989:

1. The Palestinian peace initiative, which was launched by our Palestinian National Council last November 15th and which crowned the political articulation of our people's Intifada, provided quite clearly and categorically the necessary and sufficient conditions for a just and lasting peace in the region. These conditions were predicated on UN Resolution 181 of 1947 which contains the principle of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel, and on the mechanism of an international conference, based on Security Council resolutions, including 242 and 338, with which to apply that principle.
2. Israel's response to the Palestinian peace initiative expressed first through statements by Israeli leaders and finally through what Israel calls "a peace initiative", is simply a blatant attempt to deceive Israeli and international public opinion, and it in no way rises to the level of the Palestinian peace initiative. The Israeli plan clearly and categorically ignores the essence of the conflict in the region, which is the deprivation of the Palestinian people of their legitimate national rights, and foremost our right to self-determination and the establishment of our independent Palestinian State under the leadership of the PLO, our sole and legitimate representative. Furthermore, Israel tries through this plan to revive the already dead Jordanian option, which had been rendered inoperative by our people's Intifada and Jordan's own decision of disengagement.
3. In the meantime, and while Israel behaves on the level of international diplomacy as if it truly seeks to attain peace and to offer initiatives that will bring it about, it continues on the practical local level to escalate its repressive policies against our unarmed people. Our children continue to be thrown inside jails; our pregnant women continue to have forced abortions caused by tear gas which is thrown indiscriminately inside packed living quarters; Israeli soldiers continue to kill our children and the aged; the authorities continue to apply collective punishment of all kinds, such as the closure of educational institutions for the second consecutive year, affecting more than 320,000 students of all grades, and such as the prolonged total curfews on populations, often affecting as many as half a million in number

at any one time, and other similar measures of this "iron-fist" policy which is the true language with which Israel addresses a people simply seeking to be free and independent like other nations.

4. On this basis we call upon your Government to adopt a more balanced attitude toward the uneven conflict between the occupying Israeli army and our unarmed population. It is by no means possible to compare between the repressive measures adopted by the occupying forces and the legitimate non-violent acts of resistance practiced by our people in their pursuit of freedom and independence. In order that the United States be able to play a truly mediating role in this conflict, it must adopt a neutral attitude which is the only way that will enable it to be a peace-maker in the Middle East. Your Government can work seriously with the Governments of the Security Council members to convene an active international conference to be attended by all parties to the conflict, including the PLO and Israel, in which United Nations resolutions concerning the Middle East can be implemented. The first and natural step in this direction is for your Government to develop forthwith the substance and level of its dialogue with the PLO, in order that the peace process can truly be moved forward.

Signatories:

Zakaria Agha, Izzedin Aryan, Ziad Abu Zayyad, Zahira Kamal, Sari Nusseibeh, Mahdi Abdul Hadi.



EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, DECLARATION ON THE MIDDLE EAST, MADRID, 27 JUNE 1989

The European Council has examined the situation in the Middle East conflict in the light of recent events and of contacts undertaken over several months by the Presidency and the Troika with the parties concerned, and it has drawn the following conclusions:

1. The policy of the Twelve on the Middle East conflict is defined in the Venice Declaration of 13 June 1980 and /other subsequent declarations. It consists in upholding the right to security of all states in the region, including Israel, that is to say, to live within secure, recognized and guaranteed frontiers, and in upholding justice for all the peoples of the region, which includes recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination with all that this implies. The Twelve consider that these objectives should be achieved by peaceful means in the framework of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations, as the appropriate forum for the direct negotiations between the parties concerned, with a view to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement. The European Council is also of the view that the PLO should participate in this process. It expresses its support for every effort by the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations to bring the parties closer together, create a climate of confidence between them, and facilitate in this way the convening of the international conference.
2. The community and its Member States have demonstrated their readiness to participate actively in the search for a negotiated solution to the conflict and to cooperate fully in the social and economic development of the peoples of the region. The European Council expresses its satisfaction regarding the policy of contacts with all parties undertaken by the Presidency and the Troika, and has decided to pursue it.
3. The European Council welcomes the support given by the Extraordinary Summit Meeting of the Arab League, held in Casablanca, to the decisions of the Palestinian National Council in Algiers, involving acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which resulted in the recognition of Israel's right to exist, as well as the renunciation of terrorism. It also welcomes the efforts undertaken by the United States in their contacts with the parties directly concerned and particularly the dialogue entered into with the PLO. Advantage should be taken of these favorable circumstances to engender a spirit of tolerance and peace with a view to entering resolutely on the path of negotiations.
4. The European Council deplors the continuing deterioration of the situation in the Occupied Territories and the constant increase in the number of dead and wounded, and the suffering of the population.

It appeals urgently to the Israeli authorities to put an end to repressive measures, to implement Resolutions 605, 607, and 608 of the Security Council and to respect the provisions of the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Populations in Times of War. They appeal in particular for the reopening of educational facilities in the West Bank.

5. On the basis of the positions of principle of the Twelve, the European Council welcomes the proposal for elections in the Occupied Territories as a contribution to the peace process, provided that:
 - the elections are set in the context of a process towards a comprehensive, just, and lasting settlement of the conflict.
 - the elections take place in the Occupied Territories, including East Jerusalem, under adequate guarantees of freedom.
 - no solution is excluded and the final negotiation takes place on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council of the United Nations, based on the principle of "land for peace."
6. The European Council launches a solemn appeal to the parties concerned to seize the opportunity to achieve peace. Respect by each of the parties for the legitimate rights of the other should facilitate the normalizing of relations between all the countries of the region. The European Council calls upon the Arab countries to establish normal relations of peace and cooperation with Israel and asks that country in turn to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to exercise self-determination.



GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT, THE EGYPTIAN TEN-POINT PLAN, 3 JULY 1989

[Egypt conveyed, via US Congressman William Gray, the following 10-points memorandum on holding elections in the Occupied Territories, to the Israeli govt.]

1. The necessity of participation of all citizens of the West Bank and Gaza (including the residents of East Jerusalem) in the elections, both in the voting and in the right to stand as a candidate for any person who has not been convicted (denounced) by the court for committing a crime. This is meant to permit the participation of those under administrative detention.
2. The freedom of political mobilization before and during the elections.
3. Acceptance of international supervision of the election process.
4. Prior commitment of the government of Israel that it will accept the result of the elections.
5. Commitment of the Government of Israel that the elections will be part of the efforts which will lead not only to a temporary stage, but also to a final solution, and that all efforts from beginning to end (should) depend on the bases of the solution (which are in) the American concept; Resolution 242 and 338, Territory for Peace, Protection of the Security of Israel and the Countries of the Region, Palestinian political rights.
6. Withdrawal of the Israeli Army during the election process to at least one kilometer outside the perimeters of the polling stations.
7. Prohibition of Israelis from entering the West Bank and Gaza on election day with permission to enter only to those who work in these regions and the residents of the settlements.
8. The preparatory period for the elections should last no longer than two months and these preparations should be accomplished by means of a joint Israeli-Palestinian committee. (The US and Egypt may assist in forming this committee.)
9. Guarantee of the US of all the above points by means of a prior announcement on the part of the Government of Israel.
10. Prevention of settlement in the Occupied Territories.



**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ, 22ND ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING,
BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN, 3-4 JULY 1989 [EXCERPTS]**

INTRODUCTION

1. The Twenty-Second ASEAN Ministerial Meeting was -held in Bandar Seri Begawan from 3 to 4 July 1989. The Meeting was formally opened by His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanali Bolkiah, the Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam. [...]

WEST ASIA

75. The Foreign Ministers viewed with concern the unresolved Arab-Israeli conflict. They reiterated their full support for the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination, and the restoration of Arab sovereignty over their occupied territories. The Foreign Ministers welcomed the Declaration of Independence and the Political Programme adopted by the Palestinian National Council at its 19th Extraordinary session held in Algiers last year. The Foreign Ministers called for renewed efforts to achieve a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement by negotiations. Towards this end, they expressed support for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the UN with the full participation of the PLO. The Foreign Ministers took note of the continuing uprising in the occupied territories and were of the view that it underlined the need for an early settlement.



**UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 636 REGARDING ISRAELI
DEPORTATIONS OF PALESTINIANS, NEW YORK, 6 JULY 1989**

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 607 (1988) of 5 January 1988 and 608 (1988) of 14 January 1988,

Having been apprised that Israel, the occupying Power, has once again, in defiance of those resolutions, deported eight Palestinian civilians on 29 June 1989,

Expressing grave concern over the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories,

Recalling the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and in particular articles 47 and 49 thereof,

1. *Deeply regrets* the continuing deportation by Israel, the occupying Power, of Palestinian civilians;
2. *Calls upon* Israel to ensure the safe and immediate return to the occupied Palestinian territories of those deported and to desist forthwith from deporting any other Palestinian civilians;
3. *Reaffirms* that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Palestinian territories, occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to the other occupied Arab territories;
4. *Decides* to keep the situation under review.



G-7 SUMMIT, STATEMENT ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, PARIS, 15 JULY 1989

The Summit participants remain profoundly concerned about the situation in the Near East.

Certain recent partisan declarations in Israel, the persistent violence in the occupied territories, as well as the deterioration of living conditions in the West Bank and in Gaza show more clearly than ever that a solution concerning the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people, as well as the right to security of all of the states in the region, including Israel, is once again an urgent necessity.

More than ever, the time has come to open a dialogue between the concerned parties, with a view toward negotiation.

The seven nations consider that the elections proposed for the occupied territories could mark a positive step toward mutual recognition, to the extent that they take place in an atmosphere of free expression and that they form part of a global settlement of territorial disputes that present obstacles to peace.

Furthermore, the seven nations believe that the holding, at the appropriate time, of an international conference structured in an appropriate manner would constitute a framework adapted to promoting direct dialogue among all the parties and to dealing with all of the related problems whose solution governs a peaceful settlement in the Near East.



**COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY,
RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE 50TH ORDINARY SESSION,
ADDIS ABABA, 17-22 JULY 1989 [EXCERPTS]**

RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE (CM/Res.1212)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fiftieth Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from 17 to 22 July, 1989,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Palestine as contained in Document CM/1545 (L),

Recalling the resolutions adopted by the previous sessions of the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the Question of Palestine and the problem of the Middle East,

Guided by the principles and objectives of the OAU and the Charter of the UN and the joint struggle against Zionism and Racism in order to attain freedom, independence and peace,

Further recalling all relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement on the Question of Palestine and the problem of the Middle East,

Noting the relevant reports of the United Nations Committee on the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights,

Referring to the Resolutions of the Palestinian National Council at its Nineteenth Extraordinary Session held in Algiers from 12 to 15 November, 1988, and to the speech of the Head of State of Palestine, Mr. Yasser Arafat before the United Nations General Assembly meeting in its Forty-third Session in Geneva from 22 September to 15 December, 1988,

Reaffirming the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative in order to retrieve their land and exercise their full national rights,

Following attentively and with deep concern the continued heroic popular uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories to put an end to the Israeli occupation and to regain their national and inalienable rights, including their right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of their independent Palestinian State with Jerusalem as the Capital,

Noting with deep concern the continued escalation of Israeli aggressive repression against the Palestinian people and their leadership inside and outside the occupied territories,

Noting further with deep concern the alliance of the Zionist regime of Israel and the *Apartheid* regime of South Africa, both countries adopting a terrorist policy against the Palestinian people and the Arabs in the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories on one hand, and the peoples of South Africa and Namibia on the other,

Noting with Profound indignation the statements made by Israeli Ministers, including the recent one by Minister Sharon calling for the physical elimination of President Yasser Arafat, and other PLO leaders,

Gravely concerned by the threats in that they constitute fresh acts of aggression on the part of Israel against any African or Arab country:

1. *Reaffirms* all the previous resolutions and recommendations adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government and the Council of Ministers on the Question of Palestine;
2. *Further reiterates*:
 - (a) the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and in Palestine from which they were displaced and recover their property;
 - (b) the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination without any outside interference and the establishment of their independent Sovereign Palestinian State on their homeland with Jerusalem as Capital;
3. *Demands* the immediate unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian occupied territories including Jerusalem, and *calls on* the UN and more specially the Security Council, to take all the necessary measures to put an end to Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and extend the International Protection through UN machinery, to the Palestinian people and place the occupied Palestinian territories under the supervision of the United Nations for a specific period as part of the peace process;
4. *Considers* that the Resolutions adopted by the Nineteenth Session of the National Palestinian Council held in Algiers from 12 to 15 November, 1988, which led to the proclamation of the State of Palestine, its acceptable of the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) are a positive contribution to the efforts for the restoration of a just and lasting peace through the organization of an International Peace Conference under the auspices of the United Nations;
5. *Calls upon* those States which recognized the State of Palestine to endorse its application to join the United Nations Organization and its Specialized Agencies;
6. *Affirms* its support for the Palestinian Peace Initiative approved by the Palestinian National Council at its Nineteenth Session held in Algiers in November 1988, and announced by President Yasser Arafat before the UN General Assembly in December 1988, initiative based on the Arab Peace Plan and International Law and approved by the Extraordinary Arab Summit held in Casablanca, from 23 to 26 May, 1989 and *welcomes* international support for this initiative;
7. *Supports* the stand taken by the Palestinians according to which elections should be held in the occupied territories after the withdrawal of Israel from these and, under international supervision as part of the overall peace process for the plan proposed by Israel aims at undermining the popular Palestinian uprising, by-passing the Palestine Liberation Organization and circumventing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people;
8. *Expresses its unconditional support* for the legitimate popular uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories and *calls on* Member States to urgently provide the PLO with concrete assistance to enable it to continue to support the uprising of the militant Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories;
9. *Strongly condemns* Israel, the occupying power for its policy of repression, aggression, terrorism, torture and deportation aimed at suppressing the Palestinian people in the occupied territories; for its continued policy of occupation, confiscation of land and exploitation of water resources; policy of deportation, detention bone breaking, causing of abortion, use of toxic gas and chemical weapons, burial and burning of people, all the above constituting 6 flagrant violation of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, International Law and the Fourth Geneva Convention;
10. *Condemns* the death call made by some Israeli leaders and in particular a Minister, Sharon, and *calls* for the vigilance of the International Community to prevent the implementation of these threats;
11. *Calls on* THE United Nations, particularly on the Security Council to take the necessary measures to ensure the release of Palestinian prisoners in the occupied Palestinian territories, the return of deportees; to put an end to the terrorism practiced by the Israeli occupation authorities against the Palestinian people to see to the application of Security Council Resolutions Nos. 605, 607, 608 adopted in 1988 and Resolution No. 681 adopted in 1989 and to the implementation of the Geneva Convention on this matter;
12. *Reiterates its support* for the need to convene an International Conference for Peace in the Middle East in accordance with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the UN General Assembly particularly the Resolution adopted on 13 December, 1988, Conference to be held with the participation of the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council and the parties con-

cerned including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with other parties;

13. *Calls on the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to follow up the developments of the Palestinian Question and submit a report on them to the forthcoming Session of the OAU Council of Ministers.*



PALESTINIAN PERSONALITIES, MEMORANDUM TO US ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NEAR EAST AFFAIRS JOHN KELLY, JERUSALEM, 3 AUGUST 1989

[Prominent Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza met with Kelly at the US Consulate General in Jerusalem and handed him the following memorandum.]

As Palestinians from occupied Palestine, we seek to convey to you in this meeting the message of the Intifada - a message that is at once the rejection of and resistance to the Israeli occupation of our lands and oppression of our people, and at the same time an expression of the endeavors at social transformation and state building as the alternative, appropriate, authentic and legitimate response to the illegitimate and destructive Israeli occupation. In essence, the Intifada is a genuine commitment to peace and the affirmation of human, moral and democratic values.

This commitment was responsibly articulated by the Palestine National Council in its 19th session on November 15, 1988. The Palestinian peace initiative embodies within it the principles and mechanisms essential to the achievement of a comprehensive and permanent solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Unfortunately, the maturity, foresight, courage and sense of historic responsibility that characterize the Palestinian commitment to peace have not met with a response of equal magnitude and daring.

It is ironic that the Palestinian peace stance which presents a unique opportunity for reconciliation and for breaking the endless cycle of violence and pain that has hitherto engulfed our region has been met with blind intransigence and entrenchment on the part of the Israeli authorities as expressed in their escalation of a brutal and punitive policy of repression and violence. Palestinian rights and lives are being blatantly violated on a daily basis as a matter of deliberate, declared and premeditated state policy against a captive civilian population in flagrant defiance of international public opinion and all norms governing civilized behavior.

The so-called Israeli "peace initiative" is an attempt to simultaneously negate Palestinian national rights and identity, circumventing legitimate representation and leadership, and sidestepping the central issues of the conflict. As a tactical ploy to distract and deceive public opinion, it has introduced tangential issues and misdirections, thus confusing the means with the end and confusing the procedure with the substance. The principle of free and democratic elections is one that Palestinians value highly and to which they are wholeheartedly committed. However, the Israeli version as alluded to in the 'Israeli initiative', lacks the following indispensable components:

1. The recognition of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people.
2. The logic of internal coherence in the form of clearly perceived and delineated transitional steps leading to a defined objective.
3. The framework of international legitimacy and guarantees.

Consequently, in its present form, it is a destructive exercise in verbal manipulation that violates the very principle of freedom and democracy and disqualifies itself as a serious and viable step in the peace process.

In view of the asymmetry between the Palestinian and Israeli initiatives, the role of the United States gains an even greater significance. Based on our recognition of this fact, we view with the greatest seriousness the lack of evenhandedness and objectivity in the US response. To redress this imbalance, the US administration is called upon to demonstrate a genuine commitment to just peace through the following:

1. The recognition of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people as an expression of Palestinian national rights and not just political rights.
2. The implementation of its "land for peace" policy by actively seeking an end to the Israeli occupation of the territories occupied in 1967.
3. The appreciation of the urgency for the convening of the International Conference as a venue for serious negotiations to achieve a guaranteed peace settlement.
4. The adoption of the principle of mutuality and reciprocity in all matters pertaining to the solution of the conflict, including issues of independence, sovereignty, security, recognition, national rights and guarantees.

In attending this meeting today, we would like to stress the crucial and immediate role that the United States can play by actively intervening to put an end to the Israeli violations of Palestinian human and national rights. Such a move logically constitutes the first step towards creating a dynamic for peace.

(Signed:) Elias Freij, Ziad Abu Zayyad, Radwan Abu Ayyash, Jamil Tarifi, Zahira Kamal, Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Said Kanaan, Hanna Siniora, F. Abu Rahmeh, Mustafa Natsheh, Zakaria al-Agha, Hanan Mikhail-Ashrawi, Faisal Hussein, Ghassan el-Khatib.



UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 641 REGARDING ISRAELI DEPORTATIONS OF PALESTINIANS, NEW YORK, 30 AUGUST 1989

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 607 (1988) of 5 January 1988, 608 (1988) of 14 January 1988 and 636 (1989) of 6 July 1989,

Having been apprised that Israel, the occupying Power, has once again, in defiance of those resolutions, deported five Palestinian civilians on 27 August 1989,

Expressing grave concern over the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories;

Recalling the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and in particular articles 47 and 49 thereof,

1. *Deplores* the continuing deportation by Israel, the occupying Power, of Palestinian civilians;
2. *Calls* upon Israel to ensure the safe and immediate return to the occupied Palestinian territories of those deported and to desist forthwith from deporting any other Palestinian civilians;
3. *Reaffirms* that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Palestinian territories, occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to the other occupied Arab territories;
4. *Decides* to keep the situation under review.



EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK, TEN-POINT PEACE PROPOSAL, CAIRO, 11 SEPTEMBER 1989

[The following plan was transmitted to Israel informally in July and was formally proposed to the Israeli govt. on 15 Sept.]

1. Israel will guarantee acceptance of all the results of the elections.
2. International observers will supervise the elections.
3. Complete immunity will be granted to the elected representatives.
4. Israel forces will withdraw from voting stations.

5. Israel will guarantee the start of a dialogue on the final status of the "occupied territories" by an appointed date.
6. All settlement activities will be frozen.
7. There will be complete freedom of campaigning for the election.
8. Israelis will be barred from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip on election day,
9. Jerusalem residents may participate in the elections.
10. Israel must accept the four principles of the American policy in the Middle East: the solution must be based on both U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, trading land for peace, guarantee of security for all countries in the region and acknowledgement of Palestinian political rights.



**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RESOLUTION 44/2 ON THE INTIFADA,
NEW YORK, 6 OCTOBER 1989**

[The following resolution, condemning Israel for its measures to deal with the Palestinian uprising, was voted for by 140:2 (Israel and US) with 6 abstaining and 9 absent.]

The General Assembly,

Aware of the uprising (intifadah) of the Palestinian people since 9 December 1987 against Israeli occupation, which has received significant attention and sympathy from world public opinion,

Deeply concerned at the alarming situation in the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, as a result of the continued occupation by Israel, the occupying Power, and of its persistent policies and practices against the Palestinian people,

Reaffirming that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Palestinian territory occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to the other occupied Arab territories,

Expressing its profound shock at the continued measures by Israel, the occupying Power, including the killing and wounding of Palestinian civilians and the recent action of ransacking the houses of defenceless civilians in the Palestinian town of Beit Sahour,

Stressing the need to promote international protection to the Palestinian civilians in the occupied Palestinian territory,

Recognizing the need for increased support to, aid for and solidarity with the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation,

Having considered the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General,

Recalling its relevant resolutions as well as the relevant Security Council resolutions,

1. *Condemns* those policies and practices of Israel, the occupying Power, which violate the human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, and, in particular, such acts as the opening of fire by the Israeli army and settlers that result in the killing and wounding of defenceless Palestinian civilians, the beating and breaking of bones, the deportation of Palestinian civilians, the imposition of restrictive economic measures, the demolition of houses, the ransacking of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, collective punishment and detentions, and so forth;
2. *Demands* that Israel, the occupying Power, abide scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and desist immediately from those policies and practices which are in violation of the provisions of the Convention;
3. *Calls upon* all the High Contracting Parties to the Convention to ensure respect by Israel, the occupying Power, for the Convention in all circumstances, in conformity with their obligation under article I thereof;
4. *Strongly deplores* the continuing disregard by Israel, the occupying Power, of the relevant decisions of the Security Council;

5. *Reaffirms* that the occupation by Israel of the Palestinian territory since 1967, including Jerusalem, and of the other Arab territories, in no way changes the legal status of those territories;
6. *Requests* the Security Council to examine with urgency the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory with a view to considering measures needed to provide international protection to the Palestinian civilians in the Palestinian territory occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;
7. *Invites* Member States, the organizations of the United Nations system, governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, and the mass communications media to continue and enhance their support for the Palestinian people;
8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to examine the present situation in the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, by all means available to him and to submit periodic reports thereon, the first such report as soon as possible.



**US SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER,
"FIVE-POINT FRAMEWORK", 10 OCTOBER 1989**

[Following Israel's rejection on 6 Oct. of the Egyptian Ten-Points Plan (see above), Baker formulated his five 'suggested points' for Israeli-Palestinian talks as a preliminary step to advance Israel's 14 May election proposals. Versions of Baker's points appeared in various media starting 10 Oct. but were not formally released until 6 Dec. 1989. See also document below dated 5 Nov. 1989]

1. The United States understands that because Egypt and Israel have been working hard on the peace process, there is agreement that an Israeli delegation should conduct a dialogue with a Palestinian delegation in Cairo.
2. The United States understands that Egypt cannot substitute for the Palestinians itself and Egypt will consult with Palestinians on all aspects of that dialogue. Egypt will also consult with Israel and the United States.
3. The United States understands that Israel will attend the dialogue only after a satisfactory list of Palestinians has been worked out.
4. The United States understands that the Government of Israel will come to the dialogue on the basis of the Israeli Government's May 14 initiative. The United States further understands that Palestinians will come to the dialogue prepared to discuss elections and the negotiating process in accordance with Israel's initiative. The US understands, therefore, that Palestinians would be free to raise issues that relate to their opinions on how to make elections and the negotiating process succeed.
5. In order to facilitate the process, the US proposes that the Foreign Ministers of Israel, Egypt, and the US meet in Washington within two weeks.



**AMBASSADOR SAMIR S. SHIHABI, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF SAUDI ARABIA, STATEMENT AT THE 44TH SESSION OF THE
UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK, 11 OCTOBER 1989 [EXCERPTS]**

In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

[...]Mr. President:

At a time when we perceive a positive trend in international relaxation for the solution of problems, we see that the problem of Palestine is entering a dangerous state that requires a special stand from the United Nations and its member states in which we should all bear our responsibilities.

More than twenty-two years have passed since Israel's occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Israeli authorities prevaricate in order to annex these areas in spite of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and in spite of the overall international stand in rejecting

these Israeli attempts, condemning them and calling for their end. Then came the total Palestinian uprising. Twenty-three months have elapsed since the uprising began in which the Palestinian people in all their sectors, men, women, the elderly, and children, have risen against occupation and suppression, facing the occupying Israeli authorities and all their instruments of force and power, they are a people who are defending their right on their land against an occupier who threatens their livelihood and their existence. Peace is still an aspiration that is still being rejected by Israel and for the attainment of which it still places obstacles. This has been the case since the Arab peace initiatives began receiving world support. I mention in this regard the initiative of the Fez Summit of 1982; then there were resolutions of the Palestinian National Council of 1988, and the steps taken by the Palestinian leadership including the declaration of the Palestinian State.

As I extol on this occasion the role of our sister state, Egypt, under the leadership of President Hosni Mubarak, supporting the steadfast and legitimate Palestinian right, we witness the intransigence of Israel hindering every initiative for solution and every effort for peace.

The inhuman practices which are being committed by the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian people are the most dangerous elements that face any peace plan and the worst that the Israeli authorities can invest for human relationships with the Arab people at any time. Israel has to accept the reality for which there is no alternative: the Palestinian Liberation Organization is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It should realize that what the Palestine National Council has offered in sacrifices to put forward a peace formula and a road to peace in Palestine is Israel's opportunity for peace. The Israeli authorities have to realize that this great sacrifice is a high price paid by the Palestinian people in the quest for peace and security and the preservation of its national status.

What concerns Palestine applies as well to the Arab lands which have been occupied by Israel in the Syrian Golan Heights and southern Lebanon. It is an invasion and occupation that is rejected and must be brought to an end at the earliest possible time, if the vehicle of peace is to move.

But the Middle East is considered by Israel one field, with the Arab Maghreb and some countries in southwest Asia; for which it is building rockets, and preparing offensive weapons of mass destruction, including deadly nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons. These weapons, we must never forget, are all weapons of annihilations, the destruction of which collectively is a must. Destroying only part of them is an illogical contradiction to the call for limiting these weapons of absolute destruction. The long-range missile which Israeli authorities fired toward the Libyan coast in the Mediterranean increases the indications that security and peace based on human considerations is far from the conception of Israeli politicians. But of course this will not frighten anyone. Are we to see a better realization of peace during the coming year, in which the Israeli authorities will prove a change in thinking on what is right, or will Israel spoil all opportunities for peace by insisting on an Israeli peace that cannot be acquired? [...]



**ISRAELI CABINET, DECISION ON THE FIVE-POINT PLAN OF
US SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER, JERUSALEM, 5 NOVEMBER 1989**

[The Baker Plan was approved by a vote of 9:3 (Ministers Levy, Modai and Sharon voting against).]

1. The minister of foreign affairs will inform the U.S. secretary of state that Israel accepts the amended five-point document of November 1, 1989 as proposed by Secretary of State Baker.
2. This, on the assumption that following this agreement, and in accordance with the secretary's letter that accompanied the five-point document, the U.S. will, for its part, undertake that the entire process will be consistent with the peace initiative of the Government of Israel of May 14, 1989, including the following clauses:

- (a) The dialogue will begin after the composition of a list of Palestinian Arabs, residents of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, acceptable to Israel.
- (b) Israel will not negotiate with the PLO.
- (c) The substantive issues of the dialogue will be the election process in the territories, in a manner consistent with the outline included in the peace initiative of the Government of Israel.
- (d) The U.S. will publicly support the above Israeli positions and will stand by Israel in the event that another party to the dialogue deviates from what has been agreed upon.
- (e) The U.S. and Egypt will declare their support for the principles of the Camp David Accords, which are the foundation of the Israeli peace initiative, including the stages of negotiations and their substance.
- (f) The first meeting will take place in Cairo. The next step will be considered according to the results of the first meeting.



**ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER MOSHE ARENS, LETTER TO
THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, 6 NOVEMBER 1989**

[In his letter FM Arens informed the UN Sec.-Gen. of the Israeli Cabinet's decision to accept the five points as proposed by US Sec. of State Baker on 10 Oct. 1989.]

I am pleased to inform you that the Israeli Cabinet decided to accept the five points as proposed by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on 1 November. I now hope to obtain your support for what could prove to be an important breakthrough in the quest for peace.

Our decision to accept the five points was not taken lightly. The issues involved are of fundamental importance to Israel's vital security, indeed to its very survival. Hence, Israel's acceptance was based on Secretary Baker's offer to provide American assurances that will meet Israel's needs and concerns. Our longstanding commitment to explore every option which might advance the cause of peace led us to adopt the American proposal.

Any discussion of the five points must, I believe, begin with Israel's 14 May peace initiative. This initiative was endorsed by the United States and forms the basis of Secretary Baker's proposal. Israel's peace initiative offers a comprehensive approach to achieving peace between the Arab world and Israel.

Its four points call for: strengthening the peace treaty with Egypt, ending the state of war between the Arab States and Israel, rehabilitating the Palestinian refugee camps, and holding elections among the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. These four points are mutually reinforcing. Progress in one facilitates progress in each of the others. This is why we believe that all four points should be pursued in parallel, and with equal vigour.

Our goal is to move as quickly as possible towards elections among the Palestinian Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, elections which will enable them to choose freely and openly their legitimate representatives. With these elected representatives, Israel intends quickly to conclude negotiations for a five-year period of Palestinian self-rule, which will give the Palestinian Arab inhabitants effective control over most aspects of their daily lives. As for a permanent solution, the parties participating in the negotiations to achieve it shall include Israel and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, along with Jordan and perhaps Egypt. We are committed to begin negotiations on a permanent settlement within three years of the start of the period of self-rule.

Clearly, the next major step along the challenging road to a permanent settlement is to make free and open elections in Judea, Samaria and Gaza a reality. The significance, and the test, of the five points lie precisely in their ability to bring about elections. This is what the dialogue between Israel and the

Palestinian Arabs envisioned in the five points should deal with. If, however, this dialogue is used to frustrate elections rather than advance them, the cause of peace will be ill-served.

This dialogue has clear implications on who should participate from the Palestinian Arab side. Since the substance of the dialogue will be to agree on the modalities for elections among the Palestinian Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, the Palestinian Arab participants in the dialogue should come from among the inhabitants of these same areas.

One further point should be mentioned concerning the Palestinian Arab participants in the dialogue with Israel. The Government of Israel's opposition to negotiations with the PLO is clear and unequivocal. It is one of the foundations on which the national unity government was established, and is based on national consensus. Our position is rooted in our knowledge of the PLO ultimate designs, and also in its campaign of terror directed not only against Jews, but against Palestinians - the very people it purports to represent. Direct or indirect dialogue with the PLO would subvert the logic and undermine the possibility of free elections, and thus of progress towards peace.

We would hope that a list of Palestinian participants to begin the process leading to elections can soon be agreed upon at the proposed trilateral meeting of Foreign Ministers of Egypt, the United States and Israel. Israel will do its utmost to bring this about.

Once these participants have been selected, the dialogue ought to begin quickly. The election modalities necessarily involve complex questions, but we are prepared to work hard to resolve these issues in order to make the elections a reality. To accomplish such a challenging task, everything preceding the elections must be geared towards their realization. It will be necessary therefore to ensure that the dialogue would deal with procedures for the elections and not be diverted from this objective. Thus, setting the ground-rules for the elections must be the only goal of the dialogue.

As I have indicated, the Government of Israel's decision was taken on the assumption that the United States will provide side assurances designed to meet Israel's needs and concerns, so as to ensure that the entire move will be consistent with Israel's peace initiative of 14 May 1989. As proposed by Secretary Baker, once these assurances are received, a meeting may take place in Washington, D.C. between the three Foreign Ministers, in the hope that they will agree on the composition of the Palestinian Arab delegation and on the agenda for the first meeting in Cairo. The proposed meetings, in Washington, D.C. and subsequently in Cairo, should provide the catalyst for setting the peace process in motion.

These comments are offered with a profound desire to move the peace process forward. I truly believe that support from Your Excellency for the Israeli peace initiative as reaffirmed by yesterday's Cabinet decision could make a very positive contribution to such progress.



**SOVIET-FRENCH STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST,
MOSCOW, 14 NOVEMBER 1989**

[Continuing his earlier initiative, Soviet FM Eduard Shevardnadze met French FM Roland Dumas in Nov. 1989 in Moscow to discuss progress in the peace efforts pursued by their two govts. The subsequent joint statement called for a speedy political settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict.]

France and the USSR also expressed their intention to step up their activities designed to encourage the ongoing efforts aimed at the establishment of political dialogue between the parties immediately concerned, while respecting their rights and interests, with a view to reducing tension and creating an atmosphere of trust.

Both parties confirmed their readiness to embark on consultations among the permanent members of the Security Council with a view to examining ways of initiating a peace process in the Middle East. France and the USSR also considered that an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties concerned and of the five permanent members of the Security Council, would be conducive to an overall settlement which would ensure peace and security for all States in the region, including Israel, on the basis of the principle of inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and of the realization of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people.



**DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER OF EGYPT, ESMAT ABDEL
MEGUID, LETTER TO THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, 22 NOVEMBER 1989**

Further to my previous communications to you concerning Egypt's efforts to advance the peace process in the Middle East and the developments relating to this process of which you are aware, and on the basis of our full and continuing confidence in your positive role in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East based on respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of the Organization, in particular Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), I should like to inform you hereunder of the latest developments in that respect.

1. The uprising of the Palestinian people has added its weight to developments relating to the situation in the Middle East, at the core of which is the question of Palestine, and has thereby had an impact on the earnest efforts currently under way to set in motion the peace process in the region.
2. The Palestine Liberation Organization announced an important initiative on the road to a just peace in the Middle East when the Palestine National Council adopted its historic resolutions on 15 November 1988 accepting Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and other matters and thereby introducing into the arena of the peace process a new position heralding positive developments, particularly with the wide-ranging support accorded to those resolutions by the General Assembly at its historic meeting at Geneva last December.
3. In another respect, the Egyptian Government considered the proposals communicated to you by Israel, notwithstanding their particulars, as a sign indicating Israel's readiness to understand the gravity of the situation and to concede the impossibility of the situation in the occupied territory and that with respect to the peace process remaining as they are.
4. The Egyptian Government nevertheless saw in the Israeli proposals what could be interpreted merely as an attempt to contain the situation in the territories that it has been occupying and to cope with the deterioration of that situation without according sufficient weight to the reciprocal rights and obligations of the two parties to the conflict, namely the Israelis and the Palestinians, within the framework of a comprehensive peaceful solution.
5. Hence, Egypt saw a need to contribute to the ongoing process by endeavouring to rationalize the framework in which it is taking place and to clarify matters with regard to its future course. It thus presented the 10 points whose tenor has previously been communicated to you and the text of which I have the pleasure to append to this letter in order to facilitate reference thereto.
6. In fact, the Egyptian initiative has been based on two basic matters:
The first is to put forward clarifications, or the 10 points, so as to supplement the instruments adduced in the framework of the present process, which are based on parameters on which there is consensus in the framework of the principles of the Charter and the elements for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.
The second is to put forward the idea of holding a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue in Cairo between an Israeli Government delegation and a mandated Palestinian delegation in which each party would be free to present its position on the settlement process and to discuss the question of elections and any other matter related thereto.
7. It is self-evident that this dialogue, which we hope will begin at the earliest possible opportunity, might lead to an agreement between the two parties on the holding of elections in the occupied Palestinian territory as a step on the road to a just and comprehensive settlement of the question of Palestine which takes account of the rights of the two parties and the obligations that they

- agree to assume and which are conceded to be necessary in accordance with the instruments governing the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes.
8. It is also self-evident that this dialogue does not, in our view, constitute an alternative to the convening of the International Peace Conference at a subsequent stage and does not block the way to other roles in the peace process or other contributions to it, whether within the United Nations or with or between the parties directly concerned.
 9. In the framework of the present endeavour, the Egyptian position is governed by the following important factors:
 - (a) Egypt's role in current efforts is an ancillary and adjunctive one. In this connection, Egypt does not consider itself as a substitute for the Palestinian party, whether in the adoption of decisions relating to the dialogue or in the selection of those who will participate in it as part of the mandated Palestinian delegation, since it is the Palestinians and their legitimate representatives alone who have the right to make such a decision.
 - (b) The Palestinian delegation to the dialogue must be formed of those both within and outside the Palestinian territory in order to ensure appropriate and genuine representation for the entire Palestinian people, and the matter of its composition is within the purview of its legitimate leadership. In this respect, it is possible for consultations to take place on that matter between Egypt and the Palestinian leadership, as long as that is acceptable to the latter in view of certain practical considerations of which you are aware.
 - (c) Both parties will naturally be entitled to raise and request discussion of all matters relating to a settlement, including the Israeli election proposal.
 10. In the context of preparations for the aforementioned dialogue, the United States has presented its own five-point proposal which is currently being discussed within the Palestinian leadership, particularly since the Palestinians have sought a number of clarifications thereon from the United States Administration which, it seems, will take a position based on positive elements and will aim at balancing the rights and demands of the Israeli and Palestinian sides.
 11. In reviewing the Palestinian position, I should like to point out that, once the Palestinians have completed their consideration of the principles on which the endeavour of the United States Secretary of State to advance the peace process and promote the success of the idea of a dialogue is based and immediately we are informed of that and at the request of the Palestinian side, we shall inform the United States accordingly.
 12. The present delicate stage requires the avoidance of any secret guarantees or guarantees addressed to any one side that might impede the peace process at any stage or prevent any of the parties directly involved or otherwise concerned from making a positive contribution to that difficult and complex process at the present time or in the future.

Finally, in accordance with the position it has constantly adopted, Egypt welcomes all positive contributions to the peace process, particularly since the international guarantees with which it must be encompassed are the responsibility of the international community as a whole. It is that international community which unanimously adopted the two major resolutions on the situation in the Middle East, namely Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and it is on the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations that that community is based.

(Signed:) Dr. Esmat Abdel MEGUID
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs

APPENDIX:
CLARIFICATIONS AND ISSUES FOR THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT: THE TEN POINTS

1. The necessity for the participation of all citizens of the West Bank and Gaza (including the residents of East Jerusalem) in the elections both in the voting and in the right to stand as a candidate for any person who has not been convicted by a court of committing a crime. This allows for the participation of those under administrative detention.
2. Freedom to campaign before and during the elections.
3. Acceptance of international supervision of the election process.

4. Prior commitment of the Government of Israel that it will accept the results of the elections.
5. Commitment of the Government of Israel that the elections will be part of the efforts which will lead not only to an interim phase, but also to a final settlement and that all efforts from beginning to end will be based on the principles of solution according to the United States conception, namely Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), territory for peace, insuring the security of all the States of the region, including Israel, and Palestinian political rights.
6. Withdrawal of the Israeli army during the election process at least 1 kilometre outside the perimeters of the polling stations.
7. Prohibition of Israelis from entering the West Bank and Gaza on election day, with permission to enter only for those who work there and the residents of the settlements.
8. The preparatory period for the elections should not exceed two months. These preparations shall be undertaken by a joint Israeli-Palestinian committee. The United States and Egypt may assist in forming this committee.
9. Guarantee by the United States of all the above points, together with a prior declaration to that effect on the part of the Government of Israel.
10. A halt to settlements.



**PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION,
REPLY TO BAKER'S FIVE POINTS, 1 DECEMBER 1989**

[The PLO's reply to Sec. of State Baker's Five Points was conveyed to the US govt. via both the Egyptian govt. and the US Ambassador in Tunis, Robert Pelletreau, on 1 Dec. 1989.]

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership studied the replies it received on 16 November and 27 November 1989 via the Egyptian Foreign Ministry from Mr. James Baker, the US secretary of state, in response to Palestinian queries about his plan which was formally released on 6 December 1989.

1. It is unfortunate that the (American) response ignores, right from the very beginning, the role of the PLO in forming the Palestinian delegation to the dialogue. (It even completely denies the existence of the PLO by referring to "major and influential" Palestinian forces which would name the delegation. Where are these forces? On what basis has the American administration been holding a dialogue with the PLO since December 1988?)
2. The American administration denies that Israel will have a veto power on names of the Palestinian delegation, but stresses that it will not pressure Israel to accept to talk with those it does not want to. Stemming from the principle of equality, the PLO reiterates that it is not the right of any party to intervene, directly or indirectly, in the process of the formation of the (PLO) delegation.
3. The American response concerning the dialogue's agenda contravenes what has been agreed upon between Egypt, Sweden, and the US This (reply) constitutes an American concession to Israeli conditions to confine the agenda to elections and negotiate its procedures. We would like to refer here to the declaration made by US President George Bush stressing the need to end the Israeli occupation, and to the statement issued by Baker calling on Israel to drop its great dream of expansion and annexation.
4. The PLO was notified of the US administration's commitment to the statement made by former Secretary of State George Shultz on 16 September 1988.
5. The American response referred to an international peace conference on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Taking into consideration that the Palestinian-Israeli dialogue is part of the preparatory process for the international peace conference, the PLO assumes that international sponsorship should include this dialogue.
6. The second American response, dated 27 November, completely ignored the minutes of the Egyptian-Swedish-American meeting which took place at the Egyptian Foreign Ministry on 16

September 1989, and what we were officially notified at that meeting concerning international sponsorship and the PLO's right to name the Palestinian delegation and the open agenda.

7. The US administration's insistence that the dialogue be confined to the agenda of elections and to negotiations over its procedures - in response to the Israeli government's plan - contravenes what we were notified (by the American administration) regarding its commitment to the statement made by Shultz which contained a reference to open agenda for the dialogue and the right of the Palestinians and any other party to raise any issue, including the Palestinian demand for an independent Palestinian state.
8. We wonder: Does the US administration realize that no Palestinian delegation would be able to come to the negotiating table without being named and declared by the PLO? What would be the compulsory means deployed to bring any Palestinian outside this framework?

The PLO, referring to the Palestinian peace strategy and the Arab Casablanca summit resolutions, would like to reiterate willingness to seriously contribute to the international efforts exerted to push the peace process forward. Stemming from this the PLO can accept to deal with Baker's plan, put forward on 6 November, only according to resolutions endorsed by the PLO Central Council (held in October) as following:

- (a) Its readiness to conduct a dialogue between a delegation from the PLO, representing the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied Palestinian Land, and an Israeli delegation.
- (b) The dialogue's agenda should be open and without prior preconditions and each delegation should be able to raise any issues, including elections in the Occupied Territories and the Egyptian-proposed ten points, in accordance with Shultz's statement issued 16 September 1988.
- (c) The dialogue would be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations and the five permanent members of the Security Council, Egypt, and Sweden.
- (d) The dialogue should be a preliminary step towards the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East which should convene under the auspices of the United Nations and on the basis of international legitimacy and (UN) resolutions, and will be attended by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.



**EUROPEAN COMMUNITY PARLIAMENT, RESOLUTION ON REPRESSION IN
ISRAELI-OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, STRASBOURG, 18 JANUARY 1990**

[The following resolution, passed by a large majority of the parliament, received the most attention for its recommendation to suspend scientific cooperation between EC countries and Israel pending the reopening of the universities in the Occupied Territories.]

The European Parliament,

- A. *Having regard* to the "1990: Time for Peace" initiative of the European peace movements which, in cooperation with their Israeli and Palestinian counterparts, assembled 30,000 people in a demonstration around the old city of Jerusalem at the end of December, in which numerous European elected representatives, including Members of the European Parliament, took part, and whereas this legal demonstration was brutally repressed by the Israeli police;
- B. *Having regard* to the dramatic situation of the Palestinians who have been living under Israeli occupation for 22 years and who are subject to arbitrary judicial and political measures and to an increasing repression which, as well as adults, also affects children, in disregard of the 4th Geneva Convention;
- C. *Recalling* the stands it has already taken on the situation in the Middle East and the occupied territories, in particular that of 14 December 1989 on the continued ban on teaching for the Palestinian population of the West Bank;

- D. *Having regard* to the damning report just published by Amnesty International on Israeli repression in the occupied territories, which criticizes:
Israel's excessive and indiscriminate use of force,
- The systematic maltreatment of Palestinian prisoners, which has led to 100 deaths,
 - The frequent use of live and plastic bullets,
 - The murder of Palestinians suspected of leading the Intifada who were unarmed at the time of their arrest;
- E. *Having regard* to the sentences which have already been or are about to be handed down to Israeli citizens; whereas such legislation forces citizens to break the law in order to follow their conscience and whereas direct dialogue between the Israeli authorities and the PLO is the key to a political solution to the Palestinian question;
- F. *Whereas*, in the wake of the Intifada and the declaration adopted in Algiers by the Palestine National Council on 15 November 1988, the Palestinian people is looking to the international community, and in particular the EEC, to play a more active role in the search for peace in the Middle East;
- G. *Whereas* the twelve Member States of the EEC remain committed to the status of Jerusalem as defined in United Nations Resolution 181 of 29 November 1947;
- H. *Paying tribute* to those Israeli citizens who have become personally involved in the search for a peaceful solution, at the risk of being prosecuted and sentenced by the courts;
- I. *Stressing* that, in certain cases, civil disobedience is the only response which allows citizens to give positive expression to their commitment to peace and justice;
1. *Condemns* the brutal intervention of the Israeli police during the two legal demonstrations on 29 and 30 December 1989, there being no justification either for the use of force and tear gas or for the humiliation and internment of the participants;
 2. *Calls* on the Presidency of the Council to lodge an official protest with the Israeli government concerning the events of 30 December 1989, in particular the maltreatment of Community citizens and MEPs, in which Mrs. Dacia Valent was beaten and detained by the police, despite the fact that she had clearly stated that she was a Member of the European Parliament; Marisa Manno, an Italian citizen, lost an eye as a result of the injuries caused by the Israeli police; and some 60 Israeli and Palestinian citizens reported injuries of various kinds;
 3. *Calls for* a specialized European commission of inquiry to determine the exact nature of the toxic gases used, which can cause death in a confined space;
 4. *Recalls* its decision of 14 December 1989 and, in view of the fact that all Palestinian universities have remained closed since January 1988, calls on the Commission to freeze immediately budget heading 7394 allocated to scientific cooperation with Israel;
 5. *Calls on* the Commission to examine closely whether the existing treaties between the EC and Israel are really being observed, in particular with respect to produce from the occupied territories, and to report to the EP;
 6. *Calls on* the Israeli government finally to recognize and implement the many resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council with respect to Israel and Palestine;
 7. *Appeals* to the Israeli authorities to repeal the law banning meetings between Israeli citizens and Palestinians from the PLO;
 8. *Calls on* these authorities to free the citizens detained under the law and to halt all proceedings which are now under way or are liable to be initiated on the same grounds;
 9. *Calls on* the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC to implement all the necessary measure to open a process of negotiation, in particular through the organization of an international conference on peace in the Middle East under the auspices of the UN, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the State of Israel and the PLO;
 10. *Instructs* its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC, the Israeli government, the PLO and the United Nations.



**JOINT DECLARATION, EIGHTH ASEAN-EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
MINISTERIAL MEETING, MALAYSIA, 16-17 FEBRUARY 1990 [EXCERPTS]**

1. The Eighth Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the European Community (EC) was held in Kuching' Malaysia from 16-17 February 1990. The Chief Minister of the State Government of Sarawak, His Excellency Datuk Pat-
inggi Tan Sri Haji Abdul Taib Mahmud, welcomed the Ministers and the delegates to Kuching. His Excellency Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, addressed the opening session of the Meeting.
2. The Ministers had a comprehensive exchange of views on political and economic subjects. The Ministers reviewed the progress of ASEAN-EC relations since their last meeting which was held in Dusseldorf from 2-3 May 1988. The Ministers expressed their satisfaction at the continued co-operation that exists between ASEAN and the EC both in international fora and on a bilateral basis. Being cognizant of the impact of the European Single Market in 1992 and of recent political, social, and economic developments in Eastern Europe, both ASEAN and the EC were in agreement that greater efforts should be made to enhance cooperation between the two regions.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ISSUES.

[...]

MIDDLE EAST

17. The Ministers discussed the recent developments in the Middle East and in particular the Arab - Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question. They expressed their grave concern over the deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories. They stressed the urgency of a settlement which would uphold the right to security of all States in the region, including Israel, that is to say, to live within secure, recognised and guaranteed frontiers, and would uphold justice for all the peoples of the region, which includes recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self determination with all that this implies, in accordance with UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.
18. They noted that since their last meeting significant developments have taken place on the international political scene, which have opened up new opportunities for action by the international community with a view to achieving a comprehensive and just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this context, the ASEAN Ministers welcomed the positive approach of the EC as set out in the Madrid and Strasbourg Declarations.
19. The Ministers reaffirmed their support for an International Conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, which would provide an appropriate forum for negotiations on a peace settlement.
20. The Ministers expressed their deep concern over the continuing tragedy in Lebanon. They reaffirmed their support for the full sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon. They considered that there is no alternative to the national reconciliation envisaged in the Tariff Agreement and urged that all will contribute to its peaceful achievement through dialogue.
21. On the Iran-Iraq situation, the Ministers noted that, while the ceasefire which entered into force in 1988 was still being observed, progress towards an overall resolution of the conflict remained stalled due to continuing differences in interpreting the implementation of the provisions of Security Council Resolution 598. They called upon the two States to resume the negotiations under the auspices of the UN and expressed their support for the efforts of the UN Secretary-General. [...]



**WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
CALL TO PRAYER OF PEACE IN THE HOLY LAND, GENEVA, MARCH 1990**

The Central Committee of the WCC meeting in Geneva (March 1990) warmly welcomes the initiative of the Middle East Council of Churches (MECC), "Christians for Peace in the Holy Land", calling the churches around the world to join the churches in Jerusalem for prayers for peace in the Holy Land during the period from Palm Sunday to Pentecost, dates this year shared by all churches.

As the MECC's letter to the churches says, "The Palm Sunday prayer will initiate a period of action and reflection which could include prayers and fasting, public events, representations to governments and other activities appropriate to highlight the urgency of peace-making in the Holy Land. The period of reflection and action will cumulate with Pentecost, on which occasion a second prayer will be issued by the churches in Jerusalem invoking the Holy Spirit, whose unifying prayer should enable people in the Holy Land to break down the walls of separation and make God's peace prevail in the City of Peace, Jerusalem."

The Central Committee of the WCC acknowledges the covenant made between Christian, Jewish and Muslim participants of the region at the World Convocation on Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation in March 1990, and encourages its member churches:

1. to join with the churches in Jerusalem in special prayers and actions for peace in the Holy Land in the ecumenical programme "Christians for Peace in the Holy Land" beginning on Palm Sunday and concluding at Pentecost;
2. to use the special "Prayer for Jerusalem" for the worship service on Palm Sunday;
3. to continue to make all the efforts for peace with justice in the Holy Land based on the mutual recognition of the Israeli and Palestinian people on the basis of equality, and on the realization of the national aspiration of the Palestinian people.



**PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT, SPEECH TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL,
EXTRAORDINARY SESSION, GENEVA, 25 MAY 1990 [EXCERPTS].**

[...] Mr. President, the Palestine Liberation Organization, which affirms its strategic commitment to peace, submits to your august body the following practical steps which will make of the consensus of the international community a fact, transforming its resolutions into actual practice and inspiring confidence and hope in the role and effectiveness of your august body in justice.

First: the designation by the Secretary General of the United Nations of a special and permanent envoy to work full time on the peace process and to conduct the necessary contacts to secure a peaceful, just and durable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict or that the Secretary General undertake the duties of this mission on his own.

Second: the adoption by your august body of a resolution for provide international protection to the Palestinian people, under the flag of the United Nations to safeguard their lives, properties and holy places in the occupied territories and by means of international emergency forces in addition to the deployment along with force [sic] now stationed in Jerusalem, with the purpose of completely ending the Israeli occupation of our Palestinian land.

Third: the adoption by your august council of a clear resolution in order to stop settler immigration to the occupied Palestinian territories, and ensuring its supervision and implementation – a decision that will completely prevent the construction and expansion of Israeli settlements, military or civilian, in the occupied Palestinian lands, particularly in Arab Jerusalem, through the implementation of the relevant international resolutions.

Fourth: that your august body call the representatives of the permanent members of the security council to an immediate meeting to peace process, and to prepare for the convening of the international conference for peace in the Middle East, in implementation of international resolutions.

Fifth: to start adopting the necessary arrangements preparations [sic] for the imposition of sanctions on Israel in accordance with chapter seven of the United Nations charter, as a response to the crimes committed by Israel against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and as a consequence of

its breach of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the treatment of civilians in time of war and also for its refusal to implement the relevant international resolutions, and for its deliberate defiance and for impeding the peace process in the Middle East.

The experience of the United Nations in imposing sanctions against South Africa has borne fruits in Namibia were the heroic Namibian people have gained their independence through the New York agreement, implemented under the auspices of the United Nations; it has also started to bear fruit for the people of South Africa with the release of the militant hero, Nelson Mandela, and with the start of building the peace and the fulfillment of the rights of the people of South Africa far from racial discrimination and apartheid. [...]

Mr. President, in reaffirming that our choice of the path of peace is a genuine strategic alternative, we also affirm our right to continue our resistance and our self-defense until an end is put to the Israeli occupation. That is a sacred right guaranteed to us by the law of human rights, the United Nations charter, international decisions and by the will of the Palestinian people. [...]



US PRESIDENT GEORGE H. BUSH, STATEMENT ANNOUNCING THE DECISION TO SUSPEND THE PLO-US DIALOGUE, HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA, 20 JUNE 1990

[The statement came after an attempted seaborne attack on the Israeli coast by Palestinian guerrillas.]

Based on the recommendations of the Secretary of State, I have decided to suspend the dialogue between the United States and the PLO pending a satisfactory response from the PLO of steps it is taking to resolve problems associated with the recent acts of terrorism, in particular, that 30 May terrorist attack on Israel by the Palestine Liberation Front - a constituent group of the PLO.

By way of background, on 14 December 1988, Yasir Arafat, speaking on behalf of the PLO Executive Committee, recognized Israel's right to exist. He accepted the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and he renounced terrorism.

Now, subsequently, the United States announced that because the PLO had met our longstanding conditions for dialogue we would begin a substantive dialogue with the PLO. And at the time we applauded Chairman Arafat for taking these essential steps, and we have conducted such a dialogue with the PLO through our embassy in Tunis.

Over the past 18 months representatives of the United States and the PLO regularly exchanged views about the political and security situation in the region. On balance, we believe that these exchanges contributed to progress in the peace process.

On 30 May 1990, the Palestinian Liberation Front attempted a seaborne terrorist infiltration into Israel. Palestinian Liberation Front leader Abu Abbas represents the PLF on the Executive Committee of the PLO. The size of the force and the geographical target area strongly indicate that civilians would have been the target. That day we issued a statement deploring this attempted terrorist attack.

On 31 May we raised this incident with the PLO in Tunis. We told them that it could not avoid responsibility for an attempted terrorist action by one of its constituent groups and needed to take steps to deal with the matter by condemning the operation, disassociating itself from it, and by also beginning to take steps to discipline Abu Abbas, the perpetrator.

We've given the PLO ample time to deal with this issue. To date, the PLO has not provided a credible accounting of this incident or undertaken the actions outlined above. The U.S. does take note of the fact

that the PLO has disassociated itself from this attack and issued a statement condemning attacks against civilians in principle, but as we previously indicated, this is not sufficient - this alone is not sufficient.

The US-PLO dialogue has demonstrated that it can advance the Arab-Israeli peace process, and at the same time the dialogue is based on the assumption that the PLO is willing to abide by the conditions it accepted in December 1988, including renunciation of terror.

And any time that the PLO is prepared to take the necessary steps, we are prepared to promptly resume the dialogue. In the meantime, we would hope and expect that the peace process would proceed as intend[ed] to the pursuit of a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and to a just and lasting peace.

And as we often stated, it is our view that such a peace must be based on UN resolutions 242 and 338, and that the principle implicit therein of territory for peace, and provide for Israel's security and Palestinian political rights.

We believe that Palestinian participation is vital to any successful process and that there are real opportunities for Palestinians in this process. We strongly hope that Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab states will recognize these opportunities and take the necessary steps to create an environment in which a viable peace process can thrive. We denounce violence in the area, and call upon all parties to eschew violence and terror, and opt instead for dialogue and negotiation. We are prepared to continue working with the parties to this end. [...]



PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, STATEMENT ON THE US DECISION TO SUSPEND THE US-PLO DIALOGUE, BAGHDAD, 21 JUNE 1990

After one and a half years of maneuvering in the US- Palestinian dialogue and avoiding discussions on substantial issues owing to the US administration's lack of seriousness, President Bush has suspended the dialogue with PLO.

The US decision to suspend the dialogue runs counter to the responsibility that a superpower the size of the United States should shoulder in regard to the Middle East peace process and world peace in general. The decision deals a blow to the entire peace process and also to the credibility of the US administration.

The Palestinian leadership has taken a clear and responsible position on the coastal operation that the United States used as a pretext to suspend the dialogue with the PLO. The PLO has announced that neither it, nor any of its institutions or forces, are responsible for the operation. It has also stressed that, in its capacity as the highest authority for the PLO Executive Committee members, the Palestine National Council (PNC) is the one to examine and explore the extent of their commitments to and abidance by its resolutions on the national and international levels.

The Palestinian leadership has also stressed its commitment to the PNC resolutions and the declaration by Yasir Arafat, president of the state of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, on the denunciation of all forms of terrorism.

In spite of this, the US administration has decided to suspend the dialogue, thus revealing the real objective it sought to achieve by taking advantage of the coastal operation to justify its policy, which is hostile to the Palestinian people and to their leadership, the PLO, and which denies their legitimate inalienable rights, headed by the right to self-determination. This became clear during the dialogue itself, when they United States continued to act on the principle of not recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative, not recognizing the Palestinian people's tight to self-determination, and obstructing the implementation of binding international resolutions, including the convening of the international conference for peace in the Middle East.

Very regrettably, the US administration's decision is a response to the demand of the AIPAC [American-Israel Public Affairs Committee] and Israel. It proves that Israel and its connections inside the US administration continue to control the decision-making in US policy on the Middle East, just as was the case with the use of the veto in the UN Security Council following an official and public Israeli request.

The US decision crowns a series of US positions favoring and supporting Israel. In recent years, the United States has opposed all attempts at international denunciation of Israel and prevented all UN Security Council resolutions denouncing or asking for an investigation of Israel's crimes against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. To that end, and during last year alone, it used the veto seven times at the UN Security Council and put various kinds of pressure on international bodies to protect Israel and its criminal policies.

The US administration's policies have always opposed and rejected all serious initiatives to start the peace process, including the Palestinian peace initiative and all resolutions and initiatives put forth by the United Nations, as well as other international initiatives.

While it was outraged by an operation not proved to have targeted civilians and in which no single civilians was injured, the US administration showed nothing of this outrage toward Israel's crimes against Palestinian and Tunisian civilians in Hammam Al-Shatt or when hero martyr Abu-Jihad [Khalil Al-Wazir] was assassinated in front of his children. We also saw nothing of this when Palestinian workers were massacred in 'Uyun Qarah [Rishon le Zion] or when other massacres were committed in Gaza and the West Bank. Nothing of this was witnessed when Israel used banned gases against Palestinian children and which caused miscarriages in Palestinian women. Nor did we hear a single US word against Israel's daily air, sea and land raids, which have been against the Lebanese and Palestinian people in southern Lebanon. Israel also continues to carry out such attacks against villages and Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

At a time when the Israeli rulers continue their crimes, intransigence, and role in aborting and obstructing peace efforts and initiatives in the Middle East, the US decision against the PLO and Palestinian people defies the international will and protects Israel and its aggression, covering up its responsibility for the abortion of peace efforts.

The US decision against the PLO comes while Israel's criminal persecution of the Palestinian people is being escalated to destroy the Intifada, and at a time when the new Israel government is escalating its threats of war against the neighboring Arab States. Thus, the decision supports and encourages the Israeli government's policy of war and aggression. This contravenes the international community's inclination to spread détente and relaxation and to extinguish the hotbeds of tension in the world.

This decision by President George Bush will promote the Israeli rulers to continue their aggressive policy and the crimes and the massacres of the Palestinian people inside the occupied territory. It will also whet their appetite to continue expansion at the expense of Arab land, especially in light of the waves of Jewish emigrants pouring into occupied Palestinian territory. Thus, the US administration cannot shirk its responsibility in encouraging Israel to continue these aggressive, criminal, and expansionist policies.

The dialogue that the US administration has suspended was a step toward peace. It was imposed by the international will and the international community, it was imposed by the Palestinian people heavy sacrifices which affirmed their existence and their rights against the usurpers. It was imposed by the growing status of the PLO and its increased respectability and worthiness in contributing toward making peace. It was imposed by the national political program adopted by the PLO in the PNC in Algiers in November 1988 and the Palestinian peace initiative and emanated from this meeting launched by President Arafat in mid-December 1988. It was also imposed by the policy of not being dragged into reaction - a policy that has been practiced by the PLO and the masses of the Palestinian people vis-à-vis all terrorist acts and crimes committed by the Israeli occupation authorities, which have left thousands of martyrs, wounded and detainees, and which have not spared Christian and Islamic religious places in Palestine.

Therefore, the US decision neither reduces the PLO's role as a peacemaker nor diminishes its international status, which it deserved and earned through the sacrifices made by its people and fighters. On the other hand, the US decision harms the role of the United States itself in the peace process because it is stopping its contacts with the main contender, without which no peace can be realized in the Middle East.

The US administration will be under an illusion if it is trying, through this decision, to repeat previous attempts to help the Israeli rulers create alternatives to the PLO. The US administration, along with the Israeli government, will discover that they will not find anyone to talk with them from among the Palestinian people and that our people will boycott all Israeli and US officials.

The US administration's decision reflected the failure of its policy to deal with the cause of peace in the Middle East - a policy based on a complete bias in favor of Israeli's viewpoint. While adopting Israel's viewpoint and defending Israel its aggression, the United States insisted on dealing with the problem single-handedly shunning the other international parties and the UN institutions.

And while exposing the nature and dimensions of the US decision, the PLO also views it as defying the recent Baghdad Arab summit and its resolutions, and testing the people's will and their rejection of the US blackmail as illustrated in the Arab summit resolutions.

As always, the PLO has been true to these resolutions, committed to them, and resolved to adhere to the values of the pan-Arab steadfastness and awakening that these resolutions signify. The PLO has refused to submit to the US administration's attempts to entice and blackmail with the aim of taming the PLO and implementing its plans against the Palestinian people and the Arab nation.

The PLO and its heroic people have stood fast in all battles that they have fought and no one will be able to impose capitulation on us or make us submit after this long heroic struggle. As they remained steadfast throughout their previous battles, our people will withstand the battle that the US administration wants to impose on us. Our people will be able to protect their brave Intifada, to remain steadfast, and to triumph and defend the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, until the Palestinian flag is raised over holy Jerusalem, the capital of our independent Palestinian state.

While calling for confrontation of this US decision and its repercussions, the PLO will rely on the capability and resources of its Palestinians masses and the resources and determination of the Arab nation, its national and pan-Arab forces, and its great tradition of struggle.

The continuous and escalating Israeli aggression, which is protected by US encouragement, makes it incumbent upon our Arab nation to face the challenge with all the needed resolve and the responsible pan-Arab attitude, and requires that our Arab masses and mass organization take the necessary measures to make the Arab response on a par with the Zionist-US challenge.

The Arab states, which adopted the Baghdad summit resolutions, are today required to translate these resolutions to face these challenges and draw up the necessary plans to implement the Arab decision, establish its presence, and impose respect for this decision in the international community.

What is required to face the US decision transcends condemnation and denunciation. By its decision, the US administration has suspended its ties with an Arab League member state.

The PLO appeals to all peace-and justice-loving international forces to take a responsible position toward the US decision, which leads to the deterioration of the Middle East situation, erases all peace opportunities, protects and encourages the hostile and terroristic aims of Shamir's new government, and steers the region toward a new war and conflagration on all levels.

The PLO also appeals to all international forces to work earnestly to convene the international peace conference as a framework guaranteeing just and comprehensive peace.



**EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, DECLARATION ON THE MIDDLE EAST,
DUBLIN, 26 JUNE 1990**

The European Council recalls its long standing position of principle on the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. It is determined to encourage all efforts to promote dialogue between the parties directly concerned leading to the negotiation of a comprehensive settlement consistent with the principles it has set out, beginning with the Venice Declaration 10 years ago and further developed since, notably in the Madrid Declaration. This settlement should be found in the framework of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the PLO. The European Council expresses its support for every effort by the permanent members of the Security Council to create a climate of confidence between the parties and, in this way, to facilitate the convening of the international peace conference.

The European Council welcomes the commitment to continuing the peace process expressed in the letter to the President of the European Council from the Prime Minister of Israel. The European Council hopes that it be followed in practice. It stresses the urgent need for Israel to begin a political dialogue with the Palestinian people which could lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Such a settlement should be on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council based on the principle of "land for peace."

The European Council stresses that all parties have a responsibility to refrain from actions or statements which might impede steps towards dialogue and negotiations. Those who would choose violent over peaceful means for achieving political objectives cannot be allowed to prevail. Neither the taking human life, whatever the circumstances, nor violence against civilians can play any part in achieving peace and reconciliation.

Threats of war and of the use of weapons of mass destruction serve only to increase tension in the region and should be eschewed. The Community and its member states have consistently condemned both threats and acts of violence in the region, whatever their origin. In such a delicate situation, all channels of dialogue and negotiations should be kept open.

The European Council is concerned that, by making territorial compromise ever more difficult, Israel's settlement policy in the occupied territories presents a growing obstacle to peace in the region. Reiterating that Jewish settlements in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including East Jerusalem, are illegal under international law, it calls earnestly on the government of Israel not to permit settlements there. The European Council recognizes and support the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel and elsewhere. It is, however, firmly of the view that this right must not be implemented at the expense of the rights of the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

Recent events underline once again that the status quo in the occupied territories is untenable. The lamentable position concerning the observance of human rights in the occupied territories has led the Community and its member states to set out repeatedly their concern. They are resolved to step up their already significant support for the protection of the human rights of the population of the occupied territories.

In the present situation, and particularly with regard to the protection of the population, the UN, too, can and should play a useful role. The European Council supports such a role of the UN.

The European Council refers to the obligation on Parties to the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War to respect and to ensure respect for its provisions. The Twelve have repeatedly called on Israel to adhere to its obligations towards the Palestinian population in the territory under its occupation which is protected by that Convention. They have observed that it has notably failed to do so in a number of important areas. Concerned that the human rights of the population of the occupied territories continue to be inadequately protected, the European Council call for further action, in accordance with the Convention, to ensure that protection.

The European Council has reviewed the range of actions taken on the basis of the Strasbourg Declaration in order to arrest the deterioration of the economic and social situation in the occupied territories and to help preserve the future of Palestinian society. It notes with satisfaction the significant increase of Community aid, particularly in the 1990 program of direct aid which is ready for adoption. It confirms its determination to double direct Community aid by 1992.

The European Council also expresses its satisfaction with the growth in exports of agriculture produce from the occupied territories to the Community. It invites the Community institutions to take appropriate action for a rapid further improvement of the conditions of access to the Community market for Palestinian products and to examine further possibilities for increasing trade between the Community and the occupied territories.

As an expression of the importance which the European Council attaches to facilitating the speedy and efficient implementation of the Community's expanding program for the benefit of the population of the occupied territories, the Commission is invited to appoint a representative to the occupied territories for this purpose at an early date.



ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT, RESOLUTIONS AHG/RES. 109-109 (XII), 26TH ORDINARY SESSION, ADDIS ABABA, 9-11 JULY 1990 [EXCERPTS]

[...]

DECLARATION ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Twenty-sixth Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 9-11 July 1990,

Having discussed the situation in the Middle East and Palestine, views with deep concern the dangers threatening the future of peace and security in the region and the escalation of tension which leads the region to the verge of war as a result of Israel's intransigence and the continued occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories.

The Assembly followed with grave concern the Developments resulting from the Israeli expansionist settlement policy in the process of transfer of Soviet Jews to occupied Palestinian and other Arab occupied territories.

The Assembly considered the process of transfer of Soviet Jews and their illegal settlement in these occupied territories and the measures accompanying it as a prelude to the deportation of the Palestinian people from their homeland, and the confiscation of their properties to accommodate the newly coming Soviet Jews,

The Assembly calls upon the State concerned in this transfer of population in particular, and the International Community in general to put an urgent end to this dangerous process and calls for the guarantee of the Palestinian people's national rights.

Furthermore the Assembly calls upon the USA to resume the dialogue with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation in order to achieve serious progress in the peace process in the Middle East, and reaffirms the necessity of convening the International Conference for Peace under the UN with the participation of all concerned parties including the PLO on equal footing. [...]



JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ, 23RD ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING, JAKARTA, 24-25 JULY 1990 [EXCERPTS]

INTRODUCTION

The Twenty-Third ASEAN Ministerial Meeting was held in Jakarta from 24 to 25 July 1990. The Meeting was formally opened by His Excellency President Soeharto of the Republic of Indonesia. [...]

MIDDLE EAST

The Foreign Ministers reviewed the situation in the Middle East and expressed concern that despite positive developments taking place on the international scene, the situation in the occupied territories continues to deteriorate. They stressed the urgency for a settlement and reaffirmed their strong support for the International Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations in order to achieve a just, comprehensive and lasting solution. They reiterated their full support for the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination and independence, and the restoration of Arab sovereignty over the occupied territories.

The Foreign Ministers deplored the creation of new settlements of Jewish immigrants in the Arab occupied territories by Israel. This unjustified act has serious consequences, including changes in the balance of the demographic composition, which would further complicate the search for a political solution to the conflict. This is also in violation of the relevant UN resolutions, basic principles of international law, especially the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, as well as the basic rights of the Palestinian people.

The Foreign Ministers expressed their regret over the suspension by the US of its dialogue with the PLO and called for its early resumption. They expressed their conviction that such a dialogue is an essential ingredient for resolving the Middle East conflict. [...]



FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ AND RESOLUTIONS, 19TH ISLAMIC CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS (SESSION OF PEACE, INTERDEPENDENCE AND DEVELOPMENT), CAIRO, EGYPT, 31 JULY TO 5 AUGUST 1990 [EXCERPTS]

At the kind invitation of the Arab Republic of Egypt and in accordance with the decision of Eighteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, the Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Peace, Interdependence and Development), was held in Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, from 9-14 Muharram 1411H, corresponding to 31 July to 5 August 1990. The Conference was held under the high patronage of His Excellency Mohammed Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt. [...]

17. H.E. Madam Absa Claude Diallo, Chairman of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People also addressed the Conference and apprised it about the activities of the Committee to promote the just cause of the Palestinian people. [...]

I. POLITICAL ISSUES:

27. The Conference reaffirmed its full solidarity and support of the just cause of the Palestinian people to restore their inalienable national rights including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent State on their national soil with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.

The Conference saluted the blessed Intifadha against the Israeli occupation and expressed its full support to the heroic steadfastness as symbolised by the Intifadha which has continued and foiled all the attempts of the Israeli forces aiming at its liquidation.

The Conference strongly condemned the policy of terror and oppression launched by the Zionist entity against the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories which has resulted in gross and flagrant violations of the fundamental human rights of the Palestinian people.

The Conference demanded that Israel abide scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 and desist from those practices which are in violation of the provisions of the Convention.

The Conference also urged the parties signatory to the Convention to guarantee the respect by Israel, as the occupying power, to the Convention in all circumstances conforming to their obligations under Article I thereof.

The Conference paid a warm tribute to the Palestinian people who have through their innumerable sacrifices and sufferings set new examples of courage and fortitude and thus compelled the international community to give urgent attention to their cause.

The Conference expressed its grave concern on the massive transfer of Jews from the Soviet Union to Israel and their settlement in occupied Palestinian territories. It urged the international community particularly the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and European States to take due account of the implications of this massive immigration into occupied Palestine which is in flagrant violation of international law particularly the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

The Conference considered that this Soviet Jewish immigration to Palestine would flout the rights of the Palestinian people, alter the demographic composition of the occupied Palestine and gravely imperil the prospects of peace in the region. Moreover, it would encourage the Zionist entity to pursue its nefarious plans to establish a "Greater Israel" and thus threaten international peace and security.

The Conference expressed its serious concern on the policy pursued by the new Government in Israel, which has not hesitated to demonstrate its contempt for all peace efforts and on the contrary considers war as a means to get Israel out of its present predicament.

The Conference welcomed the recognition of the independent state of Palestine by a large number of States and reaffirmed its support for the Declaration of Independence and the political programme adopted by the Palestinian National Council at its Nineteenth Extraordinary Session.

The Conference reaffirmed that the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people is alone entitled to represent them and participate on their behalf, independently and on an equal footing in all Conferences and activities dealing with the Question of Palestine.

The Conference strongly emphasized the need to place the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967 including Al-Quds Al-Sharif under the supervision of the United Nations for a limited period, as part of the peace process and to ensure the protection of the Palestinian citizens and their property.

The Conference stressed that the Palestine question is the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict and reiterated the urgent need to convene the International Conference for Peace in the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of the five Permanent Members of the U.N. Security Council, and all parties to the conflict on an equal footing, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, in its capacity as the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people; to achieve total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, and to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable national rights, including their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to establish their independent Palestinian State with Al-Quds Al Sharif as its capital.

The Conference urged the Security Council to consider measures needed to convene the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, including the establishment of a Preparatory Committee, and to consider guarantees for security measures agreed upon by the Peace Conference for all states in the region.

The Conference reaffirmed its commitment to the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force, and held the view that Zionist settlements in all the occupied territory, including the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif are null and void as well illegal, and their establishment constitutes a blatant violation of all international norms and conventions particularly the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

The Conference requested the OIC Member States to abide by the resolutions adopted by Islamic Conferences and called upon them to refrain from any kind of relations with Israel and stressed the need for contesting the credentials of the Israeli delegation to all sessions of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Conference deplored the decision of the United States of America to suspend its dialogue with the PLO and requested the U.S. Administration to reconsider its decision and to resume the dialogue so as to further the peace process in the Middle East, which requires the adoption of impartial stand and recognition of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people. The Conference expressed its appreciation for the United Nations, its Secretary-General, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organisation of African Unity and to all peoples and forces of the world which have supported the Palestinian cause at international fora and uphold the struggle of the Palestinian people and their blessed Intifadha, and denounced the policy of the Zionist entity and its oppressive practices in the occupied territories.

The Conference expressed its appreciation to the Holy See and to the Members of the European Economic Community for their positive role and their ongoing efforts to convene an International Conference for Peace in the Middle East; for their stand in favour of the Palestinian cause, and their endorsement of the PLO peace initiative and called upon these countries to take a further step and recognise the independent State of Palestine.

The Conference voiced the deep concern at the conditions in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and denounced and condemned the brutal raids and repeated assaults launched by the Zionist enemy against those Camps and its continued occupation of Southern Lebanon.

The Conference reiterated the total commitment of the Islamic Ummah to all the resolutions of the Al-Quds Committee which reaffirmed its determination of the Islamic Ummah to safeguard the Arab and Islamic character of the Holy City, and its pledge to strive to liberate it.

The Conference also expressed its total rejection of all measures taken by Israel to annex the Holy City and its proclamation as the eternal capital for the Zionist entity; and voiced its deep concern at the escalation by the Zionist enemy of its criminal practices against the Holy Mosque of Al-Aqsa. The Conference invited all states which have diplomatic relations with Israel to refrain from transferring their Embassies and Agencies to the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif.

The Conference also expressed its appreciation for the efforts exerted by the Al-Quds Committee, chaired by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco and took note of the recommendations adopted by this Committee in April 1990 to meet the challenges of Soviet Jewish immigration to occupied Palestine.

The Conference reaffirmed the importance of the "Al-Quds Fund and its Waqf" in supporting the Palestinian people in the occupied territories; and invited Member States to contribute to the capital of the Fund and its Waqf.

The Conference considered that the Strategic Alliance between the United States of America and Israel was a factor which has escalated tension in the region.

The Conference condemned the continued Israeli occupation of the Syrian Arab Golan and declared that Israel's decision to impose its laws and administration on this Arab land and erect settlements therein was an act of aggression and is null and void.

The Conference expressed deep concern over the Israeli nuclear armament policy which threatened the security of the Middle East, and urged the international community to denounce Israel for its refusal to adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and its persistence in refusing to comply with the Security Council Resolution 484 of 1981, and the resolutions passed by the U.N. General Assembly and the International Atomic Energy Agency which demand that Israel abide by the guarantees set by the Agency concerning nuclear installations.

The Conference recalled UN. General Assembly Resolution 3379 of 1975 which considers Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination and reaffirmed the provisions of this resolution and called upon the international community particularly the Member States to frustrate all efforts aimed at rescinding the provisions of this Resolution. [...]

ANNEX III:

REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS ON POLITICAL, LEGAL AND INFORMATION AFFAIRS

[...]

RESOLUTION NO. 1/19-P ON THE INTIFADA OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE

The Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Peace, Interdependence and Development), held in Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, from 9-14 Muharram, 1411H (31 July to 5 August, 1990),

Proceeding from the principles and objectives of the Charter of the OIC;

Pursuant to all relevant Islamic resolutions;

Reaffirming the principle of enhancing Islamic solidarity with the cause of Palestine as the primary cause of the Muslims;

Recalling the resolutions adopted by the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council on the situation prevailing in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif, particularly the U.N. Security Council Resolutions Nos. 465, 605, 607, 608, 641,

Taking into consideration the applicability of all the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons In Time of War, concluded on 12 August, 1949, to the Palestinian people in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif;

Referring to the grave danger inherent in the process of organized mass transfer of Soviet and other Jews to the occupied Palestinian territories and the Syrian Arab Golan and the other occupied Arab territories;

Expressing its deep concern over the serious situation prevailing in the occupied Arab and Palestinian Territories as a result of continued Israeli Occupation, and of Israel's arbitrary practices, repressive measures, continuing confiscation of Arab Land and property to build new settlements, escalation of the policy of deportation, blasting of houses and imposition of collective sanctions on the inhabitants, and desecration of Islamic and Christian holy places;

Recalling the increasing support of the international community to the Palestinian Intifada and its stand by the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people;

Taking into consideration the deteriorating economic conditions and the need to provide all forms of material and political support to strengthen the steadfastness of the Palestinian people and continue their blessed intifada:

1. *Hails* the Palestinian people and reaffirms its total solidarity with their continuing struggle, and expresses pride in the blessed intifada.
 2. *Calls* for providing all forms of support to the Palestinian people and their blessed intifada to enable them to end the Israeli occupation and to establish their independent State, Palestine, and exercise their sovereignty on their national soil with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.
 3. *Strongly condemns* Israel's policy based on continued occupation, expansionism, and denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people and strongly condemns Israel's repressive practices, violations of human rights and international law, confiscation of land and property, establishment of settlers' colonies, deportation of citizens and blowing up their houses, uprooting fruit-bearing trees, the closure of schools and universities, and imposition of an economic blockade on the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif. [...]
 7. *Reaffirms* the projects concerning the Intifadha adopted by the Eighteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in its resolution 1/18-P, paragraph 6, namely: [...]
- (d) To implement and finance the project for the production of "Umbrellas" with a picture of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the "Dome of the Rock" printed on them and bearing along their edges the expression "Al-Quds is calling you" in Arabic, English and French. [...]

RESOLUTION NO. 3/19-P ON THE PALESTINE QUESTION AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

The Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Peace, Interdependence and Development), held in Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, from 9-14 Muharram, 1411H (31 July - 5 August, 1990),

Proceeding from the principles and objectives of the Charter of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference;

Referring to the relevant resolutions of the Islamic Summit and Foreign Ministers Conferences;

Recalling all the resolutions of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organisation of African Unity on the question of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict;

Recalling also the resolutions of the two extraordinary Arab Summits held respectively in Casablanca in May 1989 and Baghdad in May 1990 in this regard;

Affirming the sustained enhancement of Islamic solidarity and the unswerving commitment of the Islamic States to the just struggle of the Arab people in Palestine, the Syrian Arab Golan and Lebanon;

Reaffirming that the Palestine Question is the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and that the Zionist enemy's continuing occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories and its refusal to withdraw from them, its annexation of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the Golan and its denial of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people constitute a flagrant violation of international legitimacy and the principles of international law as well as the UN Charter and the relevant UN resolutions;

Noting with deep concern the critical situation in the Occupied Palestinian and Arab territories resulting from continued Israeli occupation and its persistence in pursuing a policy of racism and expansionism and in escalating its acts of terrorism and repression against Arab citizens particularly, the destruction of their houses and their expulsion from their homeland;

Asserting that the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the protection of civilians in times of war applies to the occupied Arab territories including Al-Quds, Al-Sharif, and noting Israel's persistent refusal to accept it;

Affirming that the danger of Zionist aggression and expansionism threaten not only the Arab frontline States, but is also seeking to destabilize the Islamic States and threaten their independence and constitutes a threat to international peace and security;

Following with interest the continuation of the popular Palestinian Intifada in the Occupied Palestinian territories for the third year, aiming at putting an end to the Israeli occupation and achieving the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right of return, self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian State with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital;

Noting with appreciation the decisions announced in the speech delivered by H.E. Mr. Yasser Arafat, President of the State of Palestine and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the Security Council, in Geneva, on 25 May, 1990;

Noting with deep concern that collusion between Israel and South Africa, leads to the encouragement of the policy of terrorism and physical liquidation of Palestinians and Arabs in the occupied territories on the one hand, and the black majority in South Africa on the other. [...]

10. *Reaffirms* that Al-Quds Al-Sharif is part of the Occupied Palestinian Territory, and the capital of the State of Palestine and that any infringement of its legal status is a flagrant violation of international conventions, laws and resolutions and considers it illegal, null and void. In this respect the Conference strongly condemns the decision of the U.S. Congress considering "Jerusalem as an eternal capital of Israel", which contradicts International Law, U.N. resolutions and the official U.S. stand on the Holy City.
11. *Strongly condemns* the settlement policy, pursued by Israel and the settling of Soviet immigrants in the Occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, including the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, particularly the transfer of Jews and immigration of Soviet Jews and their settlement in these territories, which lead to the dispersion and deportation of more Palestinian and Arab inhabitants away from their homes which in turn undermines all efforts aimed at realizing a just and durable peace. It considers all existing settlements in the occupied territories as null and void and in contravention of international legitimacy. [...]

RESOLUTION NO. 7-19/P ON THE RESUMPTION OR ESTABLISHMENT BY SOME STATES OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND ON THE TRANSFER AND ESTABLISHMENT OF EMBASSIES IN AL-QUDS AL-SHARIF

The Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Peace, Interdependence and Development), held in Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, from 9-14 Muharram, 1411H (31 July to 5 August, 1990),

Inspired by the principles and objectives of the Charter of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference;

Recalling the relevant Security Council resolutions on the situation of the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, especially Resolution 478 of the Security Council;

Recalling the relevant resolution of previous Islamic Conferences, which reaffirm the commitment of Member States to sever all political, economic, military, cultural and other direct or indirect relations with Israel;

Reasserting that the maintenance or resumption of those relations helps Israel to continue its usurpation of Palestine and of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, and perpetuates Israeli occupation of Arab territories;

Recalling Resolution 1155 of the 48th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, held in Addis Ababa from 19 to 23 May 1999, which recommended that Member States reiterate their firm resolve not to establish or resume diplomatic relations with Israel, this country being a natural and loyal ally of racist South Africa;

Referring to previous Islamic resolutions, the latest of which is Resolution 16/18-P on countering Israeli attempts to break away from its isolation;

1. *Calls upon* Member States to abide by the resolutions of Islamic Conferences on not establishing of any kind of relations with Israel.
2. *Deplores* that some states have resumed their diplomatic relations with Israel and requests them to reconsider their decision.
3. *Appeals* to those Member States that intend to resume or establish diplomatic or other relations with Israel to re-examine their positions.
4. *Urges* the States that maintain diplomatic and other relations with Israel to re-consider such relations in compliance with the relevant resolutions of Islamic Conferences.
5. *Calls upon* states to abstain from setting up their Embassies in the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif or dealing with Israel in any way which can be construed as a recognition of its occupation or annexation of the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif.
6. *Requests* the Secretary General to follow up the implementation of this resolution. [...]

RESOLUTION NO. 9/19-P ON THE AL-QUDS COMMITTEE

The Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Peace, Interdependence and Development), held in Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, from 9-14 Muharram, 1411H (31 July to 5 August, 1990), [...]

Proceeding from the principle of strengthening Islamic solidarity with the Palestinian people and its blessed Intifada;

Commending the Member States which strive to follow up and implement the resolutions and recommendations of the Al-Quds Committee as a form of support to the Sacred Jihad and Blessed Intifada of the Palestinian people until victory and liberation are achieved by the Grace of God;

Appreciating the generous and continued efforts which the Al-Quds Committee has been exerting under the chairmanship of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco in accordance with the Islamic resolutions on the question of Palestine and Al-Quds Al-Sharif;

Expressing its concern at the escalating criminal practices of the Zionist enemy, which aim to demolish the Blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque and violate its hallowed precincts, and at the continuing excavations which aim to undermine the foundations of the Mosque, to destroy it and to erect the so-called temple on its ruins;

Expressing its concern at the continuing confiscation and expropriation of land and property in Al-Quds Al-Sharif and demolition of buildings;

1. *Endorses* the recommendations made by the Al-Quds Committee at its extraordinary meeting held in Rabat, Kingdom of Morocco, on 6 and 7 April, 1990 at the invitation of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco and Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee.
2. *Recommends* that the Al-Quds Committee carry out the following actions at its next meeting:
 - (a) Study the latest developments of the Palestinian question in light of the new international conditions;
 - (b) Draw up a plan to support the Palestinian Intifadha morally and materially and to ensure its continuation and its impact on the course of international events;
 - (c) Draw up a plan to counter the provocative measures recently announced by the Government of the Zionist entity whereby it empowers the so-called mayor of Al-Quds to run the Blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque, to dispose of its hallowed precincts and to erect Jewish facilities thereon;
 - (d) Draw up a plan to counter the Zionist schemes aimed at confiscating and expropriating real estate and land property in Al-Quds Al-Sharif in order to carry out the Judaization of the Holy City and also recommends to work and contribute effectively to the renovation of buildings in the old city;
 - (e) Draw up a plan to support the steadfastness of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Al-Quds so they can confront and defeat Zionist schemes and, preserve the Arab-Islamic character of Al-Quds Al-Sharif.

RESOLUTION NO. 10/19-P ON THE CITY OF AL-QUDS AL-SHARIF

The Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Peace, Interdependence and Development), held in Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, from 9-14 Muharram, 1411H (31 July to 5 August, 1990),

Proceeding from the principles and objectives of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference;

Guided by Resolution No. 1/3-P (I.S) of the Third Islamic Summit Conference held in Makkah Al-Mukarramah and Taif;

Recalling all Islamic resolutions adopted on the subject;

Reaffirming the need for sustained enhancement of Islamic solidarity with the Palestinian people and the solemn commitment of Islamic States to implement all resolutions adopted on the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and in particular the Declaration of Jihad to liberate it and release the Blessed Mosque of Al-Aqsa from the yoke of occupation;

Recalling the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, in particular Security Council resolution 478 of 20 August 1980;

Expressing its complete solidarity with the heroic Intifadha of the Palestinian people in Al-Quds Al-Sharif and Palestine, and their resistance to Israeli aggression on the Holy Places especially the Blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque;

Expressing its deep concern at the escalation of attacks on the Holy Places in the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif by the Zionist occupation forces and Jewish settlers, this escalation comes in the context of criminal schemes aimed at destroying the Mosque of the Holy Dome of the Rock and the Blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque, the Former Qiblah and Third Holiest Haram, to build the so-called Temple of Solomon on their site;

Expressing its deep concern over the deteriorating situation of the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and all Islamic and Christian Holy Places and ancient sites which reflect the heritage and civilization of the Arab-Islamic Ummah, especially following the annexation and judaization measures imposed by the forces of occupation thus endangering international peace and security;

Expressing its concern and indignation at the repeated acts of aggression perpetrated by the Zionist enemy against people at prayer and on the desecration of the Holy Places;

Commending the efforts made by the Islamic Development Bank in preparing a study for turning the houses around the Al-Aqsa Mosque into an Islamic Higher Institute as a contribution to the preservation of the Islamic character of the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif;

Also commending the continuous efforts of Islamic States at the United Nations and all other international fora in support of the Question of Palestine and Al-Quds Al-Sharif;

Further commending the continuous efforts of the Al-Quds Committee under the Chairmanship of His Majesty King Hassan II, Sovereign of the Kingdom of Morocco;

1. *Reaffirms* that the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif is an integral part of the occupied Palestinian territories and the capital of the State of Palestine, and that any infringement of its legal status is a flagrant violation of international conventions and laws.
2. *Reiterates* the commitment of Member States to implement the Islamic Programme of Action Against the Zionist Enemy, which was adopted by the Third Islamic Summit Conference.
3. *Reaffirms* the commitment of Member States to pursue and coordinate their action with those international groups which support the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people with a view to implementing international resolutions adopted by the United Nations and its specialised agencies such as UNESCO, etc. on stopping the hostile measures and aggressive practices in this Holy City, in particular the deliberate violations of the sanctity of the Holy Mosque of Al-Aqsa and other Sacred places in Palestine.
4. *Invites* all States to refrain from having any dealings with the Israeli occupation authorities which might be interpreted or claimed by those authorities as an implicit recognition and acceptance of the "fait accompli" imposed by the proclamation of Al-Quds as the eternal and unified capital of the Zionist entity and invites all States maintaining diplomatic relations with the Zionist enemy to refrain from transferring their Embassies Missions to the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif.
5. *Strongly condemns* the decision of the U.S. Congress which considers the City of Al-Quds as the capital of Israel, in violation of international law and U.N. resolutions and appeals to rescind this decision which impinges on Arab rights and defies the feelings of the Islamic Ummah and calls on Member States to request their Parliaments to raise this question at International Parliamentary Conferences.
6. *Entrusts* the Secretary General with the task of holding in various capitals in the world, seminars in coordination with Member States, to promote the cause of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and Palestine.
7. *Invites* the Member States which have not yet implemented the Islamic resolutions concerning the twinning of their capitals and their historical cities with the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, the capital of Palestine, to take early action to this effect thereby enhancing the spirit of Islamic solidarity with the Palestinian people.
8. *Calls on* the Member States which have announced the twinning of their capitals with the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif to promptly sponsor some projects which strengthen the steadfastness of the Holy City, its inhabitants and its institutions.
9. *Invites* the Member States to take necessary action to counter the Israeli schemes which have entered the implementation stage and which involve the demolition of the Blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque and the building of the so called Temple of Solomon on its site.
10. *Appeals* to the United Nations and Security Council and the international community to implement the international resolutions banning the construction of new settlements in the City of Al-Quds and which consider all settlements already built as null and void and illegal and should be removed.
11. *Rejects and condemns* the decision of Israel to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and bring about demographic changes in, and judaization of, the City, thus seriously violating the principles of international law, the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, the UN Security Council, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference and the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.
12. *Calls for* action to convene an Islamic-Christian symposium with the participation of the Vatican City and eastern and other churches, aimed at preserving the identity, religious and historical character and demographic set-up of the Holy City.
13. *Pays tribute* to the unwavering stand of the Holy See in condemning Israeli measures and practices perpetrated in the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif and calls for maintaining contacts with the Holy See and other Christian religious institutions in order to adopt a unified Islamic-Christian stand to preserve the Arab identity and Islamic character of the City of Al-Quds.

14. *Entrusts* the Secretary General with the task of following up the implementation of this resolution and to submit a report thereon to both the Al-Quds Committee and the Twentieth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. [...]

RESOLUTION NO. 14/19-P ON THE TEACHING OF A "HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE COURSE"

The Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Peace, Interdependence and Development), held in Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, from 9-14 Muharram, 1411H (31 July to 5 August, 1990),

Proceeding from the principles and objectives of the Charter of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference;

Reaffirming the principle of strengthening Islamic solidarity with the Palestinian people and its blessed Intifadha;

Recalling all the relevant Islamic Resolutions;

Expressing appreciation for the intensive efforts by the "Committee of Experts on Education" in preparing, arranging, revising and finalizing a unified curriculum in the History and Geography of Palestine to be taught at all levels of school education in all Islamic States;

Emphasizing the importance and the compass of the role of this curriculum in acquainting people with the cause of Palestine and the liberation of its Israeli-occupied territories at official, popular, political and scientific levels with a view to guaranteeing and safeguarding the eternal right of the Islamic Ummah in Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque, Al-Quds Al-Sharif, and usurped Palestine, and consolidating Islamic solidarity with the Palestinian people and enabling them to recover and exercise their inalienable national rights including their right to return to their homeland, and their right to self-determination, to the liberation of Palestinian territories and to establish, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, their sole legitimate representative, their independent Palestinian State, with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital;

1. *Entrusts* the General Secretariat in collaboration with Member States' Ministers of Education to take the appropriate measures to ensure that the unified curriculum of the History and Geography of Palestine is taught as a Mandatory subject at all levels of school education in all Islamic States.
2. *Invites* all Member States and all official and popular institutions, all charitable establishments, universities and the Islamic Development Bank, to contribute to cost of printing the official curriculum text-books in the local and official languages of the non-Arabic speaking Islamic States which shall be specified by the Islamic Committee of Experts on Education.
3. *Entrusts* the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO) to find the necessary means for implementation of this resolution in the Islamic States and to specify the steps that must be taken in this regard.
4. *Entrusts* the General Secretariat with the task of coordinating with the PLO and the ISESCO to ensure the printing of the curriculum as soon as possible.

RESOLUTION NO. 15/19-P ON AL-QUDS FUND AND ITS WAQF

The Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Peace, Interdependence and Development), held in Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, from 9-14 Muharram, 1411H (31 July to 5 August, 1990),

Proceeding from the principles and objectives of the Charter of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference;

Referring to all the Islamic Resolutions adopted on Al-Quds Fund and its Waqf;

Reaffirming the principle of consolidating Islamic solidarity with the Palestinian people and their blessed Intifadha;

Commending the Member States that unflinchingly donate and fulfil their obligations to Al-Quds Fund and its Waqf, in particular the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia;

Appreciating the vital role played by Al-Quds Fund and its Waqf in supporting the struggle and Jihad of the Palestinian people and consolidating their heroic Intifadha within their occupied country Palestine, and particularly the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif;

Commending the eighth session of the Board of Directors of Al-Quds Fund;

Also commending the joint meeting of the Islamic Experts Committee on ways to confront the dangers of Zionist colonialist settlement in occupied Palestine and Arab territories and the Board of Directors of Al-Quds Fund;

Considering the important role that could be played by the Waqf in ensuring for the Fund a steady flow of financial resources;

Expressing its concern over the continuing critical situation of Al-Quds Fund and its Waqf, a state of affairs that negatively affects the performance of the tasks for which they were established.

1. *Calls upon* all Member States, once again, to cover the budget of Al-Quds Fund and its Waqf, that amount to one hundred million dollars each.
2. *Urges* the Member States to speedily pay their statutory contributions to Al-Quds Fund and its Waqf, in addition to the donations pledged by some States but as yet not deposited in the Fund and Waqf accounts opened at the Islamic Development Bank.
3. *Decides* to adopt all resolutions and recommendations of the Eighth Session of the Board of Directors of the Fund held in Jeddah on 13 and 14 Jumada ul Aula, 1410H, corresponding to 11 and 12 December, 1989.
4. *Decides* to adopt all resolutions and recommendations of the Joint Meeting of the Islamic Experts Committee on ways to confront the dangers of Zionist colonialist settlement in occupied Palestine and Arab territories and the Board of Directors of Al-Quds Fund held in Jeddah on 15 Jumada ul Aula, 1410H, corresponding to 13 December, 1989.
5. *Appeals* to all Member States to address a call to their citizens and resident expatriates to give donations to Al-Quds Fund and its Waqf in order to be able to implement the Islamic resolutions concerning supporting and diversifying the sources of financing the Fund and its Waqf.
6. *Expresses gratitude and appreciation* to the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz Al-Saud, for his noble initiative of issuing directives to His Royal Highness Prince Salman Ibn Abdul Aziz Al-Saud, Governor of Riyadh Region, and Chairman of the Popular Committee in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to help the Mujahideen of Palestine, to issue a call for all citizens and expatriates in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, urge them to give donations to Al-Quds Fund and its Waqf to consolidate their resources and help to preserve the Islamic Holy Shrine in Al-Quds Al-Sharif and liberate it from the yoke of Zionism.
7. *Requests* the implementation of the previous resolution on the formation of a joint delegation of the General Secretariat and the Board of Directors of the Fund to visit some Islamic States for supporting the financial resources of the Fund and its Waqf.
8. *Entrusts* the Secretary General with the task of following up the implementation of this resolution. [...]



**PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION,
STATEMENT ON THE GULF CRISIS, TUNIS, 19 AUGUST 1990**

[This first official PLO statement on the situation in the Gulf was issued after a four-day emergency session held by the PLO leadership in Tunis]

Since the outbreak of the crisis between Iraq and Kuwait in the Gulf region, the Palestinian leadership has been seeking to nip it in the bud, particularly because the prevailing circumstances point to a possible escalation and explosion. The Palestinian leadership sought to contain and resolve this crisis through a fraternal dialogue, in continuation of the role it has been playing since 1973, when a similar dispute erupted between Iraq and Kuwait. At that time, the Palestinian leadership played a significant part in reaching a solution.

Upon the outbreak of the crisis, the Palestinian leadership embarked on efforts with Arab leaders to find an urgent solution within the Arab framework, which would preserve the higher pan-Arab interest and guarantee national rights, sovereignty, and security for all Brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir Arafat] undertook in-

tensified efforts with Arab leaders in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Yemen, the Libyan Jamahiriya, and Tunisia in an effort to build a sound and balanced foundation for an Arab solution to the crisis which would be in accordance with pan-Arab interests and avert the danger of foreign intervention, which is bound to inflict great harm on the Arab nation, our people's struggle, and our central issue - that of Palestine.

Thanks to these efforts, it was possible to prepare Palestinian-Egyptian-Yemeni-Libyan-Tunisian draft plans which were presented to his Majesty King Fahd and President Saddam Hussein. The outcome of the talks, which all focused on an Arab solution, was discussed with his Excellency Colonel Mu'ammar Al-Qaddafi, his Excellency President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, President Chedli Bendjedid, President Ali Abdallah Salih, and President Lieutenant General Umar al-Bashir.

Although the current circumstances do not allow us to present the details of these consultations, the primary achievement of the Palestinian leadership was represented in Iraq's participation in the emergency Arab summit which was urgently called by Egypt and in which Kuwait took part. The second achievement was the proposal to pass a summit resolution establishing a committee embracing kings and heads of state to discuss the various issues including the status of Kuwait, with the Iraqi leadership.

During the Arab summit, Brother Abu Ammar suggested that the committee compromise Egypt, Jordan, Algeria, Yemen, Palestine, and Saudi Arabia and make efforts during the summit. However, we were not able to put this proposal to a vote. We will not comment now on what happened during the Arab summit nor on the manner in which it was concluded. However, we will only note that three heads of state were deprived of the right to speak and their proposals were not put to vote, although the Palestinian proposal had called on the proposed committee to be guided in its work and in contacts with the Iraqi leadership by the speech which President Hosni Mubarak delivered at the opening session of the Arab summit. In that speech, Mubarak emphasized that the solution must be within the Arab framework and warned against a possible explosive situation.

The Palestinian leadership had succeeded in winning the approval of all parties concerned, particularly Iraq, for that proposal and in making the committee's mission include a discussion of all issues without exception, including the status of Kuwait.

Before and during the summit meeting, the Palestinian stand was based on the need to reach an Arab solution and reject foreign intervention - something that was emphasized in Article 7 of the resolution issued by the Arab foreign ministers conference which was held in Cairo on 3 August.

After the sudden conclusion of the summit, the Palestinian leadership continued its efforts on the Arab and international levels, out of its conviction that the continuation of the crisis and intensive military intervention were bound to cause the outbreak of a destructive war. Such a war will harm the Arab's economic, human, and military resources, undermine the Arab states, and open the door to Israeli expansionism and the imperialist forces which seek to control the area's wealth and its people's destinies, eradicate the Palestinian issue, and Balkanize the area.

The Iraqi initiative was the most important event that took place after the summit. The initiative contained positive elements, and was welcomed by the Palestinian leadership. The initiative stated Iraq's readiness to discuss the circumstances of a withdrawal from Kuwait and an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab and Palestinian lands, including Jerusalem, Golan Heights, and Lebanon, in implementation of the principles of international legitimacy and UN resolutions.

It is strange that the United States, which massed its fleets and its huge war machine on the pretext of defending international legitimacy, is the very one which for the past 25 years has prevented the UN Security Council from adopting any resolution or measures against Israeli terrorism, the occupation of the Palestinian and Arab lands, the violation of Palestinian human rights, and Israeli crimes. The history of US policy bears witness to its constant protection of Israel through its vetoes at the Security Council,

and its disavowal of the principle of the inadmissibility of the seizure of land by force. This principle constitutes one of the mainstays of international legitimacy by which we abide and which we defend.

The Palestinian leadership, along with the brothers in the Yemeni and Sudanese leadership, had developed the principles of the Iraqi initiative to serve the formula of the Arab solution to the Gulf crisis through a role to be played by Arab forces to safeguard the dignity and rights of all parties and to defend the Arab nation's future and unity.

If there is any need to seek the help of international forces, we believe that these forces should be under the flag and supervision of the United Nations. This and similar proposals were presented to the Security Council's permanent member states, the nonaligned states, the Arab and friendly states, the UN secretary general, and the Security Council chairman.

The Palestinian leadership continues its effort out of its conviction for the need to safeguard Arab solidarity and protect Arab national security against the threats of hostile forces which do not seek to protect the Arab's interest and homeland. These forces are instead seeking to ensure their control of the Arab region, to plunder its wealth, and to subjugate it to their strategic requirements.

The target of these efforts has been and is still to avert the catastrophe of war, for which Washington is beating the drums. The goal is not to realize trivial financial or media gains or to curry favor with others at the expense of the higher national interest of our Arab nation, which is experiencing the most critical and fateful stages in its history. This stage requires conscientious meditation.

Throughout the crisis, the PLO has been working in accordance with the principle of preserving the higher Arab interests and solidarity and seeking an honorable solution that preserves dignity and rights of all. It did not seek a solution in favor of one party at the expense of another, but rather a solution that safeguards the security and safety of Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf, and the entire Arab region. All this agrees with the interests of our Arab nation and our Palestinian people, as well as with the continued daring Intifada, which enemy is trying to oppress and terrorize further under the pretext of the crisis, a crisis on which Israel is collaborating with the United States to aggravate further.

However, the PLO was unpleasantly surprised by a planned and ferocious political media campaign against its chairman and leadership. The campaign developed into a defamation campaign against the Palestinian people and the history of their struggle with a view to dealing a blow to their Intifada and their sacred cause. To this should be added the incitement against the Palestinian communities in the Gulf, where a number of Palestinians were deported and expelled for no offense.

Unfortunately, certain sections of the Arab and foreign mass media are involved in fueling this unfair and planned campaign against the Palestinian people and their leadership. Such people are not aware that they are playing with fire and applauding what is threatening our Arab nation with destruction and ruin. They are collaborating with our enemies to deal a blow to the unity, future, and existence of our nation.

Eagerness to protect the Arab destiny and the map of the Arab nation demands that the loyal sons of this nation make every possible effort to tackle the Gulf crisis within the Arab framework and through the Arab means, free from foreign intervention. The Palestinian leadership will continue its endeavors relentlessly and without giving in to frustration, even if designing people tear its flesh or commit excesses, particularly those who only want to hear the drums of war from Washington. What is required is an Arab solution to the crisis, because it is the only hope to prevent a destructive war that would hurt us all, God forbid. We have to work in all sincerity and faith and make every possible effort to avert that war in order to protect the higher interests of our Arab nation and its unity, security, and future. May the Almighty be our witness. It is a revolution until victory.



**FRENCH PRESIDENT FRANCOIS MITTERRAND, ADDRESS TO THE 45TH UN
GENERAL ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK, 24 SEPTEMBER 1990 [EXCERPTS]**

[In his address, Mitterrand proposed a four-stage plan to solve the Middle East problems.]

In the conflict initiated by Iraq against Kuwait, the Security Council has shown its swiftness and its cohesiveness. My country, a permanent member of the Security Council, has voted [for] and sometimes initiated the successive resolutions adopted by that body, from the beginning of the crisis to this day. And we continue to be fully united for the following reasons.

Kuwait is a sovereign state, a member of the international community. In whose name can one decide that this state ceased to exist? In the name of the law of planes and tanks and guns? I wish to specify that France has long maintained friendly relations with Iraq, which it supported in times of dire peril during the war against Iran, with a view to contributing to the preservation, on this millenia-old border, of the historic balance between the Persians and the Arabs, a balance the upset of which would have triggered a chain reaction with consequences for the entire Arab world and as far away as the shores of the Atlantic.

Bonds of friendship were forged in these circumstances between the Iraqi and the French peoples. I do not repudiate these: I do hope that, in spite of all, they will endure. But France is first and foremost a servant of the law as defined by the judge among nations, your institution. We are applying the embargo according to the resolution of the Security Council. We are participating in its implementation. We have dispatched naval and air forces to the Gulf region for that purpose, but in so doing we have not issued any threat nor acted in provocation.

Our policies are those of the United Nations. In fact, we have indicated to the Iraqi authorities that we would stand by the side of whoever might be the object of a new aggression in the region. Far from being of an offensive nature, our action is purely defensive. However, it will be neither biased nor marked by complicity. Once they have accomplished their mission, our forces will leave the area to return home.

I should add that France is acting in close agreement with its 12 partners of the European Community and with those of the Western European Union, in close coordination with the military forces of the United States, of the Arab countries, and of others which have been dispatched to the Middle East for the same purposes. In no way does this coordination affects our capacity for autonomous decision.

Thus, we remain available in the event of any peace opening which we are seeking, for our logic is one of peace as opposed to the logic of war which appears to prevail and which the policies of Iraq are forcing upon an anguished world.

Indeed, not the slightest word nor the slightest gesture on the part of the President of Iraq has given cause for a beginning of conciliation. He ignores or rejects the supreme authority [of] the United Nations which was created following World War II by the nations who understood the price of death and blood for not having been able, on two separate occasion, to avert the fatality of disaster.

What else can we say to Iraq but that the conditions have been made clear, that they are contained in the resolutions of the Security Council, that they have been unanimously adopted and that they cannot be modified? Can hope be entertained no longer? Is there no longer any room for peace? We must not pronounce such a verdict.

A number of proposals forthcoming chiefly from certain Arab heads of state and prominent individuals have offered new perspectives. This gratifies me. France has been hoping that the countries of the region could find a way of acting as the arbiters of the disputes which have arisen between two countries within their group. I wish I could say that this remains my hope. It would indeed be desirable to do away with the doubts and the suspicions which the armed intervention of Western countries has generated, however unjustly this may be. But the Arab nation has yet to overcome its divisions and we cannot merely express pious hopes.

In the absence of such a solution which, I must reiterate, remains the one which I would by far prefer, let us examine the context which would enable diplomacy to win, preventing an outbreak of war. First of all, this can be done by speaking clearly: I must state that there will be no compromise as long as Iraq refuses to accept the position adopted by the Security Council. Yes, let Iraq withdraw from Kuwait. The sovereignty of that country is no more negotiable than that of any other. Let us remind ourselves of the men and women who are living under foreign domination or who must face exile, of the neighboring populations which, if we remained inactive, would be prey to the expansionist ambitions of one man or of one warrior state. Instead, let Iraq declare its intention to withdraw its forces, to free the hostages, and everything becomes possible.

In a second stage, at least this is how I see the situation, the international community which has condemned aggression would be in a position to guarantee the implementation of the military withdrawal, the restoration of the sovereignty of Kuwait, as well as the democratic expression of the Kuwaiti people.

The third phase could then proceed, the one that the whole world is expecting albeit with faint hope since it appears to be so out of our reach at this moment, or that it fears because it will prove to be the moment of decision; it will be the moment when the confrontations which are wounding the Near East will have to give way to a momentum of good neighborliness in a climate of peace and security for all.

I have in mind the Lebanon, which has still failed to regain its full sovereignty throughout its territory, which remains occupied by foreign troupes and divided among divergent forces.

I have in mind the Palestinians, who are in the throes of despair, tempted by dangerous courses of action in order to satisfy their legitimate aspiration, to the possession of a land which they could call their homeland where they could put in place the state structures of their choice.

I have in mind Israel, which lives in a climate of permanent insecurity. In brief, I have in mind all these people which are crushed as a result of overarmament, which are terrified by a state of war which is either open or latent and which has become their daily lot. I wish to make myself clear: it is not my intention to assimilate conflicts which are different in their nature nor to claim to solve in one fell swoop, through some magic formula, all the problems which are facing. A global approach would be unrealistic and therefore dangerous as it would offer a pretext to those who prefer not to act.

Our own approach implies dialogue, a direct dialogue between the parties concerned, an agreement with the neighboring states or those who are close by, and finally the indispensable international guarantee which you represent. At the end of the road, one finds oneself with the idea of an international conference which would guarantee the implementation of the agreement and act as the catalyst of any successful negotiation.

And even looking beyond, one can envisage a fourth phase which would deal with a mutually agreed reduction of armaments in the region, with the beginning of a cooperation which, from Iran to Morocco, from the Middle East to the Atlantic Ocean, would open the way to stability and prosperity in a region which, because of its history, its culture, its immemorial contribution to humanity, it destined to exert the influence which rightly belongs to it in the affairs of the world. But let us revert to ourselves, if we may.

For our part, we also have the obligation to respond to the questions which are being put from all sides; so many resolutions adopted by the Security Council which have never been applied. The reason for this state of affairs was due- at least I would like to think so- to the mutual neutralizing effect resulting from the antagonism between East and West and which has left the Near and Middle East in a warlike situation which is both ruinous and desperate. It is not without reason that this has caused some in the Arab world to question the sudden swiftness shown by the United Nations where Iraq is concerned. And it is true that there is in this failing a regrettable reference which affects the fair and just authority of our recent decisions. Truly, on this occasion which brings us together, I find it impossible not to say this loud and clear: the law must apply equally to all, both in regard to its principles and to its consequences.



**SAUDI FOREIGN MINISTER PRINCE SAUD AL-FAISAL, STATEMENT TO THE
GENERAL DEBATE AT THE 45TH SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
NEW YORK, 2 OCTOBER 1990 [EXCERPTS]**

In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

[...]

Mr. President:

Here we stand today on the threshold of an overwhelming danger. Here is the situation teetering between the drums of war and the bells of peace. I cannot, coming to you from the heart of the Arab land, the cradle of Islam, the seat of the Two Holy Mosques, and the abode of the Messenger of God, but set out by saying "Peace be upon you", the call for peace and friendship which is exchanged by every Arab and Muslim when they meet.

How much we would wish that the march of peace, which accompanied the preceding session of the General Assembly, would have continued to proceed. Since the meeting here last year, glimpses of hope appeared and the features of a new international order emerged, whose pillar is cooperation between countries and whose foundation is understanding between peoples. The intifadah of the steadfast Palestinian people in the occupied territories was illuminating the road towards the hoped-for solution. It captivated the feelings of peoples and captured their consciousness. The Iraq-Iran war came to an end, we began to look forward to a new epoch of peace and concord in the Gulf region. Namibia won its independence. The trend began toward the elimination of apartheid in South Africa, and international conflicts began to move on the path of resolution. We carried the banner of establishing cooperation in the region, which is vibrant with suffering and hope so that states enjoy stability and peoples live in prosperity, but the catastrophe took us by surprise. And events that were never thought to be possible blew over the region. [...]

We cannot accept the adventure of the Iraqi regime to veil the glow of the principal Arab cause, the Palestinian cause. It pains us that attention is being diverted from the intifadah of the heroic Palestinian people, the steps to search for a just solution are retreating and the dangers of Jewish immigration to the occupied territories are passing without outcry or protest. It pains us more than the Iraqi regime, which claims a monopoly over the salvation of Palestine, is following the same Israeli method of occupying the land, dispersing the people and refusing withdrawal. Rather, it offers Israel an international justification to consecrate occupation and to empty the homeland from its people and replace them with immigrants. Thus, it is for Palestine that Iraq should withdraw from Kuwait and adhere to international legitimacy so that we can mobilize international legality to realize for the people of Palestine what will be realized for the people of Kuwait. [...]

In looking forward towards the future, we turn to our brothers in the occupied Palestinian territory, and to the dispersed Palestinian people who are scattered all over the world: and say, your cause is our cause. Let us rise in our hearts and by deeds above the Arab disputes and divisions, for they are the focal place and the axis of gravitation. We say to them - stand as a solid barrier against those who attempt to exploit your feelings or to feed on your wrath in order to harm the Arab body, your body. We say to them - support legitimacy, for it is the basis of your cause, the cause of all Arabs, and the base which guarantees your legitimate rights in liberating the land and establishing the state. We say to them today, and more than any other day - we should preserve firm solidarity.

We in the Arab world, in Saudi Arabia - our commitment towards the people of Palestine was not born today or yesterday. It was born with the first heartbeat of the cause. Our solidarity with these people will continue today, and tomorrow, until victory is achieved, for Jerusalem is the first of our two kiblah, and the Al-Aqsa Mosque is the third after the Two Holy Mosques. [...]



**UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 672 REGARDING THE EVENTS
ON HARAM ASH-SHARIF, NEW YORK, 12 OCTOBER 1990**

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980), Reaffirming that a just and lasting solution to the Arab Israeli conflict must be based on its resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) through an active negotiating process which takes into account the right to security for all states in the region, including Israel, as well as the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people.

Taking into consideration the statement of the Secretary-General relative to the purpose of the mission he is sending to the region and conveyed to the council by the president on 12 October 1990;

1. *Expresses* alarm at the violence which took place on 8 October at the Al-Haram al-Sharif and other Holy Places of Jerusalem resulting in over 20 Palestinian deaths and in the injury of more than 150 people, including Palestinian civilians and innocent worshippers;
2. *Condemns* especially the acts of violence committed by the Israeli security forces resulting in injuries and loss of human life;
3. *Calls upon* Israel, the occupying power, to abide scrupulously by its legal obligations and responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention, which is applicable to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967;
4. *Requests*, in connection with the decision of the Secretary-General to send a mission to the region, which the council welcomes, that he submit a report to it before the end of October 1990 containing his findings and conclusions and that he use as appropriate all of the resources of the United Nations in the region in carrying out the mission.

Following is an accompanying statement from Security Council President David Hannay of Britain:

In the informal consultations of members of the council which led up to the consideration of this draft resolution, the Secretary-General explained that the purpose of the mission which he would be sending to the region would be to look into the circumstances surrounding the recent tragic events in Jerusalem and other similar developments in the occupied territories, and to submit by the 24 October 1990 a report containing findings and recommendations to the council on ways and means for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation. He recalled, however, that under the Fourth Geneva Convention, the principle responsibility for ensuring the protection of the Palestinians rested with the occupying power, namely Israel.



UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 673, NEW YORK, 24 OCTOBER 1990

The Security Council,

Reaffirming the obligations of Member States under the United Nations Charter,

Reaffirming also its resolution 672 (1990),

Having been briefed by the Secretary-General on 19 October 1990,

Expressing alarm at the rejection of Security Council resolution 672 (1990) by the Israeli Government, and its refusal to accept the mission of the Secretary-General,

Taking into consideration the statement of the Secretary-General relative to the purpose of the mission he is sending to the region and conveyed to the Council by the President on 12 October 1990,

Gravely concerned at the continued deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories,

1. *Deplores* the refusal of the Israeli Government to receive the mission of the Secretary-General to the region;
2. *Urges* the Israeli Government to reconsider its decision and insists that it comply fully with resolution 672 (1990) and to permit the mission of the Secretary-General to proceed in keeping with its purpose;
3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to the Council the report requested in resolution 672 (1990);
4. *Affirms* its determination to give full and expeditious consideration to the report.



SUMMARY OF THE REPORT OF THE ISRAELI COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE EVENTS ON HARAM AL-SHARIF ON 8 OCTOBER 1990, 26 OCTOBER 1990

[Unsurprisingly, the report found that the Israel police acted with prudence once it came under attack and there was fear for the safety of policemen.]

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. The commission expresses its deep sorrow over the loss of life on the Temple Mount, and conveys its sorrow to the families who lost loved ones. The commission also expresses its sorrow over the injuries caused to civilians and police at the Western Wall plaza and its vicinity and wishes a full recovery to the injured.
2. The commission recommends that its conclusions be published in their entirety for the public and, therefore, it has omitted from the report the evidence and the sources of its decisions and conclusions.
3. Despite its being a "commission of investigation" and not a "commission of inquiry," the commission was authorized by the Minister of Justice to "receive statements in writing and to warn the witnesses to tell the truth..." The commission also operated according to section 14 of the Inquiry Commission Law of 5729 [1968] and has decided that no testimony and material received will serve as evidence in a legal proceeding, except for a criminal trial.
4. The commission heard 124 witnesses, among them: the Minister of Police, the Mayor of Jerusalem, the Inspector-General of Police, the head of the General Security Services, police and Border Police commanders, and also police officers and Border policemen. The commission also heard a number of detainees, among them Faisal Hussaini and Sheikh Mohammad Said al-Jamal a-Rifai.
5. The commission visited Makassed Hospital and heard reports from doctors and the wounded, and also visited the Temple Mount and its vicinity a number of times.
6. The commission was not requested to draw personal conclusions in the realm of civil, criminal or disciplinary responsibility of any of those involved in the events - and it is the opinion of the commission that it has no authority to do so under the law. The objective of the commission was to examine that which was demanded of it in its letter of appointment - it is not within the purview of the commission of investigation to deal with or to recommend the drawing of personal conclusions by any one of those involved in the events. The conclusions of the commission do not make reference to the actions or the malfeasance of a given individual. All resultant decisions and inferences - if any are made at all - to the commission's conclusions with respect to individuals involved in the Temple Mount events of October 8, 1990 will be determined by the competent authorities.
7. The commission received written material from various sources including BIselem, but the witnesses whose statements were attached to the Btselem report refused to appear for questioning before the commission. Appeals by the commission to the High Moslem Council and the Wakf administration to meet with the commission were refused.
8. The opinion of a medical expert, submitted to the commission, regarding seven of the wounded admitted to Makassed Hospital in Jerusalem, determined that not a single one of them was struck from behind.
9. The commission calls on the National Insurance Institute to clarify, as soon as possible, who among the wounded - who did not take an active part in the disturbances to public order on the Temple Mount - is eligible for benefits under the Victims of Hostile Action (Pensions) Law - 5730 [1970].

CHAPTER 2: CONCLUSIONS AND INFERENCES

1. The Status of the Temple Mount: It is the opinion of the commission that a special ministerial committee for Temple Mount affairs be established in cooperation with the mayor of Jerusalem. This committee should formulate policy, direct preparations for various situations, decide on and supervise the coordination between the parties involved in safeguarding Temple Mount and the Western Wall. This committee will consult religious leaders as is required by law.
2. Causes of the Incident:
 - A. The Moslem gathering on the Temple Mount exceeded the intended purpose of the site and the norms which a holy site call for. The members of the Wakf knew that the High Court had refused the Temple Mount Faithful petition to lay the cornerstone of the Third Temple, and

did not respond to requests by Israel Police officers on the morning of the incident to calm the crowd. This, even after the police informed the Wakf that they would also prevent the Temple Mount Faithful, and anyone else, from visiting the area, though such visits are allowed by law.

- B. The incident itself began when, suddenly, violent and threatening calls were sounded over the loudspeakers "Allahu Akbar" [God is Great], "Ahad" [Holy War], "Itbah Al-Yahud" [Slaughter the Jews]). Immediately afterwards, enormous amounts of rocks, construction materials and metal objects were thrown at Israeli policemen who were present at the site. Many in the incited, rioting mob threw stones and metal objects from a very short range, and some even wielded knives. The actions of the rioters, and certainly the inciters, constituted a threat to the lives of the police, the thousands of worshippers at the Western Wall and to themselves. This was a serious criminal offense committed by masses who were incited by preachers over loudspeakers, and this is what led to the tragic chain of events.
 - C. It is the opinion of the commission that any criminal acts that may have been carried out during the course of the events should continue to be investigated. It is the opinion of the commission that there is room for suspicion that a considerable percentage of the people gathered on the Temple Mount and their leaders were involved in the disturbing of public order, causing harm to police and worshippers and endangering their lives.
3. Use of Force by the Police:
- A. The commission has reached the conclusion that the lives of the police on the Temple Mount were endangered, and that they feared for their lives, and for the lives of thousands of worshippers who were at the Western Wall.
The firing of tear gas and rubber bullets by the police, which followed the massive barrage of stones and other objects, was intended to deter the rioters and to repel them from the vicinity of the Western Wall. In light of the injuries to many of them, the police were forced to retreat from the Temple Mount through Moghrabi Gate, and the barrage continued over the Western Wall, the Moghrabi Gate and the Ophel road.
 - B. The breaking into the Temple Mount came as a result of the continuation of the rioting and the barrage of stones, and of the fear for the lives of two police officers who remained caught in the Temple Mount police post. There was also concern that the weapons and ammunition in the station would fall into the hands of the rioters. Due to a lack of communication, the police commanders did not know that the policemen trapped in the station had succeeded in escaping.
 - C. The breaking [into the Temple Mount] was accompanied by the use of tear gas grenades and live ammunition as the masses rained rocks and other materials on the police, which endangered their lives. The continuation of this onslaught against the police, in which masked assailants participated, required the police to attack with live ammunition. When the masses entered the mosques, the order was given to "cease fire."
 - D. The commission is of the opinion that following the breaking into the Moghrabi Gate, which was necessary to save the lives of the trapped officers and to prevent ammunition from falling into the hands of the rioters, the storming masses continued to attack the police with rocks and other dangerous instruments. The police used gas and rubber bullets and, in life-threatening instances, also used live ammunition at their attackers.
 - E. The commission recommends that a separate, detailed investigation by an independent police officer appointed by the commander of the Border Police be conducted into the initiative taken by one of the Border Police platoon commanders at the Lions' Gate, without receiving a specific order. The conclusions of the investigation should be submitted to the minister of police and the police inspector-general.
 - F. An ambulance was hit by gunfire in the windshield and side, with a nurse and the driver sustaining injuries. It was made clear to the commission that the police did not see the ambulance which stood between the pillars of the entrance to al-Aksa mosque. The recommendations to the National Insurance Institute given in Chapter I refers to these injuries.
 - G. There were no gas grenades or any other items thrown from the helicopter that flew over the Temple Mount, nor were any shots fired from it at the crowd.
4. The Functioning of the Senior Command Level of the Israel Police: The Commission criticizes the functioning of the senior command level of the police:

- A. The police had advance information on the possibility of rioting. The method of thinking and attitudes of the Commander of the Southern District and of the Commander of the Jerusalem Area were routine and even mistaken. There was no consideration of the special sensitivity of the Temple Mount and there was no advance preparation for a wide variety of possible situations. The supervision concerned itself with one element only, "the laying of a cornerstone for the Third Temple," and, when that was canceled, the measures they took were routine.
 - B. District and regional commanders did not take into account the accumulated influence of the intifada, the environment created by terrorist elements and their attitude toward the Gulf crisis, and calls for incitement by the muezzin and the preachers on the Temple Mount on the Friday before the events. These phenomena required the presence of initiative and suspicion that did not exist in this case. The police, further, did not have files on preparations for possible contingencies and, therefore, they were not tested.
 - C. In the opinion of the commission, the situation that was created on the Temple Mount required the presence of commanders, of the most senior levels, on the mount. The situation also required the presence of district and regional commanders and, as the situation intensified, there was room for the summoning of the inspector-general. Activating an emergency situation for the security of the Temple Mount, setting up a forward command post, concentration of forces and the establishment of positions, could have deterred the frenzied masses from rioting. Following other events, the command posts were not staffed by senior commanders, the communications between different points on the mount did not function properly and neither the inspector-general nor the minister of police were briefed early on regarding developments of the situation.
 - D. There are no sharp or uniform definitions regarding responsibility for command on the mount. The commission is of the opinion that the uniformity of command must be kept and that all the forces working in the Old City must report to the Old City command.
 - E. The commander of the Border Police company that worked independently in the area felt it necessary to spread out the Border Police force above the Western Wall - this step was in accordance with the orders that he received.
 - F. In the opinion of the commission
 - 1) An elite force must be permanently allotted to the Temple Mount and its vicinity to work under uniform supervision with defined jurisdiction and responsibilities.
 - 2) A headquarters for incidents on the Temple Mount should be established that will report on events on the mount and will be present at the time of the events.
 - 3) Contingency plans must be prepared that will deal with possible situations and will formulate operative frameworks for dealing with any situation.
 - 4) Reinforcements should be placed in close and immediate proximity and would be assigned to bolster the force during incidents.
 - 5) The commission recommends that the commander of the Old City police be responsible for the preparation of forces and their testing, in order to ensure that they are prepared for action.
 - G. Criticism of the way in which the area police functioned does not diminish the courage of the area commander, his officers and policemen in the course of subduing the rioters.
5. Intelligence:
- A. Difficulties exist in the gathering of information, its analysis, in issuing warnings and in assisting in preventing disruptions of public order. The commission is of the opinion that the division of tasks between the GSS and the police is basically correct and should not be changed.
 - B. The GSS has taken upon itself the gathering of information on the organization of disruption of order and the police have taken upon themselves the gathering of information in the street, with regard to developments that are characterized as spontaneous.
 - C. In the incident on the Temple Mount, there was no lack of advance information: there were general warnings by the GSS, and, above all, there was other clear information - the calls of the preachers, leaflets and the multiplicity of groups of masked assailants that called for gathering on the Temple Mount.
 - D. The mistake of the inspector-general, the commander of the southern district and the commander of the Jerusalem region was in the evaluation of the information and in focusing on the assumption that, if the "laying of the cornerstone" could be prevented, everything would settle down peacefully - as in the past.

A correct reading of the situation, given the change in circumstances and conditions, would have rendered possible the preventive deployment and preventive action that the situation demanded. Given this mistake, the police did not deploy its forces along the lines of past formats; a forward command post was not set up as it should have been and a deterrent force was not concentrated to intervene as would be normal. This basic evaluation did not change, even when there was precise information on the number of people on the Temple Mount.

- E. The GSS preparations were different from those of the police. The GSS made it clear that an unexpected accelerating factor would be liable to cause an explosion during a gathering under the circumstances which existed on the Temple Mount. The commission did not find basis for the existence of a written warning by the GSS to the police with the same clarity as was presented by the GSS before the commission.
 - F. 1) The division of tasks must be maintained between intelligence missions and any intelligence regarding the Temple Mount must be distributed to the police minister and the ministerial committee which should be established. This committee would discuss intelligence preparations if any exist.
2) The police must be allocated the tools and means to establish a "street intelligence" gathering network and to establish units which would operate within police framework and as part of district headquarters.
6. Authority not Implemented and Deterrent Actions not Taken:
- A. The fourth intermediate day of Succot, October 8, 1990, was loaded with events and the police allocated forces and commanders to each of them. The commission proposes to view events on the Temple Mount over a number of days.
 - B. The Temple Mount Faithful - the actions of this small group deviated from the accepted according to law but the matter cannot be solely dealt with from a legal and formal aspect. Moslems view this group as a provocative and threatening element which intends to drive them from the Temple Mount. The Moslem leadership took advantage of the presence of this group in order to incite those gathered on the Temple Mount. The police should have allowed this group presence in the area only on a different day during the festival.
The police saw themselves bound by the High Court decision. Nevertheless, the commission has ascertained that there was no such obligation and it was possible to transfer the event to another day. In the commission's opinion the police should consider limiting events on the Temple Mount, the Western Wall and in Old City concourses which have a high probability of resulting in severe disturbances.
 - C. The Prevention of Gatherings on the Temple Mount which are Liable to Result in Disturbances: Those who gathered on the Temple Mount offended the sanctity of the site and they apparently violated the law. From the start, they were called to a protest which is prohibited on the Temple Mount, the security of which lies with the State of Israel.
In the commission's opinion the police had the authority to close the Temple Mount gates and to prevent entry and assembly whose intent was unrest.
The police also could have prevented the entry of suspicious elements - a step which has proved itself in the past.
During the events the police could also have taken measures which could have prevented a deterioration - such as disconnecting the loudspeaker system which incited the mob. These steps were not taken mainly because of the assumption that order would return if the Temple Mount Faithful were not allowed to enter the mount. The police tried unsuccessfully to shoot out the loudspeakers. In the commission's opinion, this technical problem could have been solved in the past and everything must be done to prevent future use of the loudspeakers for incitement.
Had the police acted in such a manner, criticism would likely have been limited to the Moslem public and other hostile elements. It is preferable to contend with such criticism than to reach the sad results of events on the Temple Mount, despite the fact that the blame and responsibility lie with the thousands of rioters who took advantage of the site in order to carry out disturbances.
 - D. Ban on Demonstrations in the Area of the Old City: The national interest of the State of Israel and the special situation in the Old City require reevaluation of what can or cannot be permitted in respect to assemblies and demonstrations which may lead to disturbances.

The commission recommends preventing gatherings for the purpose of demonstrations on the Temple Mount, the Western Wall, and throughout the Old City. The freedom of worship of all religions in their holy places should be preserved. Only official State events may be permitted in the vicinity of the Western Wall.

- E. Use of Technological Means: The commission justifies the use of live ammunition on the Temple Mount under the prevailing conditions. It is also clear that it is the policy of the police to use live ammunition only as a last resort, and only if lives are endangered. It is necessary to develop technological means whose efficiency would be greater than that of gas and rubber bullets. The commission emphasizes the immediate need to develop alternatives to the use of live ammunition. The commission recommends the immediate establishment of a technodefense crew that will evaluate possibilities for solving the problem of protecting the Temple Mount and the Western Wall. The ministerial committee should reach decisions on this as soon as possible.
- F. Direction, Follow-Up and Supervision by the Minister of Police: The Minister of Police carries ministerial responsibility for the actions of the police. The commission is aware of existing law, and of the special position and responsibilities of the police inspector-general. It accepts that there is no place for the interference of the Minister of Police in the process of a criminal investigation, but in the matter of keeping order the active involvement of the minister is necessary if he is to carry out his ministerial responsibility. The current structure of the police ministry does not allow for this, and it is therefore urgent that a solution be found. It is the opinion of the commission that there is a need to develop special staff operations which will serve the minister, enabling him to formulate policy, examine alternatives and maintain supervision. The Minister of Police must be involved in maintaining public order, while paying special attention to the Old City and the holy sites.

CHAPTER 3: THE TEMPLE MOUNT FROM A LEGAL, HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Legal Situation

The Temple Mount lies within the sovereign jurisdiction of the State of Israel and, therefore, it is subject to all the laws of the State. Following the Six Day War, Israeli sovereignty was extended to the eastern part of Jerusalem, including the Old City, in which the Temple Mount is situated. The extension of sovereignty was enacted in a Knesset law - the Amendment of the Law and Administrative Ordinance (5748/1948). Furthermore, in the Protection of the Holy Places Law (5767/1967), the freedom of access to the holy places, for all religions, is guaranteed. Paragraph I of this law, because of its importance, also appears in the Basic Law: Jerusalem - Capital of Israel, that was passed in 1980.

The Jews and the Temple Mount

The Temple Mount has been considered holy by Israel since the time of King David. Even when the people had been uprooted from the land, its interest in the holy site was maintained. After the Jordanian conquest, in 1948, the Jordanian government did not allow free access to the site for Jews, even though it had been guaranteed in the ceasefire agreement between Israel and Jordan in 1948. Observant Jews are prohibited by orthodox religious law and the rulings of the chief rabbis, from entering the Temple Mount, and their prayers are recited at the Western Wall.

Non-observant Jews enter the Temple Mount as visitors only. Freedom of access to the Temple Mount is anchored in the laws of the State and in the judgments of the High Court of Justice.

The Moslems and the Temple Mount

Since the Arab conquest of Jerusalem in 638, the Temple Mount has been a Moslem religious center. The High Court of Justice recognized the Temple Mount as a holy place for Moslems and it functions as a center for Moslem prayer. Given the exceptional sensitivity surrounding this holy place, former Prime Minister Levi Eshkol said, as early as June 27, 1967, to the heads of all religions that "...the holy places in Jerusalem are open to all religions. Everyone is welcome to visit and pray at the holy places, according to his religion and without discrimination..."

In accordance with this principle, the internal administration of matters relating to the Temple Mount, including the mosques thereon, has been given to the authority of the Moslem Wakf.

The Responsibility for the Security of the Temple Mount

The responsibility for the security of the Temple Mount has been placed on the civil authorities, whether during the days of the British Mandate or during the time of Jordanian rule. That is to say, the maintaining of public order is a State matter. The government of Israel, which holds sovereign jurisdiction over the Temple Mount, is, therefore, responsible for security on the site. Even Wakf authorities have not seen themselves as responsible for security matters.

In the report by an Arab "commission of investigation" - signed by Anwar al-Khatib, Anwar Nuseibeh and Baid Alla al-Adin - which was published following the fire at al-Aksa mosque in 1969, it was said, among other things, that "the occupation authorities, being as they are, cannot escape their security responsibilities. The guardians of the Moslem shrines have no security jurisdiction or function..."

The Application of Criminal Law at the Holy Places

The High Court of Justice (HCJ 267/68) determined that criminal law, in its entirety, applies to the "holy places," but the State authorities have acted with caution in all matters concerning the enforcement of the law on the Temple Mount, owing to the sensitivity of the place and to a desire to prevent any outbursts of a religious nature.

Freedom of Religion - the Adjudicative Aspect

Freedom of religion for Jews on the Temple Mount, as opposed to freedom of access, has been dealt with in many judgments of the Supreme Court. In these judgments, the police decision to refuse permission to Jews who wish to pray on the Temple Mount was examined. The majority of appeals against such decisions have been rejected by the Court, and, in most cases, an opinion has been expressed that the Temple Mount matter must be approached with great sensitivity, preferably to "...the hard-line and non-flexible approach of the law..." (see HCJ 222/86).

CHAPTER 4: REVIEW OF ORDERS AND ISRAEL POLICE PREPARATIONS

General

At the beginning of 1990, an operational plan was formulated which dealt with police preparations in the Jerusalem District, and which was termed "First Thought." The main points of the plan determined that responsibility for the above district would be held by the Border Police headquarters, Jerusalem, which would be subordinate to the Jerusalem District [police] command and that the new headquarters would be granted the possibility and authority to operate on independent initiative.

The Border Police "C" company was given responsibility for the area within the walls of the Old City (district D). It was clearly stated that disturbances and incitement were possible on the Temple Mount within this district. [Police] preparations brought into account the need to reinforce and increase forces under special circumstances. The "priestly benediction" and activities of the Temple Mount Faithful were cited among such circumstances.

Police Orders Regarding Security on the Temple Mount

Jerusalem District - In July 1983, the Jerusalem District published security orders and regulations regarding the Temple Mount. The orders include a description of the role attributed the commander of the Temple Mount [police] and standing orders to its policemen. In addition, the orders establish regulations regarding the activation of the Border Police force stations on alert at the Mahkameh point, for reinforcement during incidents at the Temple Mount.

On 1.8.90, the Temple Mount unit was made subordinate to the police station in the Old City.

On 17.7.84 national [police] headquarters published "standing orders" - security and regulations on the Temple Mount. No detailed order given by the Southern District or the Jerusalem District was brought to the commission's attention, and the order given in July 1983 will be updated.

Border Police - in June 1989, a security order was issued to the Border Police "C" company. The order established that responsibility for maintaining order and security on the Temple Mount, as well

as the safeguarding of approach roads for visitors and the prevention of disturbances on the Temple Mount, lay with the Border Police unit.

Israel Police Order Issued Before 8.10.90

National Headquarters - On 21.8.90, the operations division of national headquarters issued "Operational Orders -Holidays 1990," intended to ensure public order and especially to ensure the safety of worshippers at various sites. The intelligence evaluation submitted with the orders determined that Jewish holidays constitute preferred dates for attacks, and stated clearly the sensitivity in East Jerusalem and on the Temple Mount as well as -the probability of attack.

Southern District Headquarters - On 29.8.90, headquarters issued operational orders - "Southern District preparations for the New Year and Succot holidays 1990." The operational orders do not relate specifically to the Temple Mount and Western Wall area, apart from reference to the priestly benediction as a central event. Jerusalem District Headquarters - In August 1990, headquarters issued Jerusalem headquarters preparation orders for the 1990 holidays. The orders emphasized holyday sites, but neither the Temple Mount nor the Western Wall were cited as special targets at which security had to be increased.

A number of appendices were added to the orders. Appendix 9 dealt with the Old City police station, Appendix 13 with events due to take place over the holydays; citing the priestly benediction and Temple Mount Faithful events; Appendix 21 included orders regarding the priestly benediction events and imposed operational responsibility on the Border Patrol, Jerusalem; Appendix 22 related to the Temple Mount Faithful and detailed the events which they would be allowed to carry out in order to prevent "disturbances of the peace in the area."

Jerusalem District Border Police - On 16.9.90, preparation orders for the 1990 holydays were issued. It was clearly stated that the company would increase its forces at the Western Wall and prepare reinforcements above the Western Wall. In Appendix 6 to the order, it was stated, inter alia, that a special force, to be stationed on the Temple Mount above the Western Wall, would be added on the eve of the Succot holiday and on the day of the priestly benediction.

Preliminary Information and Discussions Held Before the Events

Discussions at the Police and Security Service Level:

On 24.8.90 information regarding a possible conflagration concerning the Temple Mount was brought to the attention of the relevant police officials. At the end of September, the security situation expected over the holydays was discussed with the head of police intelligence within a forum which was convened by the committee for the security of Jerusalem, and with the inspector-general at a working meeting between the Jerusalem district commander and with the [person] responsible for the city's security.

The prime minister's statements - On 30.9.90, at the end of the cabinet meeting in which the police minister and inspector-general gave briefings on the issue, the prime minister concluded: "...Security in Jerusalem is of the utmost importance and the police, at the time, received special orders to ensure that Jerusalem's security would not be violated... we are witness to too many disturbances and attacks in Jerusalem. This situation must be halted."

The Appeal of the Temple Mount Faithful to the High Court

On 1.10.90, the appeal directing the police to allow the Temple cornerstone laying ceremony to be carried out adjacent to the Dung Gate and the building of a succa next to the Moghrabi Gate was discussed. A declaration made by an officer from the Jerusalem district operations division was attached to the notice of objection to the petition, filed on behalf of the state attorney, which stated that the police had intelligence information about expected disturbances on the Temple Mount as a result of the appellants' intentions, and that building a succa adjacent to the Moghrabi Gate would result in stone-throwing, which could unintentionally harm worshippers at the Western Wall Plaza.

The appeal was rejected and this was given widespread coverage in Arabic newspapers published in East Jerusalem. In addition to this coverage, conclusions of the discussion were submitted on 3.10.90 to the Wakf administration and to al-Aksa mosque administration.

Preparations Regarding the Temple Mount Before 8.10.90

Calls during Friday prayers:

Despite press coverage and the announcements communicated to the Wakf administration, the muezzin, after Friday prayers (5.10.90), called on youths to arrive at the Temple Mount on Monday (8.10.90) in order to bodily prevent Jews from laying the cornerstone on the Temple Mount. Following the muezzin's appeal, speeches were made, repeating the appeals.

Intelligence sources and a Hamas leaflet informed, of expected disturbances on October 5, 6, 7-11. On October 7, masked assailants called on the residents of Abu Tor to arrive the following day at the Temple Mount in response to the intentions of Jews to arrive at the site.

Discussion and Publications

On October 5, a discussion regarding security preparations in Jerusalem was held in the police minister's office. On October 7, the minister briefed the cabinet. On the morning of the day of the events, the afternoon newspapers published reports about the reinforcement of forces and news preparations in Jerusalem resulting from the Moslem religious leaders' calls.

CHAPTER 5: DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS ON THE TEMPLE MOUNT ON 8.10.90

This chapter describes as accurately as possible the chain of events on the Temple Mount. The description is based on testimony (gathered under sworn statement and under warning) from security personnel who were present on the Temple Mount at the time of the events. The testimony was investigated and verified through various means -whether by video, written declarations or additional information gathered by the security services and the public. Some of the detainees were also investigated, as well as those injured. All facts and times were cross-checked.

The chain of events began at 3:30 a.m., when Moslem worshippers entered the Temple Mount for dawn prayers, and ended at 1:30 p.m. In this summary, we only will make mention of a number of main events.

At 8:30 a.m., when a few hundred youths already were present on the Temple Mount, a "calming discussion" was held between the commander of police on the Temple Mount and Wakf dignitaries. The police commander announced that no one [i.e. no non-Moslems] would enter the Temple Mount on that day. It was emphasized that this so included the Temple Mount Faithful.

At 8:40, a gathering of about 2,000 people was reported and a warning about disturbances was given. A Border Patrol officer requested response.

At 9:00 a reinforcement force of Border Police was deployed above the Western Wall.

Between 9:15 and 9:30 Wakf dignitaries were requested to calm the atmosphere.

Between 9:40 and 9:50 the "priestly benediction" was held at the Western Wall, with the participation of between 20,000 and 30,000 people. At the conclusion of the prayers, they began leaving the site.

At 9:50, approximately 20 members of the Temple Mount Faithful arrived at the Western Wall Plaza and at 10:00 they departed, accompanied by police, for the Pool of Shiloah. At this time, sermons and speeches began to be heard on the Temple Mount, which included incitement against Jews. Wakf members were warned that wild incitement could lead to disturbances and were requested to calm the atmosphere. At this time, youths began gathering stones from buildings being renovated on the Temple Mount.

At 10:45, approximately 2,000-3,000 people stormed toward 44 Border Patrol policemen who were standing above the Western Wall. Stones and pieces of iron were thrown at them and in the direction of the Western Wall. An order was given to shoot tear gas and rubber bullets, but the storming was not halted. Border Police policemen, some of whom were injured, retreated to beyond the Moghrabi Gate and toward the Mahkameh. The evacuation of worshippers from the Western Wall Plaza was begun immediately.

At 10:55 hundreds of youths charged the police station on the Temple Mount, in which two policemen who were shouting for help were trapped. Contact with them was broken and the two policemen, who managed to escape, did not succeed in relaying word of their escape. Weapons and ammunition were left in the police station. While worshippers and Border Policemen were being evacuated, no live fire was directed at the rioters.

At 11:05, policemen began breaking through to the Temple Mount via the Moghrabi Gate. The policemen met a barrage of stones and iron, and gas canisters which they shot were thrown back at them. The incited mob prevented the policemen from progressing toward the police post. Masked assailants stormed the policemen and, since they were not halted by rubber bullets, live ammunition was fired, first in the air, and subsequently toward the rioters.

At about 11:00, the first ambulances arrived at the Temple Mount and parked at the entrance to al-Aksa mosque, in an area in which tear gas and rubber bullets and subsequently live ammunition were being fired. As a result of the shooting, the ambulance driver and the accompanying nurse were injured.

At 11:15, a patrol helicopter was called in to the Temple Mount area. Throughout the incident no shooting took place from the helicopter, and it served for follow-up and reconnaissance purposes only.

At 11:25, after the rioters retreated into the mosques, the "cease-fire" order was given.

At 11:30, disturbances began in the vicinity of Lions' Gate. Youths attacked policemen with stones and, because rubber bullets and gas were not effective, the policemen were compelled to use live ammunition. Border Policemen arrived at the vicinity of the Lions' Gate after hearing on two-way radios that severe riots and disturbances were taking place there.

Between 12:50 p.m. and 1:00 p.m. a team of Border Policemen were attacked by youths and masked assailants near Makassed Hospital. During the chase, a gas canister was released, and entered the hospital. The patrol commander apologized for this regrettable incident.

There were many injuries in this severe incident. Nineteen policemen were injured as well as nine Western Wall worshippers. According to Police statistics, 20 people were killed and 52 injured on the Temple Mount. Due to a lack of written record, those who arrived at hospitals and were released the same day were not included in the number of wounded. The fatalities and wounded were caused while the victims were on the Temple Mount. Nobody was wounded while in a mosque or building on the Temple Mount compound.

CHAPTER 6: ORGANIZATION, OPERATION AND SUPERVISION

Intelligence - Difficulties in the gathering of information create a division of tasks whereby the GSS gathers information regarding disturbances which are organized in advance, and spontaneous disturbances are dealt with by the police. Information concerning street gatherings which are conveyed quickly to the police facilitate police response. The commission is convinced that the present division of roles between the GSS and the police is correct and should not be changed.

Temple Mount Intelligence - The information on which the Jerusalem District based its evaluations regarding possible events on the Mount on October 8, was partly covert and partly overt: muezzin calls, leaflets, information about masked assailants who were in the neighborhood and covert information regarding concern over a confrontation with the Temple Mount Faithful.

Based on this information, the police estimated that if it notified the Wakf administration of the High Court decision endorsement of the police decision to prevent the Temple Mount Faithful from carrying out their plans - passions would calm down. This was done, and the Jerusalem District police estimated that its steps calmed passions and, therefore, did not deploy its regular contingent for events on the Temple Mount which are liable to result in disruptions of order. The GSS evaluation related to the commission on October 16 differed. According to this evaluation, an unexpected accelerating factor in a[n emotionally] charged crowd is sufficient to cause a confrontation with the police. No basis was found for this evaluation in material distributed by the GSS before October 8.

Police Preparations for Operations on the Temple Mount - A Border Police regiment is subordinate to the Jerusalem District. "C" Company, part of this regiment, is stationed in the Old City. A standby unit is also stationed at the Mahkameh. The Border Police company coordinates its operations with other police forces. The recently established Old City headquarters holds regional responsibility for all areas in the Old City.

On days when there are disturbances, the Jerusalem District takes command of all forces and establishes a forward command post. When a forward command post is established, no questions arise as to command of the forces. Ordinarily, the question of authority over the Border Police company in the Old City arises.

The division of command over policemen on the Temple Mount, between the commander of the Old City and the Border Police commander, resulted in faults in the containment of the unrest. "C" Company operated under the complete authority of the Border Police commander until the arrival of the Jerusalem District commander, who subsequently took command of all forces. The deployment of forces on the Temple Mount on October 8 was based on preparation orders of the Jerusalem District Southern Region, which were issued to Border Police headquarters. Border Police headquarters also issued an order pertaining to its company and which defined its missions.

Headquarters Alert - The special sensitivity of the site, and information available to the commanders, should have brought them to the site. The commanders were occupied with other events, but, in light of information available to them, they should have altered their priorities. The commission has investigated and found that the commander of "C" Company took the necessary decisions, based on preliminary orders issued him and an assessment of the field situation. Different preparations would have subjected the 20,000 worshippers to severe danger.

Lessons - Police Deployment on the Temple Mount - Thousands of worshippers concentrate on the Temple Mount and in the Western Wall Plaza on religious holidays. The mounting extremism among minority groups of Jews and Moslems obligates the adoption of appropriate security measures. The gathering of hundreds of Moslems within the Temple Mount boundaries constitutes a threat to worshippers at the Western Wall. Their storming above the Wall, even when this area is manned by policemen, does not prevent stoning in the direction of the Plaza. Their containment, in such a case, can be achieved only by the shooting of tear gas, rubber bullets and when no choice remains - live ammunition.

It is in the commission's opinion that an appropriate security apparatus must be based, first and foremost, upon control and supervision of entry into the Temple Mount.

Actions Taken by the Forces - Stage 1: The onslaught of more than 2,000 Moslems on Border Policemen, some of whom were wounded, who were compelled to use tear gas, shoot rubber bullets and retreat in alarm. At this stage, live fire was shot by only two commanders. At the same time, Border Policemen warned worshippers at the Western Wall to begin evacuation of the Plaza.

Stage 2: The district commander arrived at the Moghrabi Gate and took command. The duty officer at the Temple Mount police station calls for help, the station is attacked. The police force prepares to charge and the district commander allows the use of live ammunition, in accordance with police orders.

The charging police forces gathered in an unsupervised manner. During the charge there was an indiscriminate use of live ammunition. The rescue of the two policemen trapped inside the Temple Mount police station justified a quick operation and the use of all means. On other fronts, only those policemen whose lives were in danger were justified in using live ammunition. Gaining control of the line between the police station and Aksa mosque was essential, but it is doubtful whether clearing the area from there in the direction of the Lions' Gate was crucial under conditions which prevailed on the Mount.

Difficulties in Activating the Forces - The Jerusalem District headquarters and Border Police headquarters had no advance plans for gaining control of the Temple Mount area. It was not forecast that on normal days, a mob would gain control of the Temple Mount area or that police forces would have

to regain control of the area. These facts influenced the operation of the forces. Deployment of the Border Police forces above the Wall came as a surprise to the district commander and the district operations officer. It would have been preferable to ensure that the Gate of the Chains remain open through advance planning and early orders.

The many events that took place in the Jerusalem District resulted in the fact that the district commander and officers of his staff were not present at headquarters, and this severely impeded its operation. The absence of a commander is justified as long as headquarters serve as a center of control over forces in the field.

Important information was relayed to the headquarters during the day. Had there been an authoritative duty officer present, the situation would have been different. Such circumstances would have facilitated a reevaluation of forces, a suitable deterrent force would have prevented the mob from attacking the Border Policemen who were stationed above the Western Wall, and such extensive use of live fire would have been prevented.

There has to be an immediate implementation of the lessons of October 8; faults have to be rectified; and the function of [forces] in the Temple Mount area in times of emergency, as well as under regular conditions, has to be reevaluated.



UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 681 ON THE QUESTION OF THE DEPORTATION OF PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS, NEW YORK, 20 DECEMBER 1990

The Security Council,

Reaffirming the obligations of Member States under the United Nations Charter,

Reaffirming also the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war set forth in Security Council resolution 242 (1967),

Having received the report of the Secretary-General submitted in accordance with Security Council resolution 672 (1990) of 12 October 1990 on ways and means for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation and in particular taking note of paragraphs 20 to 26 thereof (S/21919),

Taking note of the interest of the Secretary-General to visit and send his envoy to pursue his initiative with the Israeli authorities, as indicated in paragraph 22 of the report of the Secretary-General (S/21919), and of their recent invitation extended to him,

Gravely concerned at the dangerous deterioration of the situation in all the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and at the violence and rising tension in Israel,

Taking into consideration the statement by the President of the Security Council on 20 December 1990 concerning the method and approach for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict;

Recalling its resolutions 607 (1988), of 5 January 1988, 608 (1988), of 14 January 1988, 636 (1989) of July 1989 and 641 (1989) of 30 August 1989, and alarmed by the decision of the Government of Israel to deport four Palestinians from the occupied territories in contravention of its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 1949,

1. *Expresses* its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report;
2. *Expresses* its grave concern over the rejection by Israel of Security Council resolutions 672 (1990) of 12 October 1990 and 673 (1990) of 24 October 1990;
3. *Deplores* the decision by the Government of Israel, the occupying Power, to resume deportations of Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories;
4. *Urges* the Government of Israel to accept *de jure* applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, to all the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, and to abide scrupulously by the provisions of the said Convention;

5. *Calls on* the high contracting parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 to ensure respect by Israel, the occupying Power, for its obligations under the Convention in accordance with article 1 thereof;
6. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross, to develop further the idea expressed in his report of convening a meeting of the high contracting parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention and to discuss possible measures that might be taken by them under the Convention and for this purpose to invite these parties to submit their views on how the idea could contribute to the goals of the Convention, as well as on other relevant matters, and to report thereon to the Council;
7. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to monitor and observe the situation regarding Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation, making new efforts in this regard on an urgent basis, and to utilize and designate or draw upon the United Nations and other personnel and resources present there, in the area and elsewhere, needed to accomplish this task and to keep the Security Council regularly informed;
8. *Requests* further the Secretary-General to submit a first progress report to the Security Council by the first week of March 1991 and every four months thereafter and decides to remain seized of the matter as necessary.



**AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ALOIS MOCK, REMARKS ON STEPS TO ACHIEVE
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, VIENNA, 18 FEBRUARY 1991 [EXCERPTS]**

[FM Mock proposed the following five-point plan to achieve peace in the Middle East:]

1. Establishing an Islamic-Western dialogue and examining the possibility of Iran's participation in peace plans in the region.
2. Convening a Middle East conference under the auspices of the United Nations to resolve problems and settle the Arab-Israeli conflict.
3. Convening a conference on security and cooperation in the Middle East, similar to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
4. Eliminating nuclear weapons, and conventional weapons, if possible, in the region.
5. Imposing some sort of control on arms exports, such as limiting arms sales to the region.



**US PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH, ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS,
WASHINGTON, DC, 6 MARCH 1991 [EXCERPTS]**

[Pres. Bush's speech has been repeatedly cited as the administration's principal policy statement on the post (Gulf) war order in the Middle East, particularly for the four 'future challenges' it outlines and its reference to the principle of territory for peace.]

[...] Tonight I come to this House to speak about the world – the world after war.

The recent challenge could not have been clearer. Saddam Hussein was the villain, Kuwait the victim. To the aid of this small country came nations from North America and Europe, from Asia and South America, from Africa and the Arab world, all united against aggression.

Our uncommon coalition must now work in common purpose to forge a future that should never again be held hostage to the darker side of human nature.

Tonight in Iraq, Saddam walks amidst ruin. His war machine is crushed. His ability to threaten mass destruction is itself destroyed. His people have been lied to, denied the truth. And when his defeated legions come home, all Iraqis will see and feel the havoc he has wrought. And this I promise you: for

all that Saddam has done to his own people, to the Kuwaitis, and to the entire world, Saddam and those around him are accountable.

All of us grieve for the victims of war, for the people of Kuwait and the suffering that scars the soul of that proud nation. We grieve for all our fallen soldiers and their families, for all the innocents caught up in this conflict. And, yes, we grieve for the people of Iraq, a people who have never been our enemy. My hope is that one day we will once again welcome them as friends into the community of nations.

Our commitment to peace in the Middle East does not end with the liberation of Kuwait. So tonight let me outline four key challenges to be met.

First, we must work together to create shared security arrangements in the region. Our friends and allies in the Middle East recognise that they will bear the bulk of the responsibility for regional security. But we want them to know that just as we stood with them to repel aggression, so now America stands ready to work with them to secure the peace.

This does not mean stationing US ground forces on the Arabian Peninsula, but it does mean American participation in joint exercises involving both air and ground forces. It means maintaining a capable US naval presence in the region, just as we have for over 40 years. Let it be clear: our vital national interests depend on a stable and secure Gulf.

Second, we must act to control the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the missiles used to deliver them. It would be tragic if the nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf were now, in the wake of war, to embark on a new arms race. Iraq requires special vigilance. Until Iraq convinces the world of its peaceful intentions – that its leaders will not use new revenues to re-arm and rebuild its menacing war machine – Iraq must not have access to the instruments of war.

And third, we must work to create new opportunities for peace and stability in the Middle East. On the night I announced Operation Desert Storm, I expressed my hope that out of the horrors of war might come new momentum for peace. We have learned in the modern age geography cannot guarantee security and security does not come from military power alone.

All of us know the depth of bitterness that has made the dispute between Israel and its neighbours so painful and intractable. Yet, in the conflict just concluded, Israel and many of the Arab states have for the first time found themselves confronting the same aggressor. By now, it should be plain to all parties that peacemaking in the Middle East requires compromise. At the same time, peace brings real benefits to everyone. We must do all that we can to close the gap between Israel and the Arab states – and between Israelis and Palestinians. The tactics of terror lead nowhere. There can be no substitute for diplomacy.

A comprehensive peace must be grounded in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. This principle must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition, and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights. Anything else would fail the twin tests of fairness and security. The time has come to put an end to Arab-Israeli conflict.

The war with Iraq is over. The quest for solutions to the problem in Lebanon, in the Arab-Israeli dispute, and in the Gulf must go forward with new vigour and determination. And I guarantee you: no one will work harder for a stable peace in the region than we will.

Fourth, we must foster economic development for the sake of peace and progress. The Persian Gulf and Middle East form a region rich in natural resources with a wealth of untapped human potential. Resources once squandered on military might must be redirected to more peaceful ends. We are already addressing the immediate economic consequences of Iraq's aggression. Now the challenge is to reach higher – to foster economic freedom and prosperity for all people of the region.

By meeting these four challenges, we can build a framework for peace. I've asked Secretary of State Baker to go to the Middle East to begin the process. He will go to listen, to probe, to offer suggestions, and to advance the search for peace and stability. I have also asked him to raise the plight of the hostages held in Lebanon. We have not forgotten them, and we will not forget them.

To all the challenges that confront this region of the world, there is no single solution, no solely American answer. But we can make a difference. America will work tirelessly as a catalyst for positive change.

But we cannot lead a new world abroad if, at home, it's politics as usual on American defense and diplomacy. It's time to turn away from the temptation to protect unneeded weapons systems and obsolete bases. It's time to put an end to micro-management of foreign and security assistance programs, micro-management that humiliates our friends and allies and hamstringing our diplomacy. It's time to rise above the parochial and the pork barrel, to do what is necessary, what's right and what will enable this nation to play the leadership role required of us.

The consequences of the conflict in the Gulf reach far beyond the confines of the Middle East. Twice before in this century, an entire world was convulsed by war. Twice this century, out of the horrors of war hope emerged for enduring peace. Twice before, those hopes proved to be a distant dream, beyond the grasp of man.

Until now, the world we've known has been a world divided – a world of barbed wire and concrete block, conflict and cold war.

Now, we can see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order. In the words of Winston Churchill, a "world order" in which "the principles of justice and fair play ... protect the weak against the strong ..." A world where the United Nations, freed from cold war stalemate, is poised to fulfil the historic vision of its founders. A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations.

The Gulf war put this new world to its first test, and, my fellow Americans, we passed that test.

For the sake of our principles, for the sake of the Kuwaiti people, we stood our ground. Because the world would not look the other way, Ambassador [Saud Nasir] al-Sabah, to-night, Kuwait is free.

Tonight as our troops begin to come home, let us recognise that the hard work of freedom still calls us forward. We've learned the hard lessons of history. The victory over Iraq was not waged as "a war to end all wars." Even the new world order cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace. But enduring peace must be our mission.



**PALESTINIAN MEMORANDUM TO US SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER,
JERUSALEM, 12 MARCH 1991**

[The PLO-approved memorandum was presented to Baker in the course of the first meeting ever held between Palestinians of the occupied territories and a US Sec. of State, which took place at the home of the US Consul General in Jerusalem Philip Wilcox. The Palestinian delegation was led by Faisal Husseini and included deposed Hebron Mayor Mustafa Natsheh, Gaza Red Crescent Society head Haidar Abdel Shafi, Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, Ramallah Friends School principal Khalil Mahshi, Nablus businessman Maher Masri, An-Najah University lecturer Saeb Ereikat, Gaza Bar Association President Freih Abu Meddain, Bir Zeit University lecturer Hanan Mikhail-Ashrawi, and Zahira Kamal, head of the Federation of Women's Action Committees.]

The Honourable US Secretary of State James Baker.
The US Consulate General, Jerusalem

In the aftermath of the Gulf war, neither regional nor global politics can afford procrastination or evasion. As Palestinians who have been made to endure prolonged occupation and dispossession, we are heartened by verbal commitments and statements of intent to solve the Palestine question on the basis of the principle of land for peace and the implementation of all pertinent UN resolutions.

From our experience, however, resolve and application hold the fate of our whole nation in sway. We maintain that in spite of the painful and traumatic experience of the Gulf war, the time has come for embarking on decisive and future-oriented action rather than indulging in recrimination and retrospection.

It has thus become imperative that the activation of the UN as the expression of the will of the international community be impartially maintained in the non-selective implementation of legality and the values of justice and moral politics.

If a new global vision is emerging, it must be solidly based on the objective will and consent of the international community and must protect the inviolable rights of peoples as enshrined in the UN Charter and all other international conventions and agreements.

Such a vision of justice, peace, and stability cannot admit the subjective criteria of power, wealth, and acquisition, strength of arms, natural resources, ethnic origins, religious affiliation, cultural perspectives, or national identity as factors in upholding rights and passing judgements.

Nor must such resolutions be held captive to the intransigence of the violator in relation to the victim or to the manipulation of the powerful to the weak. The will of the international community must be maintained as a firm and uniform reference for equitable arbitration not subject to selective alteration or deferment.

We, the Palestinians of the Intifada, the portion of the Palestinian nation who bear the yoke of occupation rather than exile and dispersion, on the strength of our commitment to this new vision affirm the following:

1. The PLO is our sole legitimate leadership and interlocutors, embodying the national identity and expressing the will of the Palestinian people everywhere. As such, it is empowered to represent us in all political negotiations and endeavors, having overwhelming support of its constituency. The Palestinian people alone have the right to choose their leadership and will not tolerate any attempt at interference or control in this vital issue.
2. We confirm our commitment to the Palestinian peace initiative and political program as articulated in the 19th PNC of November 1988, and maintain our resolve to pursue a just political settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict on that basis. Our objective remains to establish the independent Palestinian state on the national soil of Palestine, next to the state of Israel and within the framework of the two-state solution.
3. Our adherence to the international legitimacy remains unwavering, and we uphold the rule of international law in accepting and supporting all UN resolutions pertaining to the question of Palestine, and thus call for their immediate and full implementation.
4. The national rights of the Palestinian people must be recognized, safe-guarded, and upheld - foremost among which is our right to self-determination, freedom, and statehood.
5. No state must be singled out for preferential treatment by the international community or considered above the norms and laws that govern the behavior of or relations among nations. Thus Israel must not be allowed to continue preempting, rejecting, or violating UN resolutions vis-à-vis the Palestinians especially in the annexation of East Jerusalem, the establishment of settlements, and the confiscation of land and resources. Of particular relevance and urgency is the imperative necessity of applying the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 to protect the defenseless and civilian Palestinian population from the brutality of the occupation, particularly in its persistent violations of our most basic human rights and all forms of collective punishments such as house demolitions, closure of universities and schools, curfews, military sieges, and economic strangulation.
6. The *de facto* sovereignty which Israel illegally practices over occupied Palestine must cease immediately, and a system of protection for Palestinians and accountability for Israel must be established and applied within the mandate of the UN with the Security Council exercising its right of enforcement.
7. The peace process must be advanced with the momentum generated by the will of the international community, and not made subject to Israeli concurrence and rejection.

8. The most suitable mechanism for advancing the peace process is the international conference which is capable of producing concrete results. Any transitional steps or arrangements will have to be structured within a comprehensive, interconnected, and coherent plan with a specified time frame for implementation and leading to Palestinian statehood.
9. The peace process cannot be further undermined by Israel's policy of creating facts to alter the geopolitical, demographic, or social realities of our area. The political decapitation of the Palestinian people through the arrest and detention of our political activists and peace advocates must stop and the detainees released. The "Iron Fist" policy and the escalation of all forms of repression and harassment not only create intolerable conditions for Palestinians but also generate feelings of hostility and bitterness which are capable of sabotaging the peace process.
10. Security for the whole region will be ensured only through a genuine and internationally-guaranteed peace, not through the acquisition of arms and territory or violence. Genuine peace and stability will result from addressing the central causes of conflicts in a serious and comprehensive manner, the Palestinian question being the key to regional stability. Only by solving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict can the Arab-Israeli conflict be solved in a durable and just manner.
11. The stability and prosperity of the region can be achieved through future cooperation based on mutuality, reciprocity, and recognition and pursuit of joint interests and rights.

As Palestinians under occupation, we are able to transcend the inequities and oppression of the present and to project a future image of peace and stability. In doing so, we affirm our national rights, adhere to international legitimacy, and envisage the prospects of a new world based on the politics of justice and morality.



**PALESTINIAN MEMORANDUM TO US SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER,
JERUSALEM, 9 APRIL 1991**

[The second meeting of the Palestinian delegation with Sec. Baker took place again at the US Consul General's home and included Faisal Husseini as well as deposed Hebron Mayor Mustafa Natsheh, Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, Nablus businessman Maher Masri, head of the Gaza Red Crescent Society Haidar Abdel Shafi, and head of Gaza's Arab Medical Society Zakaria Al-Agha.]

With reference to our memorandum of 12 March 1991, we would like to present the following comments and questions for immediate consideration:

1. The PLO, our sole legitimate representative, has demonstrated its genuine commitment to the peaceful settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and to advancing the cause of peace through negotiations and dialogue. To this end, it reacted positively to your previous visit three weeks ago by delegating a group of Palestinians from the occupied territories to meet with you and carry out a serious and candid discussion of the central issues and to present you with essential questions which need to be addressed in order to facilitate progress in the peace process on sound bases. These efforts were further pursued by the PLO during meetings held in Washington, DC, between a Palestinian from the occupied territories and high level officials from the State Department and the National Security Council. Among the most pressing issues raised is the recognition of PLO representation of Palestinian people everywhere and the futility and counterproductiveness of seeking to undermine or negate its legitimacy and of attempting to construct an artificial alternative Palestinian leadership. In this context, the restoration of the US-PLO dialogue is an essential ingredient for facilitating tangible achievements in the peace process, especially pertinent to the intrinsic and independent Palestinian decision concerning legitimate and credible interlocutors.
2. From this perspective, and in accordance with the PLO's policy of maintaining dialogue and forthright communication, we are seriously interested in meeting with you and in ensuring the success of this projected meeting. However, our concern is for substance and not just form, and we are convinced that any meeting of this nature must present qualitative and incremental progress in concrete terms and not become an end unto itself.

3. Foremost among the issues raised with the American administration is the urgent imperative of addressing the brutal Israeli measures carried out against the lives, rights, lands, and resources of the Palestinian people under occupation. Israel's policy of intransigence, entrenchment, procrastination, and creating facts is not only a blatant violation of international legality, but is an active negative response to all peace initiatives, which effectively undermines any political progress and destroys all prospects for peace in the region.
Israel's frenzied intensification of the settlement policy; its stepped-up confiscation of land and resources; its escalation of the iron-fist policy in terms of detentions, killings, closed areas, curfews, economic strangulation, closures of institutions, and all other forms of collective punishment constitute collectively Israel's real response to peace. Such "confidence-building measures" are destroying Palestinian rights and realities, while shattering any faith in an impartial and equitable peace process which, at such early stages, is incapable of influencing or altering this morally and politically abhorrent reality. Unless Israel is made to cease these policies forthwith, no Palestinian will be in a position to pursue political meetings or endeavors. It is self-evident that Israel's process of confiscating land and expanding settlements is entirely incompatible with any attempts at starting a peace process.
4. Israel continues to hold the peace process hostage to its own designs, whether by subjecting it to its self-serving conditions, or by persisting in its refusal to comply with the will of the international community as expressed in UN resolutions 242 and 338, and as reiterated by President Bush on the basis of the principle of "land for peace." Thus, both its stated and actual policies are consistent in obstructing and destroying the chances for a genuine peace settlement. Consequently, Israel must be held accountable on both levels, and must be brought to comply with the resolutions of the international community, with the principles of peace and justice which are globally espoused, and with the concrete imperatives of peace as required by the actual process and its declared objectives.
In contrast, the Palestinian people as represented by the PLO have demonstrated not only a genuine commitment to peace but have also acted in a flexible and responsible manner to serve its cause. Instead of seeking further concessions or elaborations from the Palestinians, the time has come for the US to seriously tackle the problem of Israeli rejectionism and intransigence which is the real obstacle to peace. The continuation of this asymmetrical process is neither equitable nor fruitful, and the disequilibrium will inevitably cause the whole process to keel over.
5. The envisaged peace process is fraught with further perils if the "twin-track" approach as articulated by US officials becomes one of misplaced priorities and asynchrony. A comprehensive and integrated approach is more desirable and practicable, and requires regional and international participation and guarantees. Any form of peace conference must be based on parity and respect for the sovereignty of each party, while maintaining international legitimacy and structures.
6. Any phases in the peace process must be clearly designated as interim stages in an overall process, with the logic of internal coherence and causality, leading to the defined objectives of independence and statehood, security, and genuine regional stability and development.

The issues raised here seek to address the substance of any meeting and to ensure genuine qualitative progress rather than serve only the ritual or form. We remain willing to pursue the PLO policy of an active search for peace, but not at the cost of our national rights nor while Israel persists in its inhuman and illegal policies and measures. Right now, our primary concern continues to be the plight of the Palestinian people under occupation, a pressing and vital issue of survival that can bear no further neglect or delays.

On behalf of the Palestinian individuals involved,

(Signed) Faisal al-Husseini

Addendum - Re: Land confiscation and settlement expansion

On your last visit, you indicated that you were seeking to promote a series of confidence-building measures to be taken by the government of Israel and by Palestinians, as a way to establish a basis for negotiations for our future. I hardly need to review for you the Israeli response which has been to intensify the restrictions on Palestinians - which effectively translate into economic strangulation and the fragmentation of our society into Bantustan-like areas cut off from our capital, East Jerusalem -

and to continue the policy of expulsions. The most serious response, however, which affects our very lives on our land, is the continuation of settlement expansion and the confiscation of Palestinian land.

In the last year, an estimated 15,000 new settlers have moved into the occupied territories and every day brings an average of 50 new settlers. Already, the Jewish population in East Jerusalem equals the Arab population of 150,000, while the Jewish population in the rest of the occupied territories exceeds 100,000.

The stated position of the Israeli Ministry of Housing that "only" 10 percent of new housing starts are taking place in the occupied territories is disingenuous and disguises its true intent - to erase the "green line" and to establish facts on the ground in order to sabotage a negotiated settlement.

Since the beginning of the Gulf war, and the imposition of a blanket curfew of the occupied territories for six weeks, Palestinian villages have received notices declaring thousands of dunums "state land" and ordering them to cease farming or face "trespassing" charges.

By the mid-1980s, Israel had already seized over 50 percent of the land base of the West Bank and Gaza for exclusive Jewish use, and every year since, confiscation orders are issued to another 1-2 percent of this land. The clearing of these lands for Jewish housing and road construction has also resulted in the uprooting of over 100,000 olive and other fruit-bearing trees. All this is happening in a period when thousands of workers dismissed from their jobs in Israel have returned to farming as their only source of subsistence.

As precious time is wasted on lengthy discussions and requests for documentation on spending and building plans, our land is being pulled out from under our feet. The destruction of our farming land and the transfer of large numbers of Israeli civilians onto this land are creating almost insurmountable obstacles in the path of peace.



**PALESTINIAN MEMORANDUM TO US SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER,
JERUSALEM, 20 APRIL 1991**

[The memorandum was presented to Sec. Baker at his third meeting with a Palestinian delegation, headed by Faisal Husseini and including Dr. Zakaria al-Agha, head of the Arab Medical Society in Gaza, and Hanan Mikhail-Ashrawi, lecturer at Bir Zeit University.]

Having reviewed the content and consequences of our previous meetings with you, as well as all other relevant follow-up talks and efforts, we would like to point out the following:

While the Palestinians have demonstrated a genuine commitment to peace through the PLO's sustained efforts at maintaining a positive dialogue and open channels with the US, we are still witnessing a perversely obstinate and destructive Israeli response which is manifested in two ways:

First, Israel persists in expanding and intensifying its settlement activity and its confiscation of Palestinian lands, while pursuing a policy of horrendous cruelty and repression against the Palestinians under occupation.

Second, Israel is imposing unacceptable conditions and constraints on the peace process, thereby dictating its own priorities and parameters as preconditions for its participation in the process.

Both are capable of rendering Palestinian participation impossible, and are particularly subversive in that they might be perceived as tainting the American position and efforts with complicity, or at best, with inefficacy.

Unless these Israeli policies and measures are firmly checked and halted, the atmosphere will be poisoned with hostility and mistrust, any confidence in the impartiality and fairness of the process will be totally eroded, and the prospects for genuine peace will be seriously jeopardized.

Of special relevance in this context is the victimization of Palestinians in Kuwait - an issue of particular urgency and moral responsibility which must be solved immediately. We urge the US administration to intervene actively and forcefully to put an end to the detention, torture, killing, and expulsion of members of the Palestinian and other non-Kuwaiti communities in Kuwait.

The political and moral credibility of the US, especially in view of its active role and presence in Kuwait following the Gulf war, is at stake. A firm and uniform stance vis-à-vis human rights violations everywhere must be adopted and applied.

The plight of the Palestinians under occupation is rendered even more intolerable by the suffering of the Palestinians in Kuwait. Human rights are universal, and "confidence-building measures" recognize no boundaries. The peace process must be based on uniform standards of justice, and must be pursued within the framework of legitimacy, comprehensiveness, and foresight.

On the issue of representation, we uphold our right to choose our own legitimate leadership and to designate our own credible interlocutors.

Once again, we would like to reemphasize our allegiance to the PLO, our sole legitimate leadership, and our conviction that only the PLO is empowered to represent, lead and sign agreements on behalf of all the Palestinian people. Any lasting, comprehensive, and just peace must be based on the recognition of this fact.

The substance of the peace process must deal with the implementation of UN resolutions and the national rights of the Palestinian people, without digressing into issues of subjective interpretation or being made subservient to Israel's priorities and its *de facto* exercise of domination and control.

The mechanism of the peace process is the UN-sponsored international conference, and the comprehensive integrated approach remains crucial to the fulfillment of the rights and needs of the parties involved. A full and sustained European participation during the whole course of the process is essential for ensuring its success and for laying the foundations for enhanced regional cooperation and development.

From the outset, the issue of assurances and guarantees must be addressed and settled in order to prevent Israel from shifting the goalposts, carrying out punitive measures against the Palestinians, violating any interim agreements, or sabotaging the process in any other way.

A legal frame of reference has to be adopted clearly and openly for the whole process, based on international legitimacy, and binding on all participants. The Palestinian delegation must have recourse to a fixed legal reference especially in the prevailing conditions of asymmetry in power. In addition, the whole process of negotiations as well as the period of implementation of agreements must be carried out within that legal framework.

The objectives of the peace process require lucidity and unequivocation. The "land-for-peace" formula must mean an end to the illegal Israeli occupation of all the territories occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem, the capital of the future Palestinian state. Israeli withdrawal and the exercise of Palestinian sovereignty over the liberated Palestinian lands constitute essential components of any genuine peace process. The Palestinian right to self-determination, the right of return, the right to independence and to the control of our own lands and resources are basic to the exercise of sovereignty.

We understand that these meetings with you constitute exploratory steps for the purpose of launching a genuine and effective peace process in the right direction and with the participation of genuine representatives. They must not be misconstrued as either negotiations or tacit agreements.

The painful and unjust conditions of occupation and the plight of the Palestinians in Kuwait unfortunately continue to undermine the possibility of any real process and to destroy any confidence in its potential success so long as these inequities are allowed to prevail.

On behalf of the Palestinian individuals involved,

(Signed) Faisal al-Husseini



**PALESTINIAN MEMORANDUM TO US SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER,
JERUSALEM, 26 APRIL 1991**

[The following memorandum was to have been presented to Sec. Baker at a scheduled fourth meeting with Palestinian leaders, however, the meeting was cancelled at the last moment due to the death of Mr. Baker's mother. The letter was nonetheless delivered to him before his departure for the US.]

We do not wish to repeat the issues and principles raised in our three previous memoranda as they represent the comprehensive and firm Palestinian position.

Our meeting today is charged with the anguish and anger of the Palestinian people who are daily witnessing Israel's deliberate and persistent theft of their lands, livelihood, and the very core of their being. Each visit of yours, Mr. Secretary, exacts from the Palestinians an exorbitant toll in freedom, lives and property.

Israeli arrogance, in defying your efforts at launching a peace process, is immediately expressed in the expansion and overnight establishment of more settlements in the occupied territories, in the confiscation of more land, and in imposing further restrictions on the defenseless civilian Palestinian population.

If this is the price of our commitment to peace, we are afraid that the Palestinian people cannot afford to pay with their very existence for the message of intransigence which Israel seeks to convey to you and to the world at large.

The apparent American helplessness in the face of Israel's policy of creating facts and destroying any prospect for peace discredits the US and its standing in the eyes of the Palestinians and the international community. It also casts grave doubts on the seriousness of American intentions, commitments, and efficacy vis-à-vis the peace process.

Furthermore, the failure of the international community to enforce its will and to bring Israel to comply with the resolutions of the UN and the Fourth Geneva Convention constitutes a reaffirmation of the double-standard charge with the additional accusations of complicity and abdication of responsibility.

We would like to take this opportunity to extend an invitation to you, Mr. Secretary, to be our guest on an alternative, authentic visit to the occupied territories to enable you to witness directly the reality and meaning of the occupation to those who have been made to endure it for so long. An aerial view cannot bring home to you the indignity of checkpoints, curfews, closed areas, and other forms of collective punishment; nor is it capable of exposing the obscenity of the settlements and the rape of the land.

We invite you to visit our closed, empty universities and the crowded prisons and detention camps in which Israel holds captive more than 16,000 Palestinians. Thousands of bereaved families in our refugee camps, villages, and towns are willing to receive you in their homes and to share with you their experiences and aspirations.

The Palestinian participation in the peace effort is an act of will and principled commitment which has been sustained in spite of our painful reality. The recent resolutions of the Central Council have reaffirmed the PLO's firm commitment to peace on the basis of international legitimacy.

Peace, however, is not a unilateral act, nor solely a Palestinian responsibility. Should Israel be allowed to persist in its subversive policies and measures, it alone will bear the responsibility of destroying peace.

If, at the behest of the PLO, we are able to meet with you now, the time is rapidly approaching in which no Palestinian from the occupied territories will be able to afford the luxury of talking peace while Israel is actively waging war against the Palestinian nation in captivity.

On behalf of the Palestinian Individuals involved,

(Signed) Faisal Husseini



UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 694, NEW YORK, 24 MAY 1991

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 681 (1990),

Having learned with deep concern and consternation that Israel has, in violation of its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, and acting in opposition to relevant Security Council resolutions, and to the detriment of efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East, deported four Palestinian civilians on 18 May 1991,

1. *Declares* that the action of the Israeli authorities of deporting four Palestinians on 18 May is in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which is applicable to all the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;
2. *Deplores* this action and reiterates that Israel, the occupying Power, refrain from deporting any Palestinian civilian from the occupied territories and ensure the safe and immediate return of all those deported;
3. *Decides* to keep the situation under review.



**JOINT DECLARATION, NINTH ASEAN-EU MINISTERIAL MEETING,
LUXEMBOURG, 30-31 MAY 1991 [EXCERPTS]**

1. The Ninth Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the European Community (EC) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was held in Luxembourg on 30 -31 May 1991, under the co-chairmanship of Luxembourg and Malaysia.
2. The Ministers had a comprehensive exchange of views on a number of political and economic subjects. They reviewed the progress in EC-ASEAN relations since their last meeting which was held in Kuching from 16 -17 February 1990. The Ministers expressed their satisfaction at the continued cooperation that exists between the EC and ASEAN. The meeting demonstrated the strong commitment of the two sides to strengthen further their relations.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ISSUES

[...]

IV. MIDDLE EAST

25. The Ministers discussed the situation which had resulted from Iraq's occupation of Kuwait in Violation of international law.
26. They welcomed the restoration of the legitimate government in Kuwait and reaffirmed their commitment to the sovereignty, unity, independence, and territorial integrity of all countries of the region. The Ministers expressed their support for emergency relief efforts undertaken by various countries and the United Nations to assist the civilian population in northern and southern Iraq. They expressed their hope that these refugees and displaced persons will be able to return to their former homes soon. They condemned the unacceptable treatment inflicted on those refugees and displaced persons.

27. The Ministers emphasized that the immediate post war phase is an opportune moment for all concerned to address the fundamental causes of instability within the region in particular the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question. They agreed that efforts to foster relations of mutual trust and cooperation between parties concerned with the Arab-Israeli conflict would - promote dialogue and confidence building.
28. In this connection the Ministers exchanged views on the continuing efforts of the United States in promoting a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question. They expressed their support for these efforts as a means of relaunching the Middle East peace process. They agreed that the EC had a useful role to play in this process.
29. The Ministers reaffirmed their support for the convening of an International Conference involving the UN, which would provide an appropriate forum for negotiations on a peace settlement. They stressed the urgency of a settlement in accordance with UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 which would uphold the right to security of all States in the region, including Israel, to live within secure, recognised and guaranteed frontiers, and would uphold justice recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination with all that this implies.
30. The Ministers expressed their deep concern about the deteriorating situation in the occupied territories. They deplored the continuing establishment of illegal Israeli settlements in these territories, which is in defiance of UN Security Council Resolutions. They also considered that any further Israeli settlement in the occupied territories would be especially prejudicial at a time when all parties should be adopting a flexible and realistic approach so as to bring about a climate of confidence favourable to the launching of negotiations.
31. The Ministers reaffirmed their commitment to the full sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon. They expressed their strong support for the full implementation of the Taif agreement to all foreign troops.
32. They had an exchange of views on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean, which the EC Ministers considered to be a contribution of weapons and peaceful coexistence of different cultures and civilizations.



**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ, 24TH ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING,
KUALA LUMPUR, 19-20 JULY 1991 [EXCERPTS]**

INTRODUCTION

1. The Twenty-Fourth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting was held in Kuala Lumpur from 19 to 20 July 1991. The Meeting was formally opened by the Honourable Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Prime Minister of Malaysia. [...]

MIDDLE EAST

29. The Foreign Ministers reviewed the situation in the Middle East in the Post Gulf War period. They welcomed the restoration of the legitimate Government of Kuwait and reaffirmed their commitment to the sovereignty, unity, and independence and territorial integrity of all countries in the region.
30. The Foreign Ministers emphasized that the immediate post War period is an opportune moment to address the fundamental causes of instability within the region, in particular the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question. They took note of the efforts of the United States in promoting peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question. They reaffirmed their support for the convening of an International Conference under the auspices of the UN to work out a peace settlement. In this connection, they stressed the need to adhere to the UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 which would uphold the right to security of all states in the region, including that of Israel, and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination with all that this implies, in particular, their right to a homeland.
31. The Foreign Ministers deplored the continuing establishment of illegal Israeli settlements in the occupied territories in defiance of UN Security Council resolutions.



**PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL, POLITICAL STATEMENT, 20TH SESSION,
ALGIERS, 28 SEPTEMBER 1991**

[The following are the main points of the political statement issued at the end of the six-day meeting.]

Premises:

In keeping with the 1988 Palestinian peace initiative and international and Arab legality, the PLO dealt positively and actively with all ideas, proposals and international peace initiatives based on international legitimacy. It welcomed the positive elements in the declaration of President George Bush, and the positions taken by the EC, the Soviet Union, the Non-Aligned nations and other international parties.

The PLO has welcomed current peace efforts and responded to them positively, including the call by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev for a peace conference to resolve the conflict in the Middle East.

It believes that the success of efforts to convene the peace conference require continued work with the other parties to achieve the following premises:

1. That the peace conference be based on international legitimacy and resolutions, including UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and on a commitment to their implementation, in a manner securing complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories - including Jerusalem - and fulfillment of the principle of land for peace and the national and political rights of the Palestinian people.
2. A reaffirmation that Jerusalem is an integral part of the occupied Palestinian territory, to which all that applies to the rest of the occupied territories under UN resolutions is also applicable.
3. That a cessation of settlement in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, is indispensable to start the peace process. International guarantees should be provided in this respect.
4. That the PLO, in its capacity as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has the right to form the Palestinian delegation from inside and outside the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and to formulate a framework for [the delegation's] participation in the peacemaking that upholds [the PLO's] authority in this context.
5. That Arab positions are coordinated in a manner that ensures a comprehensive settlement and rules out separate solutions, in keeping with Arab summit resolutions.
6. Guaranteeing that all stages of the solution are linked and bound to lead to a final and comprehensive settlement in keeping with the resolutions of international legitimacy.

Aims:

On the basis of these aforementioned peacemaking premises, the PLO aims to achieve the following:

1. To secure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination which would also ensure its right to freedom and national independence.
2. Total Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem.
3. A solution, in accordance with UN resolutions, particularly General Assembly Resolution 194, to the problem of Palestinian refugees who were uprooted from their land by force and coercion.
4. The need for any transitional arrangements to incorporate our people's right to sovereignty over all its land, water, natural resources and political and economic affairs.
5. The provision of international protection to the Palestinian people in preparation for its exercise of its right to self-determination.
6. The provision of full guarantees for action to remove the existing settlements, which are considered illegal under the resolutions of international legitimacy, including Security Council Resolution 465.

The PNC instructs the Executive Committee to continue its current efforts to achieve the best conditions that can ensure success for the peace process in accordance with PNC resolutions, and to report the results to the Central Council for it to take a final decision in the light of the supreme national interests of our people.

The PLO, which in the past period has made every possible effort to advance the peace process, hopes that other parties, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, will in turn strive to remove the obstacles raised by Israel before the current political process, leaving open the option of recourse to the Security Council to seek the implementation of the resolutions of international legitimacy.



SAUDI FOREIGN MINISTER PRINCE SAUD AL-FAISAL, STATEMENT TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 46TH SESSION, NEW YORK, 30 SEPTEMBER 1991 [EXCERPTS]

In the name of Allah, most compassionate, most merciful:
Blessing and peace be upon the most noble of prophets.

[...]

Mr. President:

Our Arab region cannot alone remain unaffected by these new and fast-moving currents which are changing the patterns of relations between nations and peoples. While stressing, especially in the wake of the tragedy which has befallen the Arab world, that it is unreasonable or unacceptable to base our decisions and actions on measures and standards other than those adopted by the world community, we therefore urge that the Palestinian question which is the pivotal issue in our region benefit from these positive developments which are taking place in the international arena.

Today there exists a historic opportunity for the launching of a peace process aimed at ending the Arab-Israeli conflict and achieving a just and comprehensive settlement for the Palestinian question - a solution which conforms with the United Nations resolutions, restores and consecrates the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people - a solution which institutes permanent principles for security and stability in the Middle East based on the international legality and Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

There now exists a mechanism for achieving these goals, a peace conference which is expected to convene in the near future. Within this framework, the Government of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques offers its full support for the efforts of President George Bush of the United States of America and carried out by Secretary of State James Baker to convene an international conference to achieve peace in the Middle East.

It is indeed our hope that the will for peace will prevail and that the international community will apply to the Palestinian question the same principles it applied to the Gulf crisis, when Iraq invaded Kuwait, so that the international legality will be firmly established and the principles of justice, freedom and the right of peoples to self-determination, strongly upheld.

The Arabs have chosen the road to peace. Within this framework we welcome the declaration issued by the Palestinian National Council in its last session, which confirms this attitude toward peace.

The Arabs have chosen the road to peace. Within this framework we welcome the declaration issued by the Palestinian National Council in its last session, which confirms this attitude toward peace. [...]



PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, MEMORANDUM TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET UNION, OCTOBER 1991

[Presented prior to Madrid talks by Faisal Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi and Zakaria Al-Agha.]

1. Implement the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949) in all the [Occupied] Territories;
2. Implement Security Council resolutions related to the return of expelled Palestinians from the Occupied Territories;
3. Stop using all Emergency Regulations adopted from the British Mandate on Palestine;

4. Reduce the presence of Israeli soldiers in [Palestinian] cities, villages and camps;
5. Permit members of the Palestine National Council who live in the territories to participate in the PNC session;
6. Free all political prisoners;
7. End torture in Israeli jails;
8. [Eliminate] restrictions on work and political organizing in the territories and abolish all military orders related to such restrictions;
9. Abolish censorship and the [military] orders prohibiting the publication of newspapers, and stop the confiscation of newspapers, books, magazines, poetry, plays and drama;
10. Reopen all universities, colleges, institutions and organizations which have been closed by Israeli orders;
11. Restore all municipal and local councils which were elected in 1976 and which were dissolved by the military government;
12. Decrease the use in Israeli official circles of the expression "Judea and Samaria" and "terror organizations";
13. Abolish all taxes imposed by occupation authorities since 1967;
14. Return all expropriated lands and property to their legal owners;
15. Eliminate all restrictions on movement between the Occupied Territories and Jerusalem;
16. Facilitate the reunion of families, and eliminate all restrictions on overseas travel;
17. Stop all restrictions on exports from the Occupied Territories and eliminate restrictions on all projects sponsored by UN agencies;
18. Halt the demolition of houses and the restrictions on construction in the O.T.;
19. Force Israel to publish reports on budgets and expenditures directed to the O.T.
20. Halt all restrictions imposed on the International Committee of the Red Cross and the UN Relief and Works Agency in the territories.
21. Evacuate settlers from the hospice, Deir al-Sultan, and al-Haram al-Ibrahimi in al-Khalil (Hebron);
22. Close Nafha and Ansar jails;
23. Stop the restrictions on individuals and institutions regarding investment in the O.T.
24. Abolish all laws and regulations prohibiting the raising of the Palestinian flag;
25. Abolish Israeli control over the Jerusalem Electric Company in East Jerusalem.



**EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS,
THE HAGUE, 11 OCTOBER 1991**

The European Community and its Member States reaffirm their full support for the Middle East peace initiative promoted by the United States and the USSR. They welcome the agreement in principle of all the parties to the dispute to the approach proposed by the US Secretary of State Mr. Baker. In this respect they also welcome the positive attitude of the Palestine National Council. They hope that this emerging consensus will open the way to an early resolution of the problem of an authentic Palestinian representation. They do not believe that any formula on this issue can be held to prejudice negotiations on substantive issues such as the status of Jerusalem.

The European Community and its Member States continue to attach importance to the adoption by both sides of confidence building measures designed to create the right climate for successful negotiations. They underline the importance they attach to a suspension of Israeli settlement activity in the Occupied Territories including East Jerusalem, and welcome the willingness of Arab states to freeze the trade boycott of Israel in return for this.

They reaffirm their strong disapproval of the "Zionism is racism" resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly which they believe should be consigned to oblivion.

While reaffirming its well known positions of principle, the European Community and its Member States confirm their determination to give all possible support to efforts to convene a Middle East Peace Conference and their determination to play an active role as a full participant in such a conference alongside the co-sponsors.

They believe that an unprecedented opportunity to create peace between Israel and the Arabs now exists and they call on all parties to show the flexibility and imagination necessary to grasp this.



**JOINT US-USSR LETTER OF INVITATION TO THE MADRID
PEACE CONFERENCE, JERUSALEM, 18 OCTOBER 1991**

[On 18 Oct., Israel and the USSR restored full diplomatic relations with a protocol signed in Jerusalem by Israeli FM Levy and Soviet FM Bessmertnykh. This was followed by a joint Baker-Bessmertnykh press conference in which the following letter of invitation was read:]

After extensive consultations with Arab states, Israel and the Palestinians, the United States and the Soviet Union believe that an historic opportunity exists to advance the prospects for genuine peace throughout the region. The United States and the Soviet Union are prepared to assist the parties to achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement, through direct negotiations along two tracks, between Israel and the Arab states, and between Israel and the Palestinians, based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The objective of this process is real peace.

Toward that end, the president of the US and the president of the USSR invite you to a peace conference, which their countries will co-sponsor, followed immediately by direct negotiations. The conference will be convened in Madrid on October 30, 1991.

President Bush and President Gorbachev request your acceptance of this invitation no later than 6 P.M. Washington time, October 23, 1991, in order to ensure proper organization and preparation of the conference. Direct bilateral negotiations will begin four days after the opening of the conference. Those parties who wish to attend multilateral negotiations will convene two weeks after the opening of the conference to organize those negotiations. The co-sponsors believe that those negotiations should focus on region-wide issues of water, refugee issues, environment, economic development, and other subjects of mutual interest.

The co-sponsors will chair the conference which will be held at ministerial level. Governments to be invited include Israel, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. Palestinians will be invited and attend as part of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Egypt will be invited to the conference as a participant. The European Community will be a participant in the conference, alongside the United States and the Soviet Union and will be represented by its presidency. The Gulf Cooperation Council will be invited to send its secretary-general to the conference as an observer, and GCC member states will be invited to participate in organizing the negotiations on multilateral issues. The United Nations will be invited to send an observer, representing the secretary-general.

The conference will have no power to impose solutions on the parties or veto agreements reached by them. It will have no authority to make decisions for the parties and no ability to vote on issues of results. The conference can reconvene only with the consent of all the parties.

With respect to negotiations between Israel and Palestinians who are part of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, negotiations will be conducted in phases, beginning with talks on interim self-government arrangements. These talks will be conducted with the objective of reaching agreement within one year. Once agreed, the interim self-government arrangements will last for a period of five years; beginning the third year of the period of interim self-government arrangements, negotiations

will take place on permanent status. These permanent status negotiations, and the negotiations between Israel and the Arab states, will take place on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338.

It is understood that the co-sponsors are committed to making this process succeed. It is their intention to convene the conference and negotiations with those parties who agree to attend. The co-sponsors believe that this process offers the promise of ending decades of confrontation and conflict and the hope of a lasting peace. Thus, the co-sponsors hope that the parties will approach these negotiations in a spirit of good will and mutual respect. In this way, the peace process can begin to break down the mutual suspicions and mistrust that perpetuate the conflict and allow the parties to begin to resolve their differences. Indeed, only through such a process can real peace and reconciliation among the Arab states, Israel and the Palestinians be achieved. And only through this process can the peoples of the Middle East attain the peace and security they richly deserve.



US LETTER OF ASSURANCES TO THE PALESTINIANS, 18 OCTOBER 1991

The Palestinian decision to attend a peace conference to launch direct negotiations with Israel represents an important step in the search for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region. The United States has long believed that Palestinian participation is critical to the success of our efforts.

In the context of the process on which we are embarking, we want to respond to your requests for certain assurances related to this process. These assurances constitute US understandings and intentions concerning the conference and ensuring negotiations.

These assurances are consistent with United States policy and do not undermine or contradict United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Moreover, there will be no assurances provided to one party that are not known to all the others. By this we can foster a sense of confidence and minimize chances for misunderstandings.

As President Bush stated in his March 6, 1991 address to Congress, the United States continues to believe firmly that a comprehensive peace must be grounded in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. Such an outcome must also provide for security and recognition for all states in the region, including Israel, and for the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people. Anything else, the President noted, would fail the twin tests of fairness and security.

The process we are trying to create offers Palestinians a way to achieve these objectives. The United States believes that there should be an end to the Israeli occupation which can occur only through genuine and meaningful negotiations. The United States also believes that this process should create a new relationship of mutuality where Palestinians and Israelis can respect one another's security, identity, and political rights. We believe Palestinians should gain control over political, economic and other decisions that affect their lives and fate.

Direct bilateral negotiations will begin four days after the opening of the conference; those parties who wish to attend multilateral negotiations will convene two weeks after the opening of the conference to organize those negotiations. In this regard, the United States will support Palestinian involvement in any bilateral or multilateral negotiations on refugees and in all multilateral negotiations. The conference and the negotiations that follow will be based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The process will proceed along two tracks through direct negotiations between Israel and Arab states and Israel and Palestinians. The United States is determined to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and will do its utmost to ensure that the process moves forward along both tracks toward this end.

In pursuit of a comprehensive settlement, all the negotiations should proceed as quickly as possible toward agreement. For its part, the United States will work for serious negotiations and will also seek to avoid prolongation and stalling by any party.

The conference will be co-sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union. The European Community will be a participant in the conference alongside the United States and the Soviet Union and be represented by its Presidency. The conference can reconvene only with the consent of all the parties.

With regard to the role of the United Nations, the UN Secretary General will send a representative to the conference as an observer. The co-sponsors will keep the Secretary General apprised of the progress of the negotiations. Agreements reached between the parties will be registered with the UN Secretariat and reported to the Security Council, and the parties will seek the Council's endorsement of such agreements. Since it is in the interest of all parties for this process to succeed, while this process is actively ongoing, the United States will not support a competing or parallel process in the United Nations Security Council.

The United States does not seek to determine who speaks for Palestinians in this process. We are seeking to launch a political negotiation process that directly involves Palestinians and offers a pathway for achieving the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people and for participation in the determination of their future. We believe that a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation offers the most promising pathway toward this end.

Only Palestinians can choose their delegation members, which are not subject to veto from anyone. The United States understands that members of the delegation will be Palestinians from the territories who agree to negotiations on two tracks, in phases, and who are willing to live in peace with Israel. No party can be forced to sit with anyone it does not want to sit with.

Palestinians will be free to announce their component of the joint delegation and to make a statement during the opening of the conference. They may also raise any issue pertaining to the substance of the negotiations during the negotiations.

The United States understands how much importance Palestinians attach to the question of east Jerusalem. Thus, we want to assure you that nothing Palestinians do in choosing their delegation members in this phase of the process will affect their claim to east Jerusalem, or be prejudicial or precedential to the outcome of negotiations. It remains the firm position of the United States that Jerusalem must never again be a divided city and that its final status should be decided by negotiations. Thus, we do not recognize Israel's annexation of east Jerusalem or the extension of its municipal boundaries, and we encourage all sides to avoid unilateral acts that would exacerbate local tensions or make negotiations more difficult or preempt their final outcome. It is also the United States position that a Palestinian resident in Jordan with ties to a prominent Jerusalem family would be eligible to join the Jordanian side of the delegation.

Furthermore, it is also the United States position that Palestinians of east Jerusalem should be able to participate by voting in the elections for an interim self-governing authority. The United States further believes that Palestinians from east Jerusalem and Palestinians outside the occupied territories who meet the three criteria should be able to participate in the negotiations on final status. And, the United States supports the right of Palestinians to bring any issue, including east Jerusalem, to the table.

Because the issues at stake are so complex and the emotions so deep, the United States has long maintained that a transitional period is required to break down the walls of suspicion and mistrust and lay the basis for sustainable negotiations on the final status of the occupied territories. The purpose of negotiations on transitional arrangements is to effect the peaceful and orderly transfer of authority from Israel to Palestinians. Palestinians need to achieve rapid control over political, economic, and other decisions that affect their lives and to adjust to a new situation in which Palestinians exercise authority in the West Bank and Gaza. For its part, the United States will strive from the outset and encourage all parties to adopt steps that can create an environment of confidence and mutual trust, including respect for human rights.

As you are aware with respect to negotiations between Israel and Palestinians, negotiations will be conducted in phases, beginning with talks on interim self-government arrangements. These talks will be

conducted with the objective of reaching agreement within one year. Once agreed, the interim self-government arrangements will last for a period of five years. Beginning the third year of the period of interim government arrangements, negotiations will take place on permanent status. It is the aim of the United States that permanent status negotiations will be concluded by the end of the transitional period.

It has long been our position that only direct negotiations based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 can produce a real peace. No one can dictate the outcome in advance. The United States understands that Palestinians must be free, in opening statements at the conference and in the negotiations that follow, to raise any issue of importance to them. Thus, Palestinians are free to argue for whatever outcome they believe best meets their requirements. The United States will accept any outcome agreed by the parties. In this regard and consistent with long-standing US policies, confederation is not excluded as a possible outcome of negotiations on final status.

The United States has long believed that no party should take unilateral actions that seek to predetermine issues that can only be resolved through negotiations. In this regard the United States has opposed and will continue to oppose settlement activity in the territories occupied in 1967, which remains an obstacle to peace.

The United States will act as an honest broker in trying to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is our intention, together with the Soviet Union, to play the role of a driving force in this process to help the parties move forward toward a comprehensive peace. Any party will have access to the co-sponsors at any time. The United States is prepared to participate in all stages of the negotiations, with the consent of the parties to each negotiation.

These are the assurances that the United States is providing concerning the implementation of the initiative we have discussed. We are persuaded that we have a real opportunity to accomplish something very important in the peace process. And we are prepared to work hard together with you in the period ahead to build on the progress we have made. There will be difficult challenges for all parties. But with Palestinians' continued commitment and creativity, we have a real chance of moving to a peace conference and to negotiation and then on toward the broader peace that we all seek.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - OPENING SPEECHES:
REMARKS BY US PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH, 30 OCTOBER 1991**

Prime Minister Gonzalez and President Gorbachev, Excellencies.

Let me begin by thanking the Government of Spain for hosting this historic gathering. With short notice, the Spanish people and their leaders stepped forward to make available this magnificent setting. Let us hope that this Conference of Madrid will mark the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Middle East. I also want to express at the outset my pleasure at the presence of our fellow co-sponsor, President Gorbachev. At a time of momentous challenges at home, President Gorbachev and his senior associates have demonstrated their intent to engage the Soviet Union as a force for positive change in the Middle East. This sends a powerful signal to all those who long for peace.

We come to Madrid on a mission of hope - to begin work on a just, lasting, and comprehensive settlement to the conflict in the Middle East. We come here to seek peace for a part of the world that in the long memory of man has known far too much hatred, anguish, and war. I can think of no endeavor more worthy - or more necessary.

Our objective must be clear and straightforward. It is not simply to end the state of war in the Middle East and replace it with a state of non-belligerency. This is not enough; this would not last. Rather, we seek peace, real peace. And by real peace I mean treaties. Security. Diplomatic relations. Eco-

conomic relations. Trade. Investment. Cultural exchange. Even tourism. What we seek is a Middle East where vast resources are no longer devoted to armaments. A Middle East where young people no longer have to dedicate and, all too often, give their lives to combat. A Middle East no longer victimized by fear and terror. A Middle East where normal men and women lead normal lives.

Let no one mistake the magnitude of this challenge. The struggle we seek to end has a long and painful history. Every life lost - every outrage, every act of violence - is etched deep in the hearts and history of the people of this region. Theirs is a history that weighs heavily against hope. And yet, history need not be man's master. I expect that some will say that what I am suggesting is impossible. But think back. Who back in 1945 would have thought that France and Germany, bitter rivals for nearly a century, would be come allies in the aftermath of World War II? And who two years ago would have predicted that the Berlin Wall would come down? And who in the early 1960s would have believed that the Cold War would come to a peaceful end, replaced by cooperation - exemplified by the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union are here today - not as rivals, but as partners, as Prime Minister Gonzalez pointed out.

No, peace in the Middle East need not be a dream. Peace is possible. The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty is striking proof that former adversaries can make and sustain peace. And moreover, parties in the Middle East have respected agreements, not only in the Sinai, but on the Golan Heights as well.

The fact that we are all gathered here today for the first time attests to a new potential for peace. Each of us has taken an important step toward real peace by meeting here in Madrid. All the formulas on paper, all the pious declarations in the world won't bring peace if there is no practical mechanism for moving ahead. Peace will only come as the result of direct negotiations, compromise, give-and-take. Peace cannot be imposed from the outside by the United States or anyone else. While we will continue to do every thing possible to help the parties overcome obstacles, peace must come from within. We come here to Madrid as realists. We do not expect peace to be negotiated in a day, or a week, or a month, or even a year. It will take time; indeed, it should take time - time for parties so long at war to learn to talk to one another, to listen to one another. Time to heal old wounds and build trust. In this quest, time need not be the enemy of progress.

What we envision is a process of direct negotiations proceeding along two tracks, one between Israel and the Arab states; the other between Israel and the Palestinians. Negotiations are to be conducted on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The real work will not happen here in the plenary session, but in direct bilateral negotiations. This Conference cannot impose a settlement on the participants or veto agreements; and just as important, the Conference can only be reconvened with the consent of every participant. Progress is in the hands of the parties who must live with the consequences.

Soon after the bilateral talks commence, parties will convene as well to organize multilateral negotiations. These will focus on issues that cross national boundaries and are common to the region: arms control, water, refugee concerns, economic development. Progress in these fora is not intended as a substitute for what must be decided in the bilateral talks; to the contrary, progress in the multilateral issues can help create an atmosphere in which long-standing bilateral disputes can more easily be settled.

For Israel and the Palestinians, a framework already exists for diplomacy. Negotiations will be conducted in phases, beginning with talks on interim self-government arrangements. We aim to reach agreement within one year. And once agreed, interim self-government arrangements will last for five years; beginning the third year, negotiations will commence on permanent status.

No one can say with any precision what the end result will be; in our view, something must be developed, something acceptable to Israel, the Palestinians and Jordan, that gives the Palestinian people meaningful control over their own lives and fate and provides for the acceptance and security of Israel.

We can all appreciate that both Israelis and Palestinians are worried about compromise, worried about compromising even the smallest point for fear it becomes a precedent for what really matters.

But no one should avoid compromise on interim arrangements for a simple reason: nothing agreed to now will prejudice permanent status negotiations. To the contrary, these subsequent negotiations will be determined on their own merits.

Peace cannot depend upon promises alone. Real peace - lasting peace - must be based upon security for all states and peoples, including Israel. For too long the Israeli people have lived in fear, surrounded by an unaccepting Arab world. Now is the ideal moment for the Arab world to demonstrate that attitudes have changed, that the Arab world is willing to live in peace with Israel and make allowances for Israel's reasonable security needs.

We know that peace must also be based on fairness. In the absence of fairness, there will be no legitimacy - no stability. This applies above all to the Palestinian people, many of whom have known turmoil and frustration above all else. Israel now has an opportunity to demonstrate that it is willing to enter into a new relationship with its Palestinian neighbors; one predicated upon mutual respect and cooperation. Throughout the Middle East, we seek a stable and enduring settlement. We've not defined what this means; indeed, I make these points with no map showing where the final borders are to be drawn. Nevertheless, we believe territorial compromise is essential for peace. Boundaries should reflect the quality of both security and political arrangements. The United States is prepared to accept whatever the parties themselves find acceptable. What we seek, as I said on March 6, is a solution that meets the twin tests of fairness and security.

I know - I expect we all know - that these negotiations will not be easy. I know, too, that these negotiations will not be smooth. There will be disagreement and criticism, setbacks - who knows - possibly interruptions. Negotiation and compromise are always painful. Success will escape us if we focus solely upon what is being given up. We must fix our vision on what real peace would bring. Peace, after all, means not just avoiding war and the costs of preparing for it. The Middle East is blessed with great resources: physical, financial, and, yes, above all, human. New opportunities are within reach - if we only have the vision to embrace them.

To succeed, we must recognize that peace is in the interest of all parties - war, absolute advantage of none. The alternative to peace in the Middle East is a future of violence and waste and tragedy. In any future war lurks the danger of weapons of mass destruction. As we learned in the Gulf War, modern arsenals make it possible to attack urban areas to put the lives of innocent men, women, and children at risk, to transform city streets, schools, and children's playgrounds into battlefields.

Today, we can decide to take a different path to the future: to avoid conflict. I call upon all parties to avoid unilateral acts, be they words or deeds, that would invite retaliation or, worse yet, prejudice or even threaten this process itself. I call upon all parties to consider taking measures that will bolster mutual confidence and trust: steps that signal a sincere commitment to reconciliation. I want to say something about the role of the United States of America. We played an active role in making this conference possible; both the Secretary of State, Jim Baker, and I will play an active role in helping the process succeed. Toward this end, we've provided written assurances to Israel, to Syria, to Jordan, Lebanon, and the Palestinians. In the spirit of openness and honesty, we will brief all parties on the assurances that we have provided to the other. We're prepared to extend guarantees, provide technology and support, if that is what peace requires. And we will call upon our friends and allies in Europe and in Asia to join with us in providing resources so that peace and prosperity go hand in hand.

Outsiders can assist, but in the end, it is up to the peoples and governments of the Middle East to shape the future of the Middle East. It is their opportunity and it is their responsibility to do all that they can to take advantage of this gathering, this historic gathering, and what it symbolizes and what it promises. No one should assume that the opportunity before us to make peace will remain if we fail to seize the moment. Ironically, this is an opportunity born of war - the destruction of past wars, the fear of future wars. The time has come to put an end to war - the time has come to choose peace.

Speaking for the American people, I want to reaffirm that the United States is prepared to facilitate the search for peace, to be a catalyst, as we've been in the past and as we've been very recently. We seek only one thing, and this we seek not for ourselves, but for the peoples of the area and particularly the children: that this and future generations of the Middle East may know the meaning and blessing of peace. We have seen too many generations of children whose haunted eyes show only fear - too many funerals for their brothers and sisters, the mothers and fathers who died too soon - too much hatred, too little love. And if we cannot summon the courage to lay down the past for ourselves, let us resolve to do it for the children.

May God bless and guide the work of this Conference, and may this Conference set us on the path of peace.

Thank you.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - OPENING SPEECHES:
ADDRESS BY SOVIET PRESIDENT MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, 30 OCTOBER 1991**

Prime Minister Gonzalez, President Bush, Ladies and Gentlemen: I'd also like to begin with an expression of my gratitude to our hosts, the King of Spain and the Spanish government, for their offer of Madrid as the venue for this Conference, a Conference of such importance to the entire world. It would have been difficult to select a better venue from the standpoint both of the country's prestige and authority and of the geopolitical factor, too.

I welcome here the presence of the President of the United States of America, the Arab delegations and observers, the Israeli delegation, Representatives of the European Community and of the United Nations Secretary-General. The composition of the participants, as well as the nature and objectives of this Conference, are eloquent testimony to the fact that we are participants in an event of major importance in new world politics.

The road to this point was strewn with thousands of victims and with devastations and calamities suffered by whole peoples. It was marred by hatred and atrocities, and many were the crossroads on the path that were fraught with danger of global conflagration. This conflict, the longest in the latter half of the twentieth century, bears the heavy stamp of the so-called Cold War, and it was not until an end was put to that, that ending this conflict became a tangible possibility, too. However, enormous efforts were needed to put on track the process of reaching out towards a settlement. Those efforts reflected the tremendous potential of goodwill and the sense of responsibility of the statesmen and policy-makers and of all those who became involved in this undertaking of global importance, for the region of which we speak is a region from which originate many sources of the world's millennial civilization and culture and where the vital interests of today's international community converge. It's a region inhabited by nations whose genius has furnished some of the greatest achievements of the human spirit.

I must say a few words about the role of the two powers whose presidents are now before you as co-chairmen of the Conference. It was the will of history that, without an improvement and then a radical change in Soviet-US relations, we would never have witnessed the profound qualitative changes in the world that now make it possible to speak in terms of an entirely new age, an age of peace in world history. Movement in that direction has begun, and it is only in this context that we can understand the fact that a tangible hope has emerged for an Arab-Israeli settlement.

Cooperation between the two powers and other members of the UN Security Council was in dispensable in order to stop the aggression against Kuwait and to reaffirm the viability of our new criteria in international relations. Directly after that, just as was agreed between President Bush and myself in September 1990 at our Helsinki meeting on the subject of the Gulf War, vigorous joint efforts began, aimed at achieving a Middle East settlement. All that we and the Americans have undertaken to that end signifies the right conclusions have been drawn from the Gulf War.

Our joint participation in the process of settlement was prompted by a desire to offer our good offices, not any desire to impose solutions from outside that would run counter to the national interests of states in the region. Thus, as a result of major bilateral and multilateral efforts, a signal was sent to the parties involved in the conflict, a signal of the need to negotiate, to work together towards finding a realistic balance of interests which alone may form the foundation for a durable peace.

Today we have a unique opportunity, and it would be unforgivable to miss this opportunity. Success is in everybody's interests, not only because the rights of the peoples and nations and of the individual are increasing[ly] recognized today as the universal foundation for our world order, but also for another reason of particular urgency and gravity, and that is the fact that the Middle East has become one of the most heavily armed regions in the world, where lethal weapons and nuclear technologies are building up, and where other weapons of mass destruction are also to be found.

There is justified cause for alarm. The inter national community is entitled to expect that this Conference will come up with decisions that will put this concern to rest. In my view, the Conference can only succeed if no one seeks any victory for one side over the other, but all seek a shared victory over a cruel past. I'm speaking of peace, rather than merely a cessation of the state of war, and a durable peace implies the implementation of and respect for the rights of the Palestinian people.

We have restored diplomatic relations with Israel. Now that deep-rooted democratic changes are taking place in our country and in the world, and now that a real process towards settling the Middle East crisis is getting underway, the absence of relations with Israel was becoming senseless. We hope and will try to make sure that this will be of benefit to the peoples of our two countries and the entire Arab world. Peace in the Middle and Near East would benefit all. The region has vast potential. Turning to constructive pursuits, it will help not only to resolve the problems of the nations that live there, but would also become an important pillar of support for global international progress and prosperity. We must break the fetters of the past and do away with hostility, militarism, terrorism, hostage-taking, and those actions that turn people into refugees.

Our country, as a participant in the Middle East process and a neighbor that has maintained long standing and extensive ties with the nations of the region, has a special stake in the success of this Conference. The pace we set and the way we tackle the problems that have emerged at the present stage of world development will have a strong bearing on the settlement of conflicts in the Middle East and elsewhere.

The acceleration of historical evolution when based on democracy is truly amazing. The tremendous social energy of the masses of people is being released, and typical of the way this is made manifest is the dramatic growth of national self-awareness and national consolidation, particularly where national feelings were long ignored or suppressed. This is, in general, a positive process that holds out great promise for the future. It will add greatly to the creative potential of the world community in all its diversity.

We now have a far better chance of keeping this process on a civilized course. At the micro level of world politics, there is a recognition of the complex implications of national aspirations and a willingness to put out the fires of inter-ethnic and inter national conflicts as witnessed in the Middle East, in Southern Africa, in Cambodia, in Korea, Afghanistan, and Central America.

Yet dangers do exist, and we're already facing such dangers. Somewhat unexpectedly, they've made themselves most strongly felt in Europe, but this entirely new international environment means that there's a much lesser temptation for any outsiders to exploit, say, the Yugoslav crisis in order to gain some advantage and strengthen their own hand at others' expense. On the contrary, the dominant tendency is to exert joint and vigorous efforts to help overcome the crisis, while respecting the right of the parties involved to decide the future destiny of their country and at the same time reminding them of their responsibility to the international community.

One may hope that crises arising in our time will not be as protracted as the one we're dealing with here. Of late, the world has been confronted by yet another crisis of tremendous proportions. What I have in

mind is my own country. It became inevitable as a result of latent contradictions building up over a long period of time. A great country is going through a great transformation. It's a painful and arduous process which has brought about personal tragedies and inter-ethnic and regional conflicts. Much in the world depends on how our crisis will be resolved. Once this crisis is overcome, our union will acquire new qualities and potential as a world power based materially on a market economy as part of the world economy, politically on democracy as part of universal democracy, and intellectually on the new thinking. We are the ones who will shoulder the main burden of achieving the recovery and prosperity of our country.

This job is for us to do. Our peoples will have to go through a difficult period of transition, but it's important that, under the new conditions created because it was our country that launched the initiative to end confrontation and to join up with the rest of the world, that the world, too, has not remained indifferent to our great cause. The world community is becoming increasingly aware that what is happening in the Soviet Union has a larger bearing than any regional conflict on the vital interests of the greater parts of today's world. Today, we hear not only murmurs of approval and good wishes. We are also beginning to see practical support as well. And this is a very significant sign of the movement towards a new era, a new age. And President Bush's initiative regarding nuclear arms, with our reciprocal initiatives, constitutes a major step and a prescient symbol of this movement.

For almost half a century nuclear arms used to be the axis upon which world politics turned. The task is now by changing the nature of those politics to replace it with something completely new and more attuned with the wheels of 21st century history. Mankind faces many peacetime challenges. All of them are formidable ones. And they include all what we call global problems: the environment, energy, food supplies, population, all the problems of development, and the total abolition of the nuclear threat, which is spreading to the edges from the former center of world confrontation. All these challenges can only be met through joint efforts. Therefore, it is essential to fracture the logic of so many millennia, and particularly the logic of this century, persistently and patiently, to shape a new logic of interdependence, interaction, and cooperation. But this task is an extremely difficult one. We see both in our country and elsewhere, even here at this Conference, ghosts of the old thinking, sometimes unnoticed, are still present among us. When we rid ourselves of their presence we will be better able to move towards a new world order. And irrespective of our individual vision of this new order, it appears that we should now promote this objective process itself, relying on the relevant mechanisms of the United Nations, the CSCE, the European Community's modernized, old, and completely new structures of regional security and co-operation, as well as the institutions created for crisis prevention and conflict settlement.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is for the delegations directly participating in the Conference to sort out the details of this enormous task. As co-chairmen of the Conference, we will be in regular contact with our American counterparts, and we will do our utmost to find solutions for which your peoples and the entire world have long been yearning. In my address I've mentioned the more general problems of the global process. I did this in order to emphasize once again the important international context of this Conference and of the challenge which you are facing. I wish you every success.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - OPENING SPEECHES:
STATEMENT BY EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AMR MUSA, 30 OCTOBER 1991**

In the name of God, the Most Merciful and the Most Compassionate: Your Excellency Mr. James Baker, Secretary of State of the USA, Your Excellency Mr. Boris Pankin, Foreign Minister of the USSR, Excellencies, Heads of Delegations,

Allow me at the outset to convey to you and to the Peace Conference which you compose, a message of profound appreciation and sincere hopes from President Hosni Mubarak, of the Arab Republic of Egypt, that the convening of the Peace Conference in the Middle East would launch a genuine peace process ushering in all the peoples of the Middle East towards new vistas replacing inequity with

justice, oppression with freedom, occupation with liberation, hostility with coexistence, doubts with confidence, and war with peace.

A multitude of emotions overwhelm us when we gather today in this great country, Spain, whose history witnessed long centuries of prosperous Arab culture, which achieved active and positive interaction between Latin and Arabic cultures. It laid [the] basis of a very rich cultural blend and background. This blend stands today an evidence of communication, not alienation or isolation of cultures, of the consolidation of co-existence, cooperation and peace. We, Egyptians and Arabs, authors of history, contributors to world civilization, ancient and contemporary, unmistakably and authentically, have strongly determined to participate in the formulation of a framework of a new world, a framework of cooperation and interaction, with principles of justice, legitimacy as its texture; equality and reciprocity in rights and obligations as its structure.

The great efforts exerted to help convene this historic gathering to launch the peace process in the Middle East, represent signals, to be hopefully confirmed by the forthcoming negotiations, of the emergence of a new will, of a staunch determination by all to achieve a just, comprehensive, peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the core of which is the question of Palestine.

At this crossroads of world history, when all the peoples in the Middle East look forward with hope and anticipation to this great event, we, along with millions of Arabs, and Israelis, indeed all those who genuinely advocate peace and freedom, feel profoundly indebted to the courageous, unrelenting and determined efforts of the US Administration throughout the few months since March 8, when President Bush embarked on his peace initiative, with the active and consistent support of the Soviet Union. US Secretary of State James Baker, through his unending highly commendable diplomatic creativity, to which I am a witness and at long last, accomplished a historic mission. The Palestinian people through their representatives took the difficult decision, so did Syria, Jordan and Israel. The decision is historic. The significance is great, it is a courageous decision to respond to the challenge of peace, a decision which we believe will be also an option for peace.

The unprecedented transformations in international relations which demolished walls of isolation, ideologies of confrontation, did lay the foundations for just settlements and achievement of peace in many troubled and conflict areas. The evolution of history at this juncture has opened for peoples and states which have not, for different reasons, availed themselves of peace opportunities before; new, probably last, prospects for the exercise of the free will of peoples to choose their own future for the restoration of their rights, opening horizons of cooperation, mutual recognition of rights and duties, for the establishment of peace with justice that would resolve the conflicting claims in a spirit of reconciliation, accommodation and harmony through dialogue and negotiation.

The cradle of the most ancient civilizations, the birthplace of three monotheistic divine religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam; the Middle East, was plagued for decades with wars, violence and revenge. More than any other region in the world, it has been doomed with untold-of tragedies, full of tears, blood and human miseries. Despair, frustration, chaos and death were the haunting figure roving in all parts of these otherwise blessed territories. The Middle East region is not perennially doomed to this fate. We believe in our collective ability to reorient the course of history, to write a new chapter for the Middle East, void of the bitter legacies of acrimony, vendetta, fears, and doubts, but instead, full of tolerance, confidence, fervor, and joint human endeavor for the sake and benefit of the future generations, Arabs and Israelis and the whole world.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Peace was the message emanating from the East, from Mount Sinai in Egypt, from Nazareth and Jerusalem, from Mecca and Medina, those eternal beacon houses for mankind. Peoples in the four corners of the world espoused the message of peace and echoed the call for one God Almighty. Will the sons of Abraham rededicate themselves to the divine message of peace and brotherhood? The decision is ours. We will stand accountable before our people and the peoples of the world if we fail to pass the test, and we must pass the test. With goodwill, strong determination and positive po-

litical will, we can make 1991 the beginning of the end of a long agonizing ordeal. This is a moment of historic decision, a moment for courage, patience, wisdom, self-confidence and vision.

In history, ancient, medieval, or modern, balances of power are never eternal. At a time, could be replaced or even annulled in different contexts of time or space. History stands a most eloquent testimony to this fact. Force never resolved a conflict similar to that of the Middle East and never will, especially if it involves a multitude of factors and claims against a background of religion, history, culture and geography and when it involves more than one party. This is the inherent morale behind the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is a conflict which defied resolution by sheer force. It is a conflict over rights, claims, counterclaims which have to be reconciled but not denied or suppressed. To this end, Egypt, an equal and full partner in the quest for peace, will leave no stone unturned, no path uncharted, no horizons unexplored to discharge its responsibility towards its Arab and Palestinian brothers and towards the whole region until the establishment of a genuine peace in honor and dignity.

Egypt is bound by historic, cultural ties and legal obligations with its Arab brethren, and the peace relationship with Israel, which would warrant a staunch support of their legitimate demands for the implementation of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and to help evolve a framework of a viable peace, security and cooperation among all countries of the Middle East parties to this conflict. Egypt feels strongly reassured that by the sponsorship of the USA and the USSR, indeed their co-chairmanship and participation in the Conference itself, the peace process stands on a most secure, most solid launching pad. The participation of the EEC constitutes an added and necessary reassurance. The positive attitudes of the EEC towards the legitimate rights of the parties to the conflict invite our appreciation. The UN presence symbolizes international legitimacy and its Resolutions 242 and 338, the basis of the negotiation process. The principles of its Charter form the frame work under which any just and acceptable settlement could be reached.

The broad based international participation underlines the unflinching international support for the peace process which provides the driving force behind the progress towards the attainment of its objectives. Peace dividends will not be exclusive reward for one party nor for the parties directly involved in the process of negotiations. The whole region, the Mediterranean, Europe, the world at large will share the fruits of peace in the Middle East. They all have a high and direct stake in the just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict that should fulfill the legitimate inalienable rights for all peoples, including the Palestinian people, and in particular its right to self-determination; a peace that should provide for the security of all states including the State of Israel through mutual recognition of rights based on equity and justice. Egypt at one of its finest moments, 1973, called for peace. In 1977 it pioneered the march toward peace, in 1979 [it] endorsed this peace with Israel. Throughout our tireless and undaunting efforts for peace, our position has always been and will always be grounded in our commitment to international legitimacy, to the UN Charter and its resolutions. Today we are all the more devoted to the same principles unchanged and unnegotiable.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Peace which we intend to establish, to consolidate and safeguard, should be built in the formula "land for peace" as reflected in Security Council Resolution 242 which unequivocally reaffirmed the inherent principle of the UN Charter on the inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by force, and the rights of all states to live in peace and security. This peace is based on a number of fundamentals, basics and factors. It means right for right, obligation for obligation. Security for security, sovereignty for sovereignty. In our conviction, this and only this can fulfill the formula peace for peace.

It is inconceivable that principles long endorsed and internationally accepted would be renegotiated or reinterpreted, or outbid complete withdrawal from all Arab territories, occupied in 1967, in the West Bank including East Jerusalem, Gaza, the Syrian Golan Heights pursuant to Security Council Resolution 242 and also from Southern Lebanon pursuant to Security Council Resolution 425, is the right prelude to promote a genuine peace with justice and dignity. Arab rights to Arab territories cannot be compromised. Recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people is the prime assurance for peaceful co-existence of Israelis, Palestinians, indeed the Arabs in their respective homelands.

Arabs did not come to relinquish their rights, accepted, endorsed, and supported by rules of international law, principles of justice, UN Charter, resolutions and world consensus, nor did they come to concede their commitments to these principles and norms; they came to search, in good faith, with mutual trust, for a common ground for acceptable formulas on how to meet concerns, reconcile different demands, reach agreements and modalities that would secure the legitimate requirements of all parties equitably and without prejudice to the rights of any party. We call upon Israel to do the same.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Launching this historic peace process should not be fettered with obstacles impeding its steady evolution towards a comprehensive permanent settlement. Basic fundamental requirements have to be respected and met.

First: The legal status of the Palestinian people should not be challenged. They are not just proprietors, inhabitants or residents of conquered territories. They are people with history, culture, distinct national identity worthy of all the attributes of other peoples.

Second: The West Bank, Gaza and Golan Heights are occupied Arab territories subject to the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 242. They are not also conquered territories. They are not lands promised to other peoples. They have their legitimate sovereigns. Claims not based on principles of legitimacy and international law, have no place in the world of today.

Third: Settlements established in territories occupied since 1967 including Jerusalem are illegal, and more settlements will foreclose potential progress towards real peace, cast doubts on the credibility of the process itself. They have to be stopped as they obstruct peace, undermine the groundwork for negotiations on the final status of the occupied territories and erode the will to coexist.

Fourth: The holy city of Jerusalem has its special status. It should remain free, accessible and sacred to all followers of Islam, Christianity and Judaism. The occupying power should not exercise monopoly, illegal sovereignty over this holy city. Persistence of unilateral decisions declared by the occupying power to annex the holy city lacks any validity or legitimacy. The status of the holy city should be subject to negotiations and settled by agreement on the context of legitimacy established by internationally accepted resolutions.

The Arab-Israeli dispute is in essence an Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Any breakthrough or progress depends on the settlement of the question of Palestine, in terms of rights and territories. It also requires termination of the Israeli occupation of the Syrian territories occupied in 1967 and Israeli withdrawal to Syrian international borders. Progress towards attainment of these objectives should be guided by rationality and wisdom. It should achieve justice and equity within the context of balanced rights and obligations on the basis of international legitimacy, conscious and with clear understanding of the historical developments.

Ladies and Gentlemen, This peace conference heralds a new turning point in the history of the Middle East. It brings time-old adversaries and enemies to a meeting ground. It attempts to bridge insurmountable gaps among former antagonists. It is an embodiment of the deep yearning of the Arab people, the Palestinians and the Israelis for peace. We hope that the Conference will resolve, with the peace process it launches, the historic conflict between the Arabs and the Israelis. We should not fail our peoples and the peoples of the world. We should not succumb to moments of despair. We come here not to lose, but to win, together. Our dividend is peace, it is a most precious dividend, that cannot be bargained away. Millions of parents, Arabs and Israelis, with their hearts broken with anguish for their lost sons, absent husbands, for their beloved ones who never returned home, are looking forward with anxious, long-waiting weary eyes.

These millions are gathered together by rays of hope. They are the corps of peace not the divisions of war, they hold and raise olive branches and address to all of us an appeal of peace and brotherhood to force open the gateway of a new history for mankind. The difficulties are great, but prospects are bright. New vistas of cooperation will be opened, new lines of communication will be established. The time has come to free the Middle East from sources of tension, weapons of mass destruction, primarily nuclear, so that resources, hitherto squandered on arms race, will be directed for develop-

ment needs, common welfare and prosperity. This is a moment of truth, commitment and hope. We have opted for peace. The path is thorny, the march is tiring and the challenge is colossal. But the objective is great, noble, and worth our pilgrimage for peace. Thank you.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - OPENING SPEECHES:
ADDRESS BY ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR, 31 OCTOBER 1991**

Distinguished Co-Chairmen, Ministers, Members of Delegations to the Conference, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is an honor to represent the people of Israel at this historic moment; and a privilege to address this opening of peace talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors. I would like to express our profound appreciation to our Spanish hosts for their hospitality, and for making this gathering for peace possible. In its two thousand years of wandering, the Jewish people paused here for several hundred years until they were expelled 500 years ago. It was in Spain that the great Jewish poet and philosopher, Yehuda Halevi, expressed the yearning for Zion of all Jews, in the words: "My heart is in the East, while I am in the utter most West."

I would also like to extend our appreciation to the co-sponsors of this conference - to the US, which has maintained a strong friendship with Israel in an alliance that has overcome occasional differences. And to the Soviet Union, which saved the lives of many Jews during the Second World War, and has now opened its gates to the repatriation of Jews to their ancient homeland.

The people of Israel look to this palace with great anticipation and expectation. We pray that this meeting will mark the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Middle East; that it will signal the end of hostility, violence, terror and war; that it will bring dialogue, accommodation, coexistence and - above all - peace.

Distinguished Co-Chairmen, Ladies and Gentlemen,

To appreciate the meaning of peace for the people of Israel, one has to view to day's Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel against the back ground of our history.

Jews have been persecuted through out the ages in almost every continent. Some countries barely tolerated us, others oppressed, tortured, slaughtered, and exiled us. This century saw the Nazi regime set out to exterminate us. The Sho'ah, the Holocaust, the catastrophic genocide of unprecedented proportions which destroyed a third of our people, became possible because no one defended us. Being home less, we were also defense less. But it was not the Holocaust which made the world community recognize our rightful claim to the Land of Israel. In fact, the rebirth of the State of Israel so soon after the Holocaust has made the world forget that our claim is immemorial. We are the only people who have lived in the Land of Israel without interruption for nearly 4,000 years; we are the only people, except for a short Crusader kingdom, who have had an independent sovereignty in this land; we are the only people for whom Jerusalem has been a capital; we are the only people whose sacred places are only in the Land of Israel.

No nation has expressed its bond with its land with as much intensity and consistency as we have. For millennia our people repeated at every occasion the cry of the Psalmist: "If I forget thee, Jerusalem, may my right hand lose its cunning." For millennia we have encouraged each other with the greeting, "next year in Jerusalem." For millennia our prayers, literature, and folklore have expressed powerful longing to return to our land. Only Eretz-Israel, the Land of Israel, is our true homeland. Any other country, no matter how hospitable, is still a Diaspora, a temporary station on the way home.

To others, it was not an attractive land. No one wanted it. Mark Twain described it only a hundred years ago as "a desolate country, which sits in sack cloth and ashes, a silent mournful expanse, which not even imagination can grace with the pomp of life." The Zionist movement gave political expression

to our claim to the Land of Israel. And in 1922 the League of Nations recognized the justice of this claim. It understood the compelling historic imperative of establishing a Jewish home land in the Land of Israel. The United Nations Organization re-affirmed this recognition after the Second World War.

Regrettably, the Arab leaders, whose friendship we wanted most, opposed a Jewish state in the region. With a few distinguished exceptions, they claimed that the Land of Israel is part of the Arab domain that stretches from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf. In defiance of international will and legality, the Arab regimes attempted to overrun and destroy the Jewish state even before it was born. The Arab spokesman at the UN declared that the establishment of a Jewish state would cause a blood bath which would make the slaughters of Ghengis Khan pale into insignificance.

In its Declaration of Independence on May 15, 1948, Israel stretched out its hand in peace to its Arab neighbors, calling for an end to war and bloodshed. In response, seven Arab states invaded Israel. The UN resolution that partitioned the country was thus violated and effectively annulled. The UN did not create Israel. The Jewish State came into being because the tiny Jewish community, in what was Mandatory Palestine, rebelled against foreign imperialist rule. We did not conquer a foreign land. We repulsed the Arab onslaught, prevented Israel's annihilation, declared its independence, and established a viable state and government institutions within a very short time.

After their attack on Israel failed, the Arab regimes continued their fight against Israel with boycott, blockade, terrorism, and outright war. Soon after the establishment of Israel, they turned against the Jewish communities in Arab countries. A wave of oppression, expropriation, and expulsion caused a mass exodus of some 800,000 Jews from lands they had inhabited from before the rise of Islam. Most of these Jewish refugees, stripped of their considerable possessions, came to Israel. They were welcomed by the Jewish State. They were given shelter and support, and they were integrated into Israeli society together with half a million survivors of the European Holocaust.

The Arab regimes' rejection of Israel's existence in the Middle East, and the continuous war they have waged against it are part of history. There have been attempts to rewrite this history which depict the Arabs as victims and Israel as the aggressor. Like attempts to deny the Holocaust, they will fail. With the demise of totalitarian regimes in most of the world, this perversion of History will disappear. In their war against Israel's existence, the Arab governments took advantage of the Cold War. They enlisted the military, economic, and political support of the Communist world against Israel, and they turned a local, regional conflict into an inter-national powder-keg. This caused the Middle East to be flooded with arms, which fueled wars and turned the area into a dangerous battle ground and a testing arena for sophisticated weapons. At the UN, the Arab states mustered the support of other Muslim countries and the Soviet Bloc. Together they had an automatic majority for countless resolutions that perverted history, paraded fiction as fact, and made a travesty of the UN and its Charter.

Arab hostility to Israel has also brought tragic human suffering to the Arab people. Tens of thousands have been killed and wounded. Hundreds of thousands of Arabs who lived in Mandatory Palestine were encouraged by their own leaders to flee from their homes. Their suffering is a blot on humanity. No decent person, least of all a Jew of this era, can be oblivious to this suffering. Several hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs live in slums known as refugee camps in Gaza, Judea, and Samaria. Attempts by Israel to rehabilitate and house them have been defeated by Arab objections. Nor has their fate been any better in Arab states. Unlike the Jewish refugees who came to Israel from Arab countries, most Arab refugees were neither welcomed nor integrated by their hosts. Only the Kingdom of Jordan awarded them citizenship. Their plight has been used as a political weapon against Israel. The Arabs who have chosen to remain in Israel - Christian, Muslim and Druze - have become full-fledged citizens enjoying equal rights and representation in the legislature, in the judiciary, and in all walks of life.

We, who over the centuries were denied access to our holy places, respect the religion of all faiths in our country. Our law guarantees freedom of worship and protects the holy places of every religion.

Distinguished Co-Chairmen, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I stand before you today in yet another quest for peace, not only on behalf of the State of Israel, but in the name of the entire Jewish people, that has maintained an unbreakable bond with the Land of Israel for almost 4,000 years. Our pursuit of accommodation and peace has been relentless. For us, the ingathering of Jews into their ancient homeland, their integration in our society, and the creation of the necessary infrastructure are at the very top of our national agenda. A nation that faces such a gigantic challenge would most naturally desire peace with all its neighbors. Since the beginning of Zionism, we have formulated innumerable peace proposals and plans. All of them were rejected. The first crack in the wall of hostility occurred in 1977 when the late President Anwar Sadat of Egypt decided to break the taboo and come to Jerusalem. His gesture was reciprocated with enthusiasm by the people and government of Israel, headed by Menachem Begin. This development led to the Camp David Accords and the Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel. Four years later, in May 1983, an agreement was signed with the lawful government of Lebanon. Unfortunately, this agreement was not fulfilled, because of outside intervention. But the precedent was set, and we looked forward to courageous steps, similar to those of Anwar Sadat. Regrettably, not one Arab leader has seen fit to come forward and respond to our call for peace.

Today's gathering is a result of a sustained American effort, based on our own peace plan of May 1989 which, in turn, was founded on the Camp David Accords. According to the American initiative, the purpose of this meeting is to launch direct peace negotiations between Israel and each of its neighbors, and multilateral negotiations on regional issues among all the countries of the region.

We have always believed that only direct, bilateral talks can bring peace. We have agreed to precede such talks with this ceremonial conference, but we hope that Arab consent to direct, bilateral talks indicates an understanding that there is no other way to peace. In the Middle East, this has special meaning, because such talks imply mutual acceptance; and the root cause of the conflict is the Arab refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the State of Israel.

The multilateral talks that would accompany the bilateral negotiations are a vital component in the process. In these talks, the essential ingredients of coexistence and regional cooperation will be discussed. There cannot be genuine peace in our region unless these regional issues are addressed and resolved.

We believe the goal of the bilateral negotiations is to sign peace treaties between Israel and its neighbors, and to reach an agreement on interim self-government arrangements with the Palestinian Arabs. But nothing can be achieved without goodwill. I appeal to the Arab leaders, those who are here and those who have not yet joined the process: Show us and the world that you accept Israel's existence. Demonstrate your readiness to accept Israel as a permanent entity in the region. Let the people in our region hear you speak in the language of reconciliation, coexistence, and peace with Israel.

In Israel there is an almost total consensus for the need for peace. We only differ on the best ways to achieve it. In most Arab countries the opposite seems to be true: the only differences are over the ways to push Israel into a defenseless position and, ultimately, to destruction. We would like to see in your countries an end to poisonous preachings against Israel. We would like to see an indication of the kind of hunger for peace which characterizes Israeli society.

We appeal to you to renounce the Jihad against Israel. We appeal to you to denounce the PLO covenant which calls for Israel's destruction. We appeal to you to condemn declarations that call for Israel's annihilation, like the one issued by the rejectionist conference in Teheran last week. We appeal to you to let Jews, who wish to leave your countries, go.

And we address a call to the Palestinian Arabs: Renounce violence and terrorism; use the universities in the administered territories - whose existence was made possible only by Israel - for learning and development, not agitation and violence; stop exposing your children to danger by sending them to throw bombs and stones at soldiers and civilians.

Just two days ago, we were reminded that Palestinian terrorism is still rampant, when a mother of seven children and a father of four were slaughtered in cold blood. We cannot remain indifferent and be expected to talk with people involved in such repulsive activities. We appeal to you to shun dictators like Saddam Hussein who aim to destroy Israel; stop the brutal torture and murder of those who do not agree with you; allow us, and the world community, to build decent housing for the people who now live in refugee camps. Above all, we hope you finally realize that you could have been at this table long ago, soon after the Camp David accords were first concluded, had you chosen dialogue instead of violence, co existence instead of terrorism.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We come to this process with an open heart, sincere intentions, and great expectations. We are committed to negotiating without interruption until an agreement is reached. There will be problems, obstacles, crises, and conflicting claims. But it is better to talk than to shed blood. Wars have not solved anything in our region. They have only caused misery, suffering, bereavement, and hatred.

We know our partners to the negotiations will make territorial demands on Israel. But, as an examination of the conflict's long history makes clear, its nature is not territorial. It raged well before Israel acquired Judea, Samaria, Gaza, and the Golan in a defensive war. There was no hint of recognition of Israel before the war in 1967, when the territories in question were not under Israeli control.

We are a nation of four million. The Arab nations from the Atlantic to the Gulf number 170 million. We control only 28,000 square kilometers. The Arabs possess a land mass of 14 million square kilometers. The issue is not territory but our existence.

It will be regrettable if the talks focus primarily and exclusively on territory. It is the quickest way to an impasse. What we need, first and foremost, is the building of confidence, the removal of the danger of confrontation, and the development of relations in as many spheres as possible.

The issues are complex, and the negotiations will be lengthy and difficult. We submit that the best venue for the talks is in our region, in close proximity to the decision-makers, not in a foreign land. We invite our partners to this process to come to Israel for the first round of talks. On our part, we are ready to go to Jordan, to Lebanon, and to Syria for the same purpose. There is no better way to make peace than to talk in each other's home. Avoiding such talks is a denial of the purpose of the negotiations. I would welcome a positive answer from the representatives of these states here and now. We must learn to live together. We must learn to live without war, without bloodshed. Judaism has given the world not only the belief in one God, but the idea that all men and women are created in God's image. There is no greater sin than to ravage this image by shedding blood.

I am sure that there is no Arab mother who wants her son to die in battle - just as there is no Jewish mother who wants her son to die in war. I believe every mother wants her children to learn the art of living, not the science of war. For many hundreds of years, wars, deep antagonisms, and terrible suffering cursed this continent on which we meet. The nations of Europe saw the rise of dictators and their defeat after lengthy and painful struggles. Now, they are together - former bitter enemies - in a united community. They are discussing the good of the community, co operating in all matters, acting almost as one unit. I envy them. I would like to see such a community rise in the Middle East. And I believe that, despite all differences between us, we should be able, gradually, to build a united regional community. Today it is a dream - but we have seen, in our own lifetime, some of the most fantastic dreams become reality. Today, the gulf separating the two sides is still too wide; the Arab hostility to Israel too deep; the lack of trust too immense, to permit a dramatic, quick solution. But, we must start on the long road to reconciliation with this first step in the peace process. We are convinced that human nature prefers peace to war and belligerence. We, who have had to fight seven wars and sacrifice many thousands of lives, glorify neither death nor war. The Jewish faith exalts peace even to the extent that it considers it a synonym for the Creator Himself. We yearn for peace. We pray for peace.

We believe the blessing of peace can turn the Middle East into a paradise; a center of cultural, scientific, medical and technological creativity. We can foresee a period of great economic progress that would put an end to misery, hunger and illiteracy. It could put the Middle East - the cradle of civilization - on the road to a new era. Such a goal merits our devotion and dedication for as long as it is necessary until, in the words of the prophet Isaiah, we shall be able to turn "swords into ploughshares" and bring the blessings of peace to all the peoples of our region. Let me conclude with the words of the same prophet: "Peace, peace, both for far and near, says the Lord."

Distinguished Co-Chairmen, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let us resolve to leave this hall with a united determination that from now on, any differences we may have will be solved only by negotiations, goodwill, and mutual tolerance. Let us declare, here and now, an end to war, to belligerency, and to hostility. Let us march forward together, to reconciliation and peace.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - OPENING SPEECHES: ADDRESS BY
HAIDAR ABDUL SHAFI, HEAD OF THE PALESTINE DELEGATION, 31 OCTOBER 1991**

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

O esteemed audience. Allow me first to extend greetings of thanks and appreciation to the State of Spain, King, government, and people, for hosting this historic conference. I would also like to extend greetings of pride and appreciation for the sons of the Palestinian people who are still struggling for freedom and independence. I will now speak on their behalf to you and the various democratic powers in the world in English.

Mr. Baker, Mr. Pankin, ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of the Palestinian delegation, we meet in Madrid, a city with a rich texture of history, to weave together the fabric which joins our past with future, to reaffirm a wholeness of vision which once brought about a reverse of civilization and a world order based on harmony in diversity. Once again, Christian, Muslim, and Jew face the challenge of heralding a new era enshrined in global values of democracy, human rights, freedom, justice, and security. From Madrid, we launch this quest for peace, a quest to place the sanctity of human life at the center of our world, and to redirect our energies and resources from the pursuit of mutual destruction to the pursuit of joint prosperity, progress, and happiness.

We, the people of Palestine, stand before you in the fullness of our pain, our pride, and our anticipation, for we long harbored a yearning for peace and a dream of justice and freedom. For too long, the Palestinian people have gone unheeded, silenced and denied. Our identity negated by political expediency; our right for struggle against injustice maligned; and our present existence subdued by the past tragedy of another people. For the greater part of this century we have been victimized by the myth of a land without a people and described with impunity as the invisible Palestinians. Before such willful blindness, we refused to disappear or to accept a distorted identity. Our Intifada is a testimony to our perseverance and resilience waged in a just struggle to regain our rights. It is time for us to narrate our own story, to stand witness as advocates of truth which has long lain buried in the consciousness and conscience of the world. We do not stand before you as supplicants, but rather as the torch-bearers who know that, in our world of today; ignorance can never be an excuse. We seek neither an admission of guilt after the fact, nor vengeance for past inequities, but rather an act of will that would make a just peace a reality.

We speak out, ladies and gentlemen, from the full conviction of the rightness of our cause, the verity of our history, and the depth of our commitment. Therein lies the strength of the Palestinian people today, for we have scaled walls of fear and reticence, and we wish to speak out with the courage and integrity that our narrative and history deserve. The cosponsors have invited us here today to present our case and to reach on the land of Palestine. But even in the invitation to this peace conference, our narrative was distorted and our truth only partially acknowledged.

The Palestinian people are one, fused by centuries of history in Palestine, bound together by a collective memory of shared sorrows and joys, and sharing a unity of purpose and vision. Our songs and ballads, full of tales and children's stories, the dialect of our jokes, the image of our poems, that hint of melancholy which colors even our happiest moments, are as important to us as the blood ties which link our families and clans. Yet, an invitation to discuss peace, the peace we all desire and need, comes to only a portion of our people. It ignores our national, historical, and organic unity. We come here wrenched from our sisters and brothers in exile to stand before you as the Palestinian under occupation, although we maintain that each of us represents the rights and interests of the whole.

We have been denied the right to publicly acknowledge our loyalty to our leadership and system of government. But allegiance and loyalty cannot be censored or severed. Our acknowledged leadership is more than [the] justly democratically chosen leadership of all the Palestinian people. It is the symbol of our national unity and identity, the guardian of our past, the protector of our present, and the hope of our future. Our people have chosen to entrust it with their history and the preservation of our precious legacy. This leadership has been clearly and unequivocally recognized by the community of nations, with only a few exceptions who had chosen for so many years shadow over substance. Regardless of the nature and conditions of our oppression, whether the disposition and dispersion of exile or the brutality and repression of the occupation, the Palestinian people cannot be torn asunder. They remain united - a nation wherever they are, or are forced to be.

And Jerusalem, ladies and gentlemen, that city which is not only the soul of Palestine, but the cradle of three world religions, is tangible even in its claimed absence from our midst at this stage. It is apparent, through artificial exclusion from this conference, that this is a denial of its right to seek peace and redemption. For it, too, has suffered from war and occupation. Jerusalem, the city of peace, has been barred from a peace conference and deprived of its calling. Palestinian Jerusalem, the capital of our homeland and future state, defines Palestinian existence, past, present, and future, but itself has been denied a voice and an identity. Jerusalem defies exclusive possessiveness or bondage. Israel's annexation of Arab Jerusalem remains both clearly illegal in the eyes of the world community, and an affront to the peace that this city deserves.

We come to you from a tortured land and a proud, though captive people, having been asked to negotiate with our occupiers, but leaving behind the children of the Intifada, and a people under occupation and under curfew who enjoined us not to surrender or forget. As we speak, thousands of our brothers and sisters are languishing in Israeli prisons and detention camps, most detained without evidence, charge, or trial, many cruelly mistreated and tortured in interrogation, guilty only of seeking freedom or daring to defy the occupation. We speak in their name and we say: Set them free. As we speak, the tens of thousands who have been wounded or permanently disabled are in pain. Let peace heal their wounds. As we speak, the eyes of thousands of Palestinian refugees, deportees, and displaced persons since 1967 are haunting us, for exile is a cruel fate. Bring them home. They have the right to return. As we speak, the silence of demolished homes echoes through the halls and in our minds. We must rebuild our homes in our free state.

And what do we tell the loved ones of those killed by army bullets? How do we answer the questions and the fear in our children's eyes? For one out of three Palestinian children under occupation has been killed, injured, or detained in the past four years. How can we explain to our children that they are denied education, for schools are so often closed by the army? Or why their life is in danger for raising a flag in a land where even children are killed or jailed? What requiem can be sung for trees uprooted by army bulldozers? And most of all, who can explain to those whose lands are confiscated and clear waters stolen, a message of peace? Remove the barbed wire. Restored the land and its life-giving water. The settlements must stop now. Peace cannot be waged while Palestinian land confiscated in myriad ways and the status of the occupied territories is being decided each day by Israeli bulldozers and barbed wire. This is not simply a position. It is an irrefutable reality. Territory for peace is a travesty when territory for illegal settlement is official Israeli policy and practice. The settlements must stop now.

In the name of the Palestinian people, we wish to directly address the Israeli people with whom we have had a prolonged exchange of pain: Let us share hope, instead. We are willing to live side by side on the land and the promise of the future. Sharing, however, requires two partners, willing to share as equals. Mutuality and reciprocity must replace domination and hostility for genuine reconciliation and coexistence under international legality. Your security and ours are mutually dependent, as entwined as the fears and nightmares of our children. We have seen some of you at your best and at your worst. For the occupier can hide no secrets from the occupied, and we are witness to the toll that occupation has exacted from you and yours.

We have seen you agonize over the transformation of your sons and daughters into instruments of a blind and violent occupation. And we are sure that at no time did you envisage such a role for the children whom you thought would forge your future. We have seen you look back in deepest sorrow at the tragedy of your past, and look on in horror at the disfigurement of the victim-turned-oppressor. Not for this have you nurtured your hopes dreams, and your off-spring. This is why we have responded with solemn appreciation to those of you who came to offer consolation to our bereaved, to give support to those whose homes were being demolished and to extend encouragement and counsel to those detained behind barbed wire and iron bars. And we have marched together, often choking together in the nondiscriminatory tear gas or crying out in pain as the clubs descended on both Palestinian and Israeli alike, for pain knows no national boundaries, and no one can claim a monopoly on suffering. We once formed a human chain around Jerusalem, joining hands and calling for peace. Let us today form a moral chain around Madrid and continue that noble effort for peace and a promise of freedom for our sons and daughters. Break through the barriers of mistrust and manipulated fears. Let us look forward in magnanimity and in hope.

To our Arab brothers and sisters, most of whom are represented here in this historic occasion, we express our loyalty and gratitude for their life-long support and solidarity. We are here together seeking a just and lasting peace, whose cornerstone is freedom for Palestine, justice for the Palestinians, and an end to the occupation of all Palestinian and Arab lands. Only then can we really enjoy together the fruits of peace, prosperity, security, and human dignity and freedom.

In particular, we address our Jordanian colleagues in our joint delegation: Our two peoples have a very special historic and geographic relationship. Together, we shall strive to achieve peace. We will continue to strive for our sovereignty, while proceeding freely and willingly to prepare the grounds for a confederation between the two states of Palestine and Jordan, which can be a cornerstone for our security and prosperity.

To the community of nations on our fragile planet, to the nations of Africa and Asia, to the Muslim world, and particularly to Europe, on whose southern and neighborly shores we meet today, from the heart of our collective struggle for peace, we greet you and acknowledge your support and recognition. You have recognized our rights and our government, and have given us real support and protection. You have penetrated the distorting mist of racism, stereotyping, and ignorance, and committed the act of seeing the invisible and listening to the voice of the silenced. Palestinians under occupation and in exile have become a reality in your eyes, and with courage and determination, you have affirmed the truth of our narrative. You have taken up our cause and our case, and we have brought you into our hearts. We thank you for caring and daring to know the truth, the truth which must set us all free.

To the cosponsors and participants in this occasion of awe and challenge, we pledge our commitment to the principle of justice, peace, and reconciliation based on international legitimacy and uniform standards. We shall persist in our quest for peace to place before you the substance and determination of our people, often victimized but never defeated. We shall pursue our people's right to self-determination to the exhilaration of freedom and to the warmth of the sun as a nation among equals. This is the moment of truth. You must have the courage to recognize it and the will to implement it, for our truth can no longer be hidden away in the dark recesses of inadvertency or neglect. People of Palestine look at you with a straightforward, direct gaze, seeking to touch your heart, for you have

dared to stir up hopes that cannot be abandoned. You cannot afford to let us down, for we have lived up to the values you espouse, and we have remained true to our cause.

We, the Palestinian people, made the imaginative leap in the Palestinian National Council of November 1988, during which the Palestine Liberation Organization launched its peace initiative based on Security Council Resolution 242 and 338, and declared Palestinian independence based on Resolution 181 of the United Nations, which gave birth to two states in 1948, Israel and Palestine. December 1988, a historic speech before the United Nations in Geneva led directly to the launching of the Palestinian-American dialogue. Ever since then, our people have responded positively to every serious peace initiative and have done the utmost to ensure the success of this process. Israel, on the other hand, has placed many obstacles and barriers in the path of peace to negate the very validity of the process. Its illegal and frenzied settlement activity is the most glaring evidence of its rejectionism, the latest settlement being erected just two days ago. These historic decisions of the Palestine National Council wrench the course of history from inevitable confrontation and conflict towards peace and mutual recognition. With our own hands and in an act of sheer will, we have molded the shape of the future of our people. Our parliament has articulated the message of the people, with the courage to say “yes” to the challenge of history, just as it provided the reference in its resolutions last month in Algiers and in the Central Council meeting this month in Tunis to go forward to this historic conference. We cannot be made to bear the brunt of other people’s “no’s.” We must have reciprocity. We must have peace.

Ladies and gentlemen: In the Middle East, there is no superfluous people outside time and place, but rather a state sorely missed by time and place. The state of Palestine must be born on the land of Palestine to redeem the injustice of the destruction of its historical reality and to free the people of Palestine from the shackles of their victimization.

Our homeland has never ceased to exist in our minds and hearts, but it has to exist as a state on all the territories occupied by Israel in the war of 1967 with Arab Jerusalem as its capital in the context of that city’s special status and its nonexclusive character.

This state, in a condition of emergence, has already been a subject of anticipation for too long, should take place today rather than tomorrow. However, we are willing to accept the proposal for a transitional stage provided interim arrangements are not transformed into permanent status. The time frame must be condensed to respond to the dispossessed Palestinians’ urgent need for sanctuary and to the occupied Palestinians’ right to gain relief from oppression and to win recognition of their authentic will.

During this phase, international protection for our people is most urgently needed. And the *de jure* application of the Fourth Geneva Convention is a necessary condition. The phases must not prejudice the outcome. Rather, they require an internal momentum and motivation to lead sequentially to sovereignty. Bilateral negotiations on the withdrawal of Israeli forces, the dissolution of Israeli administration, and the transfer of authority to the Palestinian people cannot proceed under coercion or threat in the current asymmetry of power. Israel must demonstrate its willingness to negotiate in good faith by immediately halting all settlement activity and land confiscation while implementing meaningful confidence-building measures.

Without genuine progress, tangible constructive changes and just agreements during the bilateral talks, multilateral negotiations will be meaningless. Regional stability, security, and development are the logical outcome of an equitable and just solution to the Palestinian question, which remains the key to the resolution of wider conflict and concerns.

In its confrontation of wills between the legitimacy of the people and the illegality of the occupation, the Intifada’s message has been consistent: to embody the Palestinian state and to build its institutions and infrastructure. We seek recognition for this creative impulse which nurtures within the potential nascent state.

We have paid a heavy price for daring to substantiate our authenticity and to practice popular democracy in spite of the cruelty of occupation. It was a sheer act of will that brought us here; the same will

which asserted itself in the essence of the Intifada as the cry for freedom, an act of civil resistance and people's participation and empowerment.

The Intifada is our drive towards nation-building and social transformation. We are here today with the support of our people, who have given itself the right to hope and to make a stand for peace. We must recognize as well that some of our people harbor serious doubts and skepticism about this process. Within our democratic, social, and political structures, we have evolved a respect for pluralism and diversity and we shall guard the opposition's right to differ within the parameters of mutual respect and national unity.

The process launched here must lead us to the light at the end of the tunnel. And this light is the promise of a new Palestine-free, democratic, and respectful of human rights and the integrity of nature. Self-determination, ladies and gentlemen, can neither be granted nor withheld at the will of the political self-interest of others. For it is enshrined in all international charters and humanitarian law. We claim this right; we firmly assert it here before you and in the eyes of the rest of the world. For it is a sacred and inviolable right which we shall relentlessly pursue and exercise with dedication and self-confidence and pride.

Let's end the Palestinian-Israeli fatal proximity In this unnatural condition of occupation, which has already claimed too many lives. No dream of expansion or glory can justify the taking of a single life. Set us free to re-engage as neighbors and as equals on our holy land.

To our people in exile and under occupation, who have sent us to this appointment, laden with their trust, love, and aspirations, we say that the load is heavy and the task is great, but we shall be true. In the words of our great national poet Mahmud Darwish: *My homeland is not a suitcase, and I am no traveler.*

To the exiled and the occupied we say you shall return and you shall remain and we will prevail, for our cause is just. We will put our embroidered robes and *kafiyehs* in the sight of the world and celebrate together on the day of liberation.

Refugee camps are not fit for people who were raised on the land of Palestine in the warmth of the sun and freedom. The hail of Israeli bombs almost daily pouring down on our defenseless civilian population in the refugee camps of Lebanon is no substitute for the healing rain of the homeland. Yet, the international will had ensured their return in United Nations Resolution 194 - a fact willfully ignored and unenacted. Similarly, all other resolutions pertinent to the Palestinian question beginning with resolution 181, through resolutions 242 and 338, and ending with Security Council resolution 681, have until now been relegated to the domain of public debate rather than real implementation. They formed a larger body of legality, including all relevant provisions of international law within which any peaceful settlement must proceed. If international legitimacy and the rule of law are to prevail and govern relations among nations, they must be respected and impartially and uniformly implemented. We as Palestinians require nothing less than justice.

Palestinians everywhere: Today we bear in our hands the precious gift of your love and your pain, and we shall set it down gently here before the eyes of the world and say there is a right here which must be acknowledged - the right to self-determination and statehood. There is strength and there is the scent of sacred incense in the air. Jerusalem, the heart of our homeland and the cradle of the soul, is shimmering through the barriers of occupation and deceit.

The deliberate violation of its sanctities is also an act of violence against the collective human, cultural, and spiritual memory and an aggression against its enduring symbols of tolerance, magnanimity, and respect for cultural and religious authenticity.

The cobbled streets of the old city must not echo with the discordant beat of Israeli military boots. We must restore to them the chant of the muezzin, the chimes of the church, the call of the ram, and the prayers of all the faithful calling for peace in the city of peace.

From Madrid let's light the candle of peace and let the olive branch blossom. Let's celebrate the rituals of justice and rejoice in the hymns of truth, for the awe of the moment is a promise to the future, which we all must redeem.

Palestinians will be free and will stand tall among the community of nations in the fullness of the pride and dignity which, by right, belongs to all people. Today, our *people* under occupation are holding high the olive branch of peace. In the words of Chairman Arafat in 1974 before the UN General Assembly: *Let not the olive branch of peace fall from my hands. Let not the olive branch of peace fall from the hands of the Palestinian people.* May God's mercy, peace, and blessings be upon you.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - OPENING SPEECHES:
ADDRESS BY JORDAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER KAMEL ABU JABER, 31 OCTOBER 1991**

"Blessed are the Peace Makers."

The Honorable James Baker, Secretary of State of the United States of America, the Honorable Boris Pankin, Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Distinguished Personal Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ambassador Edward Brunner, the Distinguished Head of the European Community Delegation, Mr. van den Broek, Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Distinguished Observer from the Gulf Cooperation Council, His Excellency Mr. Abdullah Bisharah, the Distinguished Observer from the Maghreb Cooperation Council, His Excellency Mr. Mohammed Amamu, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with sincere appreciation that I thank the governments of the United States of America and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics for co-sponsoring this historic Conference. For us this occasion represents what we must strive to make, the final turning point, from a drift towards ultimate disaster for our peoples, our region, and possibly the world, to a new era of a properly constructed true peace, hope, and life. All the parties to this most chronic and tragic conflict need your continued interest and support, together with the rest of the world, so that we may attain the just peace that the peoples of the region need and deserve.

We also salute His Majesty King Juan Carlos, the guardian of Spanish democracy, as well as Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, the Spanish government and people, for hosting the conference in Madrid. We thank them for their gracious hospitality and warm welcome.

This is an historic moment. The challenges and the issues before us are momentous. In his speech before the National Congress in Amman on 12th October 1991, His Majesty King Hussein identified the essence of the challenge when he spoke of the possibilities of true peace and its implications for the future of the children of Abraham, father of both Jews and Arabs alike. It is worthy of note that Spain seeks to honor Arabs and Jews in 1992 in the context of the contributions of the Andalus and Sepharad. Together they generously contributed to a rich civilization, the fruits of which not only Spain, but the world and humanity, have since appreciated.

It is not impossible to hope that this Conference will herald the dawn of a new era to rectify the mistakes of the past. Perhaps the possibility of joint contribution is again at hand. Everyone must remember that God has "created mankind as nations and tribes so that they may know each other. The most noble of you, in the sight of Allah, is the most pious" (The Holy Koran, Sura 49/13). And if this Conference does anything, it must end Israel's self-righteous attitude to live by its own rules alone. This Conference is also about the credibility of international law, the United Nations Charter, and human rights.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Jordan comes to this Conference in good faith. Our vision is not merely an end to hostility - another truce - but a comprehensive, just, and permanent peace. Our region has known nothing but instability and violence since the turn of the century. It is about time that it enjoys peace.

What is needed is not only sight but vision - vision to stand on top of the hill, not in the valley, so as to enable ourselves to look into the future and to evaluate the consequences of the absence of peace. For far too long, the peoples of the region have been locked in the groove of their own historical animosities, suspicions, and acrimony.

That is why we in Jordan register our appreciation for the endeavor of President Bush, as well as the support of President Gorbachev. It is our hope that the personal interest and support of both will remain, even increase, throughout the negotiations.

We come to this Conference standing on strong moral grounds, buttressed by a record of moderation and wise vision since the creation of our state in modern times. The most tragic conflict which we are now addressing is one of the oldest on the agenda of the United Nations, and though it may appear regional, its international dimensions are many and obvious. It is especially so against the background of the Gulf crisis in that it severely tests the credibility of the United Nations and that of the five permanent members of the Security Council. It was in the wake of the Gulf crisis that President Bush undertook to work seriously toward its resolution. We also appreciate the Soviet co-sponsorship of the effort as well as the support of the European Community.

We take heart that this whole enterprise is firmly anchored in international legitimacy as embodied in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 based on the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force, and providing for the exchange of land for peace. While it was true that most Arabs, out of a sense of outrage and feelings of injustice and betrayal, have refused since 1947 to contemplate accommodation, there were others in the Arab world who were willing to be counted for peace. Over the decades of the thirties, forties, and beyond, indeed until the present moment, the arena was abandoned to the radicals. In the clash of ideas, visions, and armies that have ensued since then, reason, often humanity itself, was pushed beyond the frontiers of choice. The situation deteriorated to the condition of a primitive state of nature, where brute force replaced civilized behavior, where might replaced right.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which I have the honor to represent, has been, since the outset of this conflict, on the side of every effort to seriously solve it peacefully. King Hussein was actively involved in the formulation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, a foundation of this Conference.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Today we have an historic opportunity for peace in a land that has not tasted it for a long time. We must remember that the extremists and the rejectionists who speak in absolute terms are still lurking in the wings. It is from there that they issue their often repeated clichés and venomous threats.

Inasmuch as peace is a good in itself, an inherent value, it is also a battle against the absolutist ideologues invoking ancient hatreds. Many think that the situation should not be resolved but left to future generations to deal with. Those of vision, however, see it differently. Considering the immediacy of the need to reach a settlement at this particular moment of world history with its interdependence between peoples and nations, King Hussein said: "We must be involved in the drive for peace because it concerns our present and future - otherwise, the outcome, God forbid, will be ominous dangers."

It is for this reason that it is important to emphasize transcending the present in the search for the future. To continue to be locked in the mental straitjacket of absolutist ideologies means that there will never be a way out of the shackles of hatred.

We take to heart and with respect the words of President Bush in his 6th of March, 1991 address before the American Congress, when he said: "I expressed my hope that out of the horrors of war might come new momentum for peace. We have learned in the modern age, geography cannot guarantee security and security does not come from military power alone. By now, it should be plain to all parties that peace-making in the Middle East requires compromise."

Peace cannot, indeed must not, reflect the military balance of the belligerents now. It should, essentially, reflect the hope of a better future that will end, once and for all, our living in the midst of conflicting tragedies. It should bring us all in step with a new world that will shatter the shadows, the misery, and the fog that engulfs our lives. It was Albert Einstein who said: "Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding."

It should not be a peace at any price but an honorable peace with which we and future generations can live: a durable peace which is the product of negotiations. It must be the outcome of mutual understanding and accommodation between the parties to the conflict without sacrificing rights or deviating from the principles of international law.

Jordan's position rests on the very simple yet direct assumption that in the end, nothing is true but the truth; that a moral and just stand is ultimately more powerful than brute force. Although the world, and the Israelis themselves, know and are aware of our innocence of the crimes against the Jewish people, Israel's indignant outrage has not induced a sense of balanced justice. It has become our fate in Jordan to live with, as well as to suffer, and to contain the powerful forces of extremism. The Nazis and others unleashed the passions of injured Zionism for which the Palestinians and Jordan have paid the price. God only knows the price we continue to pay for the sins of others. It has come to pass that our land, our culture, our people, even our very souls, as well as everything we hold dear and sacred, continue to be plundered and distorted to accommodate new realities and manufactured facts, brutally created on the ground.

And so it is that we not only ask what to do, but also welcome the present effort. The question is the more agonizing as we in the Arab world, and in Jordan in particular, contemplate our situation. In Jordan three times in four decades, we had to make room for large waves of destitute and bewildered refugees forced out of their lands and homes. We are aware, as are our people, that in the nature of things a negotiated settlement does not represent total justice. Yet, with our traditional Jordanian moderation, rational approach, and consideration of our vision of the future, we have made consensus and balance a cornerstone of our political thesis since 1967. In the words of King Hussein: "Peace is essential to us in leading a normal life." "We have made it a symbol for a better life for future generations." "Peace has become a national objective."

That is why we think that the formula of land for peace rings more meaningfully true than any other principle or slogan. The echo of the drums of war reverberates in the heart and soul of the region. Is it not time that we, now on the threshold of the twenty-first century, bring peace to our peoples?

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Jordan enters this process from a position of moral strength, secure in the knowledge that reasonable men can reach reasonable solutions; that justice must ultimately prevail; that peace is indeed the master of all judgments, and its logic necessitates accommodation, not belligerency. Otherwise, we may truly become one-dimensional with neither soul nor spirit, driven by the primeval instincts of the political jungle, leading us to perish in perils of our own making.

We should shed the psychology of fear, get out of the shadow, and realize that states, too, like people, sometimes commit suicide because of their fear of life. More land is not more security. Occupation is against every legal principle, and the shape it has taken in the Arab occupied territories contravenes the United Nations Charter and the Fourth Geneva Convention. The building of settlements and the appropriation of land are both in clear contravention of the rules of international law.

The justice that Jordan seeks requires resort to law; law that governs the actions of men, freeing them to live secure in a stable, ordered, and institutionalized universe. That alone can assure the proper division of labor and resources, and that alone can guarantee not only survival, but freedom and security. The technology of war has far out-distanced our true appreciation of its destructiveness and danger. Otherwise, how can we continue to contemplate our security in terms of missiles, nuclear, bio-

logical, and chemical weapons? Our mission must transcend the issues of mere survival to become the search for a new future.

That is why His Majesty King Hussein, in his nationwide speech of 12th October, 1991, solicited the help and support of the international community in this process: "Our cause is not only between us and Israel but also between the world and Israel... between the supremacy of international law ...and the flouting of it... The whole world rejects what Israel's leadership is saying because it contravenes international legitimacy. Indeed, a relatively growing segment of Israelis are not too far from this world view."

The King added that our world today is "peace-oriented" and that the Arabs and the rest of the world will come together in their mutual desire and interests to find a peaceful solution. That is one of the bases of the Jordanian position: a search for peace secure in the support of the entire Arab world, indeed, the whole world community, and in particular, the Palestinians. We and the Palestinians have a just cause which must be addressed and resolved with equity and fairness.

Our second basis for entering this peace process is our expectation that there will be no asymmetry or double standards.

The third basis of the Jordanian approach is that our cause and that of our Palestinian brethren is intricately linked by ties of history, culture, religion, language, demography, geography, as well as human suffering and national aspirations. King Hussein said: "We would have preferred an independent Palestinian delegation, though we have no objection to providing an umbrella for our Palestinian brethren, since we are keenly aware that both Jordanians and Palestinians are besieged as the parties directly and adversely effected by the continuation of the *status quo* of the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Fourth, the peace we seek must be based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The objective is real peace. We must emphasize that our understanding of Resolution 242 is that it is based on the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the exchange of land for peace. The deliberations preceding its adoption and in which Jordan participated were based on that principle. Our position is firmly based on United Nations resolutions and international law. We are aware that Israel's creation was the result of United Nations Resolution 181 of 29th November, 1947. It is in accordance with the strength of these resolutions as well as the general principles of international law that Jordan demands the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied Jordanian, Palestinian, Syrian, and Lebanese lands.

The three dimensions of the Jordanian position - the Jordanian, Palestinian, and regional - are founded on international law. Resolution 242 is a valid international instrument unanimously agreed upon by the international community. It is binding on all member states of the United Nations in accordance with Article 25 of the United Nations Charter.

Arab sovereignty must be restored in Arab Jerusalem. In the context of peace, Jerusalem will represent the essence and symbol of peace between the followers of the three great monotheistic religions. It is God's will that has made the historic city important to them all. The illegal settlements should be removed and not augmented; the issue of Palestinian refugees and that of the displaced must be solved in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Palestinian people must be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination in their ancestral home land. The fulfillment of these demands is a question of the credibility of United Nations resolutions. Let me speak plainly - Jordan has never been Palestine and will not be so. Withdrawal from Lebanon and the application of United Nations Security Council Resolution 425 is also an essential prerequisite for the establishment of a regional peace.

Fifth, the peace we seek as a result of negotiations is a permanent one, a just and comprehensive peace π peace that will focus on region-wide issues such as arms control and regional security, water, the environment, the fate of the Palestinian refugees and the displaced, and the economic balance

among the peoples of the area through joint development programs. Peace must mean security for all, protected by all in their hearts and souls, because it is founded on justice and honor.

Sixth, our position is also predicated on our vision of a better future that will replace the present bitterness and frustration and, in the words of King Hussein: “enable us to transform the realities into positive forces that will take us from despair to hope, from confrontation and the four decades of suffering, anxiety, and pain that accompanied it, and which left an imprint on our lives, to peace and its promise of security, stability, opportunities, and prosperity for all; from the no-war, no-peace situation and its real dangers, to a condition of certainty and ease which will enhance the creativity and hopes of the younger generation.”

We seek a real peace where men, women, and children do not have to cower behind fortresses. Our quest is for an honorable peace that would enable our peoples to tear down the walls of fear and hatred, as people tore down the Berlin Wall. We want our peoples to welcome a new dawn and to enjoy the warmth of a new day, rather than the long night of darkness, which has been their lot until now.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is our hope that the world appreciates and supports our position, based as it is on our liberal and peaceful Jordanian experiment in socioeconomic and political development. An experiment that deserves support as it continues the Jordanian tradition of democratization, institutionalization, and the transition to political pluralism. The test, indeed the challenge of peace, is both domestic and global in that it severely exacerbates our current economic crisis, as we are compelled to absorb a third wave of returnees in the wake of the Gulf crisis.

We hope that this Peace Conference will work toward the solution of all these momentous problems leading not only to the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab occupied lands, including Arab Jerusalem, but also to the delineation of Israel's permanent borders and finally real peace.

We have taken a bold step which commits us to innovative thinking that will bring peace and prosperity to the region. The parties to the conflict suffer from too many recollections of their wounded cultures. Somehow we must endeavor to bring about the change needed. We cannot continue to inhabit two different universes in this small space of land with its limited resources. Already there is too much ideological rigidity that continues to be an obstacle to sensible and rational life. For those who continue to think in absolute terms, we must emphasize that, while history may have time, men are mortal; that not only our civilizations need their wounds to be healed, but the very land, scarred by the march of armies to the drums of war, needs mending as well. There exists a limit to force and this may be the moment to heal not only the mental agony, but also to remove the physical trenches dug deep in the land. This requires patience, vision, perseverance, and wisdom deeper than mere intelligence.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is fitting to end this statement with a verse from the Holy Koran. "Let not a people's enmity towards you incite you to act contrary to justice; be always just, that is closest to righteousness" (The Koran, Sura 5:8).



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - OPENING SPEECHES:
ADDRESS BY SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER FAROUK AL-SHARA, 31 OCTOBER 1991**

Distinguished Co-Chairmen, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to begin my statement at this opening session of the Peace Conference by addressing my deep thanks to His Majesty, King Juan Carlos, and to the government and people of Spain for hosting this historic Conference and for all the facilities and care they have offered participating delegations. On behalf of my country, Syria, its President, Government and people I would like to

express our deep appreciation to this friendly country, Spain, with which we enjoy deep-rooted historic, human and cultural ties, whose manifestations are still alive and bright to this very day.

I would also like to express my thanks to the co-sponsors of the Conference, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, for the determination they have demonstrated to convene this Conference at the date proposed by Presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev. In this context, I would like to express my appreciation for the great efforts of President Bush supported by President Gorbachev, which were the pre-eminent factor in imparting to the Peace Process unprecedented momentum and seriousness. Consequently, this Conference cannot be considered a ceremonial event, as one of the participating parties had wanted. Rather, it is an international event which has aroused interest in the entire world. In addition, I cannot fail to recall the sustained personal efforts of Secretary of State James Baker during his eight visits to our region, particularly the important, lengthy and frank talks he held in Damascus. These talks, by their seriousness and the positive atmosphere which surrounded them, have, indeed, helped to make convening of this Peace Conference possible.

It must be emphasized at this point that the role of Europe in the Peace Process is both important and vital. Europe is geographically close to our region. Security in one region cannot fail to affect that of the other while both share common interests. The role of the United Nations, regardless of the status allotted it in this Conference, remains important; as long as the objective of the peace process is to reach a comprehensive, just and peaceful settlement within the framework of international legitimacy and on the basis of United Nations resolutions; and as long as the results reached by the parties are to be sanctioned by the Security Council.

The convening of this Peace Conference in this beautiful country, Spain, evokes boundless symbols, meanings and images. The peoples of the entire world, not only the peoples of our region, are buffeted by conflicting feelings towards this Conference, feelings fluctuating between success and failure, between optimism in achieving peace and the pessimism of a regression to conflict and confrontation. It is no exaggeration to state that the continuing intransigent Israeli position, which is bereft of any justification, is the one that places the world on the brink of incalculable dangers and prevents the region from enjoying peace.

The Arabs, throughout their long history, have always advocated peace, justice and tolerance. Their history, both ancient and modern, abounds with evidence of this fact. The Jews, and Oriental Jews in particular, know better than anyone that they have lived among Muslim Arabs throughout history wherever they coexisted without ever suffering any form of persecution or discrimination, either racial or religious. Rather, they have always lived in grace and dignity, participating in all walks of life. The Jews have never known security, tolerance and equality approximating the security, tolerance and equality they have enjoyed in the lands of Arabs and Muslims. Anyone perusing the pages of history today will realize the blatant contrast between this tolerance and full equality with which the Arabs treated the Jews for hundreds of years, on the one hand, and the persecution, injustice and discrimination inflicted on the Arabs - particularly Palestinian Arabs - languishing under Israeli occupation, on the other.

Suffice it to recall - if only the reminder were heeded - that had Israel's political orientation since 1948 been humane, millions of Arabs: Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese, would not have been uprooted from their homes; nor would they have been denied - until today - their right to return. Had Israel's policies not been settler-colonialist, Palestinians languishing under Israeli occupation since 1967 would not have been denied all their fundamental rights, foremost among which is their right to self-determination. It is that very right that the Palestinians - children, women and the elderly - have steadfastly expressed through their peaceful Intifada during the past four years as seen and heard by the entire world. The continuing denial of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people will lead this people to believe that resorting to violence alone is the most viable means of achieving that right.

The list of evidence of inhuman Israeli practices is long and documented. These are practices which were condemned by dozens of resolutions adopted by the United Nations. These are practices of which the

Israelis are tacitly cognizant. They are known to many a fair-minded historian and journalist in the West, although some do not dare address these practices frankly and unequivocally for reasons which are regrettably not known to wide sections of European and US public opinion. First among these reasons is that Jewish extremists both inside and outside Israel harass those writers and journalists and jeopardize their livelihoods and future. If they happen to be Christian they are accused of being anti-Semitic. But if they are Arabs and Muslim it is easier to accuse them - without any evidence whatsoever - of terrorism and the intention of destroying Israel. Contrary to every law and norm, the burden of proof in the minds of these extremists is incumbent on the accused. Thus the innocent becomes a suspect in the eyes of a large sector of Western public opinion. The aggressors who have usurped the land of others by force thus become the advocates of peace, whereas the victims of aggression who demand the return of their occupied land and their usurped rights become terrorists and destructive war-mongers.

Distinguished Co-Chairmen,

We have never carried the banner of war and destruction. Syria has consistently called for the achievement of comprehensive and just peace on the basis of United Nations resolutions. We have always emphasized our sincere intention and serious desire for peace. At the height of the October war President Hafez al-Assad said: 'We do not revel in death and destruction. Instead, we are repulsing death and destruction. We are not aggressors and we have never been, but we have and continue to repel aggression. We do not wish death on anyone, but we are protecting our people from death. We love freedom and wish it both for ourselves and for others.'

Peace and the usurpation of land of others can not coexist. For peace to be stable and durable it must encompass all parties to the conflict on all fronts. Developments in our region have proved this fact. Israel exploited the signing of its peace with Egypt in 1979 to then proceed to annexing Jerusalem in 1980, the Golan in 1981 and invading Lebanon in 1982. It is clear that Israel perpetrated this series of aggressive acts at a pace that exceeds the pace of its withdrawal from the Egyptian Sinai.

In the aftermath of each act of aggression the Security Council was called upon to convene and resolutions were unanimously adopted; Resolution 476 declaring the annexation of Jerusalem as null and void; Resolution 497 declaring the imposition of Israeli laws in the Golan as being null and void and with no international legal validity, and Resolution 425 calling for unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

However, as was the case with Resolutions 242 and 338, these resolutions were not implemented at the time due to Israeli rejection and intransigence and due to the atmosphere of the Cold War between East and West. Now, as the Cold War has come to an end, as the spirit of confrontation and competition between the United States and the Soviet Union has given way to a new stage of reconciliation and cooperation, and as the Peace Conference has convened, the peoples of our region and of the world at large await the implementation of these resolutions at the earliest date through serious and productive talks.

It is noteworthy to point out in this context that Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, on the basis of which the Peace Conference is being convened, were adopted as a compromise among the permanent member States of the Security Council. As it is well known, the majority of these States have been sympathetic to Israel since its creation. Hence, the implementation of these two resolutions should not be the subject of new bargaining during bilateral negotiations. Rather, they should be implemented in all their provisions and on all fronts. Resolution 242 emphasizes in its preamble the principle of "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war." This means that every inch of Arab land occupied by the Israelis by war and force: the Golan, the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip must be returned in their entirety to their legitimate owners. International public opinion is aware more than ever before - and especially following the Gulf Crisis - that double standards are no longer acceptable in this age, that the principles of international law, not the law of the jungle, must be respected, and that United Nations resolutions, not brute force, must be applied.

At last, the States of the world have come to realize that Israel alone resists the efforts for peace with all the influence it can muster. It is Israel which perpetuates its occupation of the territories of others

by force. All have come to realize that Israel follows a futile and obsolete ideology based on expansion, the building of settlements and the uprooting of Arabs from land in which they had lived for centuries in order to replace them with new immigrants who have never lived in this region.

In this regard, Syria would like to remind the co-sponsors of the Conference, and through them the international community, that Israeli occupation of Syrian and Palestinian territories has resulted in uprooting approximately half a million Syrian citizens from the Golan who have to date not been able to return. The occupation has also resulted in the presence of over a quarter of a million Palestinian refugees in Syria who are denied the right to return to the homeland of their fathers and forebears in Palestine. The claims invoked by Israel for the migration of world Jewry to it at the expense of the native Arab population are not sanctioned by any legal or humanitarian principle. If the entire world were to adopt such claims it would have to encourage all Christians to emigrate to the Vatican and all Muslims to holy Mecca.

It is a contradiction in terms that Israel refuses to implement United Nations Resolution 194 of 1948 which provides for the return of all Palestinian refugees to their homes and for compensation to those who do not wish to return, under the pretext that there is not enough land. Yet, at the same time, Israel continues to induce hundreds of thousands of new Jewish immigrants to settle in this very land and to abandon their lands of origin such as the Soviet Union, which extends over one sixth of our planet's land mass.

We believe that the time for inconsistencies and empty pretexts whose only aim is to justify the perpetuation of occupation and annexation has now passed. We believe that all parties, both aggressors and victims, now stand at the threshold of a historic opportunity - which may not come about again - an opportunity to end long decades of destructive conflicts and to establish a durable, comprehensive and just peace that would deliver the region from the vicious circle of war and usher in a new era in which the peoples of the region may devote themselves to its prosperity and development. In order for a just peace to be established no Arab land must remain under Israeli occupation, nor can the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination remain denied.

If the objective is truly for the peoples and the States of the region to coexist; to enjoy security, peace, and prosperity; to place their plentiful energies and resources at the service of their economies and development ...how can such a desirable objective logically be realized without eliminating occupation and restoring legitimate rights? The Arabs have given much for peace. They have openly declared that they desire peace. They merely demand the enjoyment of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations to all peoples and which have been recognized by the international community and the world at large for every people. Alone among all States of the world Israel insists on maintaining its hold on the Arab territories which it occupied by force under the pretext of security; as if geographic expansion can guarantee security in this age of scientific and technological advancement. Were the world to emulate this Israeli logic how many wars and conflicts will arise between neighboring states under that pretext?

The Arabs have responded to the call of the co-sponsors of the Conference in appreciation of their efforts and serious endeavor to work towards a just and comprehensive peace in the region. However, Israel would be gravely mistaken were it to interpret this Arab response as a license for it to perpetuate its intransigent stands within the Conference or any of its committees. Israel would also be doing itself an injustice - more so than to others - if it were to take lightly the peace process or the unanimous international wish to reach a just and comprehensive settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict in accordance with the criteria of international legitimacy as well as the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions.

Despite Syria's numerous reservations concerning the format and terms of reference of this Conference, the Syrian Arab delegation has come here to attempt to reach a comprehensive, honorable and just peace to all aspects and fronts of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Our delegation has come carrying inexhaustible reserves of good will, a genuine serious desire for a just peace and determination to help enable this peace process succeed and reach its noble objective. That determination is only equaled by a no lesser

determination to reject any attempt to exploit the current peace process to legitimize that which is illegitimate and unacceptable according to the United Nations, its Charter and resolutions; or to obtain any gains - however small - which would mirror the abhorrent injustice of aggression or which would reward the aggressor. This firm Syrian position whose every element is anchored in the principles of international legitimacy and resolutions of the United Nations deems it imperative for Israel to withdraw from every inch of the occupied Syrian Golan, West Bank, Jerusalem, the Gaza District and the South of Lebanon. This position also deems it imperative to safeguard the legitimate political and national rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is their right to self-determination. The building of settlements in the occupied Arab territories is an illegal action; it is considered null and void and it stands as a major obstacle in the way of peace. Thus, it is imperative that the settlements be removed. The continuation of settlement activity in the Arab occupied territories, particularly since the peace process has commenced, is tangible evidence that Israel does not want to reach genuine peace.

Distinguished Co-Chairmen,

Syria's acceptance of President Bush's initiative which is based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of "land for peace" has opened the way to the peace process - as has been acknowledged by all. Our presence as participants in this Conference embodies our desire to achieve comprehensive and just peace. Our agreement to undertake bilateral talks is clear indication of our serious contribution to building a genuine and comprehensive peace in the region. However, concern for the success of the peace process requires that multilateral talks which do not fall within the framework of Resolution 242 not be initiated until substantive and concrete achievement has been made in bilateral negotiations which would confirm the elimination of the major obstacles on the road to peace. That is because Israel - as everyone knows - is not interested in implementing Resolutions 242 and 338 on the basis of the principle of "land for peace." Israel is interested only in entering into negotiations on economic co operation with the States of the region while perpetuating its occupation of Arab territories. This is in contradiction with the objective on which the convening of this Conference was based.

Distinguished Co-Chairmen,

We have come for an honorable and just peace based on international law and legitimacy. We have not come for a false peace which reflects the conditions imposed by the aggressor and the yoke of occupation. We have come for a genuine peace encompassing all the fronts of the Arab-Israeli conflict and not for a peace which would address one aspect of the conflict to then merely cause new conflicts and tensions in the region.

Proceeding from our belief in such a peace we confidently and resolutely declare our determination to work towards a comprehensive, just and peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict which would liberate the land, and guarantee the national rights of the Palestinian people as well as security for all. Were the Peace Conference to succeed in achieving these objectives, which are the focus of world expectations, it would herald a new dawn in our turbulent region and the beginning of a new era of peace, prosperity and stability.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - OPENING SPEECHES:
ADDRESS BY LEBANESE FOREIGN MINISTER FARES BOUEZ, 31 OCTOBER 1991**

Mr. James Baker, Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. Boris Pankin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Excellencies, Heads of Delegations, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have the pleasure, in the name of the President of the Republic of Lebanon, His Excellency Mr. Elias Hrawi, and on behalf of the Government of Lebanon, to extend my deepest thanks to Spain, to His Majesty the King, to His Majesty's Government, and to the Spanish people for hosting this Conference on this land steeped in history.

I would also like to convey my thanks to the Spanish authorities and administration for their meticulous organization and for the effective arrangements which they have successfully implemented in a very short space of time, responding thereby to the unanimity of all concerned to hold this Conference in this beautiful capital, Madrid. Such unanimity and warm greeting are but a proof of the trust placed by the world and by us in this great country, the seat of a rich civilization of which visible evidence abounds.

This unanimity embodies everyone's desire that Spain be the place where the hopes of the peoples of the world converge and that the triumph over instinct, the upholding of right, justice, and reason, and the search for peace be the loftiest standards of civilization.

This Conference held under the title of Peace is, without any doubt, of paramount importance and can become possibly the most important gathering since the Second World War. Peace is the aspiration of humanity, the end sought by peoples the world over, the purpose for which all religions, philosophies, and ideologies strive.

Conscious of the importance of this Conference, it is our duty to express our deep gratitude to the United States of America and the Soviet Union for their unstinting efforts to hold this Conference. We also appreciate the efforts made by states and other parties who supported the convening of the Conference and are sincerely contributing to its success.

Our praise is due to the efforts pursued by Presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev to convene this Conference and for the time they devoted to it in spite of numerous other problems in the world. I would like to mention particularly Minister Boris Pankin, who followed and lent his support to the efforts aimed at holding the Conference, and to Secretary James Baker, who devoted his exceptional skills and capacities to the achievement of this major accomplishment, thus demonstrating rare determination and ability. I would like also to extend my thanks to Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez for his valued speech, and the European Community for being here with us and for its firm position which was expressed by Minister van den Broek, Acting President of its Council of Ministers.

Lebanon, a country which believed in the message of peace, tolerance, and coexistence, a country which practiced openness and understanding and nurtured the exchange of ideas and knowledge, welcomes this historic opportunity to let peace prevail in a region whence religions, laws, and civilizations emanated and which gave birth to thought and philosophies, witnessed the pharaohs and the advent of Abraham, Jesus Christ, and Mohammed, the sons, companions, prophets, and imams. Pyramids, sanctuaries, temples, churches, mosques were erected, to which Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Mecca, and Najaf bear witness. It is a land where civilizations interacted, the Sumerian, Phoenician, Pharaonic, Babylonian, Greek, Byzantine, Ottoman, and Arab, and where the outlines of temples intermingled with the pillars of sanctuaries and the engravings in churches.

This is where the history of the world and its conscience lie. It contains for every man, wherever he may be, an element of his identity. It is the patrimony of humanity and we are but guardians of its sanctuaries and protectors of its heritage. From here springs our glory. We are its custodians as generations go by. Lebanon is proud of its Arab identity which binds it to countries with which it has a common history, language, culture, and destiny.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Today we have come from a land small in size, modest in terms of population, not particularly endowed with natural resources, but large in the aspirations of its people, rich in civilization, great in terms of its contribution to the world to whom it gave the alphabet, also culture and knowledge.

We have come to you today from a land which was and still remains a beacon of science to the world in all its dimensions, such as the Beirut Roman school of law, Justinian and Papinian, and up to our universities, our writers, our poets, and our thinkers to this day.

We have come to you today from a land whose sons have crossed seas and deserts towards the five continents and distant lands, where they integrated into other societies, formed friendships with their fellow men, built, and prospered.

We have come from a land coveted by greed, where doctrines and policies went into conflict, where cultures and philosophies collided, so much so that it was said that the country had vanished forever.

Wars tore it asunder, wars waged by others on its soil. For 16 years our country bled. Some said it had died. The number of mourners increased. The concept of Lebanization was born to mean countries agonizing and peoples being torn apart. Here is Lebanon, like the phoenix, rising from its ashes, belying those who betted on its demise and played the card of its annihilation.

Here is Lebanon today in spite of the deep wounds and the bitter trial, returning to the family of nations, reaffirming that it is too strong to be liquidated and too large to be struck off the map or forgotten, more steadfast than a mere transitional or temporary state. Here it is to stay and to watch the ramparts of the will of its sons rebuff wave after wave. It is here in spite of all predictions, calculations, pessimistic analysis as if it alone knows that its fate is to live and its mission to continue. The message, if at all, of the Lebanese war is that the Lebanese formula will not fade away because it is founded upon inevitability of conviviality.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

You have heard a great deal about Lebanon. No doubt you know that this small country has practiced and lived the great human experiment which the international community is about to enter into. You know that all divine religions, their sects and ramifications exist in Lebanon, which presented an ideal opportunity for all ideas and doctrines, be they political, philosophical, or social, to meet and interact. The prevailing climate of democracy and individual and social freedom was the real guarantee enabling one to live and to practice these experiences. From this viewpoint, we in Lebanon are in a position to enrich the concept of the new world order and to consolidate its foundations. This we say in the light of our bitter experience, which has shown that the various ideas, doctrines, and religions cannot but live together.

The concept of the new world order, although not clearly defined as yet, would derive benefit from our experience and will be based on the unshakable realities of the societies it seeks to encompass and on the necessity of coexistence. Having paid the price of the international and regional conflicts which were reflected on our soil, we have set out on the path to internal peace and have succeeded in carrying out a number of essential and important tasks, thereby surprising every one. The challenge and the dream came together. We first set up a government of national unity which adopted and applied the Taif agreement. We also introduced a number of Constitutional amendments to ensure a wider and more globally based political participation of all the components of the Lebanese formula. The state undertook to dissolve the militias and collect their weapons, artificial barriers which had split areas, sects, and parties were dismantled and the Lebanese were assimilated again into society, thus rejecting the separation which had been forced upon them.

The State then started rebuilding its national, security, and administrative institutions, the army regained its unity and began to deploy, spreading the authority of the Lebanese State on most of its territory, thus paving the way for Lebanese sovereignty to be exercised on Lebanese soil.

All this took place in a brief span of time with modest means, compensated only by the support of some of our brothers and friends. Lebanon proved once again it was capable of overcoming its trials and tribulations and astonish[ing] the world. Miracles are easy when destiny is at stake. The State did all it could on the homefront and frustrated a number of claims, such as: Lebanon cannot be unified or cannot take a national decision. But our great endeavor will not totally succeed as long as there are pending questions which go beyond our internal borders and touch upon regional as well as international factors.

Events have shown that Lebanon is whole and cannot be fragmented. The South and the North, the Bekaa, Beirut, and the mountains are all part of it. Deprived of any of its areas, it would lose a vital limb, bleed forever, struggle and vent its rage on every part of the world. This rage often turning into resistance against occupation. Violent acts increased, their victims were to be found among the Lebanese and non-Lebanese alike. This violence, though painful at times, was nothing but an anguished expression of passionate determination to let justice prevail.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Events have proved that South Lebanon, in particular, can detonate a conflagration of the entire situation, that its sons would express their wrath as long as they have to suffer the yoke of occupation, and as long as United Nations resolutions and international laws which guarantee a solution to the problem are ignored and not respected. This occupation and the accompanying events and developments have cost Lebanon and the world dearly. Every country has, one way or the other, paid the price of Israeli occupation of the South.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Lebanon was and still is a peace-loving country, co-founder of the United Nations Organization, president of one of the sessions of the General Assembly, and contributor to the establishment of several international organizations, namely, the International Court of Justice, of which it was a member. It also took part in the drafting of the International Covenant of Human Rights.

Lebanon adheres to international legitimacy, and abides by UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions as well as the rules of international law. Lebanon calls for a new international order, where principles of law, rejection of aggression, and peaceful settlement of disputes prevail. Lebanon attaches great importance to the implementation of Resolution 425, since the Armistice Agreement of 1949 still governs the situation with Israel. Article 8 provides "that this agreement shall remain in force until both parties reach a peaceful settlement."

It is for all these reasons that Lebanon has sought and still seeks to apply Security Council Resolution 425 of 19 March 1978, which calls for strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries.

It also calls upon Israel to cease its military action against Lebanese territorial integrity and withdraw forthwith its forces from all Lebanese lands.

The resolution decided to establish immediately an interim force for South Lebanon under the authority of the United Nations for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restoring international peace and security, and assisting the government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area.

Although Resolution 425 met obstacles which prevented its immediate, total, and unconditional implementation, in keeping with the letter of its text, due to the persistent refusal by Israel to implement it, these have only redoubled Lebanon's insistence on its literal application. Lebanon views the implementation of this resolution as a challenge to and a test of the sincerity of the international community, which must demonstrate seriousness in complying with its own resolutions and in finding the necessary elements to implement both letter and spirit of that document. The implementation of this resolution would show clearly that the international community does not apply double standards, that what is true of its compliance with international law and its respect of the sovereignty exercised by independent states on their territory extends to all regions and all cases without any discrimination.

I must, in this respect, remind you that Lebanon was the first Arab country to condemn the aggression on Kuwait. Lebanon never faltered one instant throughout the crisis. Its position was based on the principle of the sovereignty and independence of states, even though Lebanon found it difficult to apply international law by force to a fraternal Arab country, albeit an aggressor. The Lebanese government, who wishes this Conference total success, would like to assure you that it will spare no effort to have Resolution 425 implemented, whatever path this Conference may follow and whatever its final results may be. We have notified the two co-sponsors of this Conference, the United Nations [sic] and the Soviet Union, that our acceptance of the invitation to attend was predicated on this position. Here I would like to praise the numerous friendly countries which have supported our position, namely the United States of America, which has notified us in writing of its firm position, which is that the total implementation of Resolution 425 does not depend upon a comprehensive solution in the region nor is it linked to it, even though such a solution would enhance peace and stability in Lebanon.

Resolution 425 is a separate and complete resolution, comprising an inherent detailed mechanism for its implementation. It is in no way linked to any of the efforts being pursued to apply the international resolutions related to the question of the Arab territories occupied in 1967, namely, Resolutions 242 and 338.

We wish these efforts to come to a successful, rapid, and total conclusion, but as we do so, we reiterate that Lebanon is concerned above all with the total liberation of its territory. Lebanon accepts no substitute to Resolution 425, and expects that the search for peace and the emerging signs of the new international order will contribute towards eliminating the obstacles which stand in the way of its implementation and will overcome once and for all the procrastination experienced in enforcing it.

Upon implementation of Resolution 425, Lebanon will firmly undertake to control the security on its internationally recognized borders and will preempt any security breaches, thereby removing any justification for acts of resistance against the occupation. The borders themselves are covered by Resolution 425, which is based on the Armistice Agreement of 1949. They are internationally recognized and can in no way be the subject of negotiations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Lebanon is situated in the Middle East. It has embraced the region's thoughts, beliefs, creeds, and philosophies. It has also suffered from the conflicts which have swept it. More than others, the Lebanese are aware, their country being at the crossroads of East and West, where land meets sea, that there can be no real peace if peace is not comprehensive and does not encompass all its peoples and parts. Peace will be enjoyed by no one in the region if volcanoes are still erupting on our borders, if peoples are still oppressed and rights are still violated.

Lebanon, co-founder and active member of the League of Arab States, is committed to the Arab cause and in particular to the cause of the Palestinian people, its right to self-determination, to return to its land, to free the Arab occupied territories, and to establish a just peace in the region. Lebanon is keen to ascertain its solidarity with the Arab position calling for the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which form the basis for this Conference in the sense of the formula "land for peace." The pursuance of the settlement policy will definitely have an adverse effect on all peace efforts in the region. As for the Palestinian problem, which is at the heart of the Middle East conflict, its global and just solution would allow the region to enjoy what it deserves in terms of stability, security, and tranquillity.

This applies particularly to our country, Lebanon, which has paid the highest price because of the expulsion of the Palestinian people from its homeland. Lebanon itself was the target of two large-scale Israeli invasions in 1978 and 1982, which have taken an enormous toll in human life and property. I regret to remind you that Israeli attacks on my country, Lebanon, have not ceased, but rather continued until yesterday and are perhaps being carried out now as I speak to you.

Lebanon, with its small territory not exceeding 10,450 square kilometers, with its social, political, and economic structure and its modest natural resources, was able, with difficulty, to shelter displaced Palestinians while awaiting the settlement of their cause. But Lebanon will not be able to provide them with the basic necessities of a decent life, nor include them without suffering a negative impact on its internal situation. This would, in turn, lead to conflict and struggle in order to satisfy basic social, economic, and even political requirements on its land. This is why Lebanon cautions against any attempt to solve the Palestinian problem by settling the Palestinians on a narrow strip of land where a large population is living within a delicate and sensitive balance. There the struggle for survival would become dangerous, it will not give Palestine back to its people and would lead to the very loss of Lebanon. Settlement projects ignore the fact that peoples belong to their land and are attached to it. In this region of the world, the land is the source of identity, love for the homeland is an article of faith, and authenticity is rooted in the land.

The land for the Lebanese, Palestinian, and Arab peoples is intimately linked to their identity, heritage, authenticity, and origin. Relinquishing this will forever be in the minds of these peoples a justification for rancor, frustration, and revolt.

The situation is further exacerbated when citizens are uprooted from their homeland, their birthplace, under various unrealistic slogans, cut off from their environment, their culture, the soil they tilled, their achievements, to be forced in their hundreds of thousands to leave wide expanses of land and faraway continents in order to be settled on a narrow bank of territory which is the object of contention and fighting, a country they did not know and to which they are not realistically linked. By this I mean the Soviet citizens who are being pushed into emigration and are being uprooted from their natural environment.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The time has come for the Middle East to become part of the New World Order. The time has come for the peoples of this region of the world to know what peace and a happy life can mean. The time has come for the peoples of this region where religions, civilizations, cultures, and peoples coexisted in peace to find its authenticity. The time has come for individual and collective energies to be set free in order to serve development and prosperity. The time has come for the peoples of the region to become an active component of the international order rather than being a burden for it and a source of anxiety for its members. The time has come for this region to be the rule of international law rather than its exception. The time has come for this region to be again a bridge between continents instead of being a barrier to their coming together. The time has come for the peoples of the region with their authenticity and their heritage to re discover and to play their historic role in reaching out for human horizons and shaping their future. The time has come for the peoples of this region to free themselves from the ruthless state of permanent mobilization which was imposed on them and which has undermined their natural development and wasted their potential on wars and armies. The time has come for the peoples of the region to provide the means of their own development rather than rely on precarious and transient foreign sources for survival. The time has come for all to see that the balance of power is transient and can be altered. The time has come to seize upon historic opportunities and to replace sterile assessments with healthy analysis.

The peoples of the region, we assure you, are faced today with an historic opportunity which will not always present itself. Before them lies the chance to come out of their introversion, a chance brought about by exceptional, favorable, and rare circumstances, as well as considerable efforts and perhaps even fate.

The conflict was so long and so acute that people became accustomed to the logic of strife and discord and enclosed themselves in it. Any venture for peace by any leader deserves to be valued, praised, and supported in the face of refusal by rejectionists and outbidding of profiteers. Were we to lose this rare opportunity and were we to fail to respond to those who decided to seize upon it and chose to resist the easy temptation of extremism, the propensity to aggression and to give in to instincts, we shall have to bear the responsibility of history and future generations will hold us to account. The alternative to success in our attempt to reach peace through this Conference is lurking behind the door. It lies in the conviction which will spread in the area that peace is impossible and openness sterile. It lies in the belief which will spread in the region that the failure of this historic endeavor will close the door to any new venture in the foreseeable future. It lies in the conviction which will prevail in that part of the world that political, religious, or sectarian extremism is the only way to resist oppression and injustice.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let us stand behind the rational and the wise, let us foil the stakes bid on despair, rancor, and hatred. Lebanon has emerged from the hell of overlapping wars waged on its soil. Lebanon is recovering its health, sovereignty, and historical role. Lebanon is committed to the success of this Conference and to upholding justice. Lebanon would simply like to say to you the following: No to the balance of terror. Yes to the concerted forces of peace. No to injustice and imbalance. Yes to the triumph of peace. May God guide our steps and inspire us.

Thank you.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - STATEMENTS ON ISRAELI-JORDANIAN/
PALESTINIAN TALKS BY THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS, 31 OCTOBER 1991**

[At the conclusion of the first bilateral talks of the Madrid Peace Conference between Israel and the Jordanian/Palestinian delegation the following comments were made:]

Abd el-Salam al-Majali of Jordan:

The joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and the Israeli delegation met today to start direct negotiations on the basis of [UN] Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. These negotiations will be conducted along two tracks: a Palestinian-Israeli track and a Jordanian-Israeli track. The talks were held in a good, business-like atmosphere. Matters discussed involved procedural issues at the talks to be held in the future, which it is hoped will take place soon. The parties expressed their views on the possible venue of the negotiations. Consultations will continue in this regard as well as on other matters pertaining to the negotiations.

Elyakim Rubinstein of Israel:

I would like just to add that we basically agree with the statement. We would only like to point out that the negotiations on the matters pertaining to the Palestinians will be conducted first, in the first phase, on an interim self-government arrangement as you already know, and I would like to thank my friends here.

Haidar Abd el-Shafi of the Palestinians:

I would like to say here that we reserve the Palestinian position about the priorities in the negotiations.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - CLOSING SPEECHES:
REMARKS BY US SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER, 1 NOVEMBER 1991**

Distinguished Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Over the last eight months, many people in the region have exerted great efforts and contributed in many ways to make this Conference and negotiations possible. All of you in this hall fall into that category. But there are some who are not here now, individuals who have made essential contributions to the process, without which in my view this Conference would not have happened. In this regard, I want to pay tribute:

To President Mubarak of Egypt, who was a confidant, advisor, friend, and advocate for this process from the very beginning.

To King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, who demonstrated by word and deed that new opportunities for Arab-Israeli peace existed after the Gulf War, and who personified this new approach in the Arab world.

To President Assad of Syria, whose assurance to me that Syria had made an historic choice and decision in favor of peace, and whose early commitment to this process, both proved to be vital.

To King Hussein of Jordan, whose courage, leadership, and willingness to commit publicly and quickly in support of this process transformed the dynamics in the region.

To Prime Minister Shamir of Israel, whose steady determination and strong leadership proved essential in reaching agreement to convene this Conference and to launch direct bilateral negotiations for real peace between Israel and its neighbors.

To Foreign Minister Levy of Israel, who was determined to develop an active and meaningful peace process and who worked creatively to overcome obstacles in our path.

To President Hrawi of Lebanon, who has worked to re-establish central authority in his war-ravaged country, which is a necessary step toward peace in the region.

To Palestinians with whom I met, like Faisal Husseini and Hanan Ashrawi, whose personal courage in the face of enormous pressures has created the possibility of a better life for Palestinians.

Even in a period of dramatic and far-reaching change around the world, this Conference stands apart. Fourteen days ago, President Bush and President Gorbachev invited Israel, the Arab states, and Palestinians to this Peace Conference and to direct negotiations that follow. In response to that invitation, Israel, Jordan, the Palestinians, Syria, and Lebanon agreed to attend the Conference and to participate in the direct negotiations. In addition, the European Community, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and Mauritania agreed to participate in this process.

This Conference demonstrates vividly the end of the Cold War and the flowering of US-Soviet partnership in resolving regional conflicts. Where we once competed, we now cooperate. Where there was once polarization, there is now coordination. What was once unthinkable - the United States and the Soviet Union co-sponsoring a process of peace in the Middle East - became a reality this week. Our work - making peace through negotiations - has just begun. As we look at the challenges ahead, it is worth noting and learning from what we have already accomplished.

For decades, agreement on whether to negotiate eluded the parties. This weekend, direct, bilateral negotiations aimed at comprehensive, genuine peace will start. For decades, agreement on what to negotiate eluded the parties. This weekend, negotiations should begin on the accepted basis of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. For decades, agreement on how to negotiate eluded the parties. This weekend, negotiations will begin on two tracks and in phases; and in a few weeks, those parties who wish to participate will convene to organize multilateral negotiations on a wide range of issues that affect the well-being of all peoples in the region.

These are not mere platitudes. During these eight months of diplomacy, though the parties sometimes fell back on old slogans and outmoded code words, they also came to understand the need to engage concretely and pragmatically to resolve problems. I said often that the parties would probably stake out maximum positions, especially as they got closer to negotiations.

This is not surprising, especially in a public forum. The key, however, is to get beyond the rhetoric and into the direct negotiations. A basic tenet of American thinking is that negotiations are the best way to resolve disputes and achieve peace. Negotiations do not guarantee peace. But without negotiations, there is no way to produce genuine peace and no mechanism to develop understandings that can endure. The United States is willing to be a catalytic force, an energizing force, and a driving force in the negotiating process. Our involvement in this process will be rooted solidly in the core principles enunciated by President Bush last March. They will remain the cornerstone that guides our participation in the negotiating process.

The US is and will be an honest broker. We have our own positions and views on the peace process, and we will not forego our right to state these. But, as an honest broker with experience - successful experience - in Middle East negotiations, we also know that our critical contribution will often be to exert quiet, behind-the-scenes influence and persuasion. Let no one mistake our role as an honest broker to mean that we will change long-standing US policy positions; and let no one mistake our policy positions as undercutting our determination to help the parties reach fair and mutually acceptable solutions to problems. As President Bush and I have both said this week, it is not our policies that matter; it is those of the parties. They are the ones that must negotiate peace.

This week, the parties provided insight into their thinking about a negotiated settlement. They outlined three broad requirements in the search for peace: First, we heard a yearning for peace - the wish of peoples in the region to live in a mutually satisfying relationship with neighbors, a relationship

characterized by peace treaties, economic relations, cultural ties, and political dialogue. Second, we heard an emphasis on land - the desire of peoples in the region to exercise authority and political governance over territory they consider part of their national, political, historical, or religious patrimony. Third, we heard a need for security - the requirement of people to live free of fear, and the obligation of governments to do their best to protect their citizens.

What the parties in fact said this week is that these core issues - land, peace, and security - are inseparable elements in the search for a comprehensive settlement. The parties have made clear that peace by itself is unachievable without a territorial solution and security; that a territorial solution by itself will not resolve the conflict without there also being peace and security; and that security by itself is impossible to achieve without a territorial solution and peace. The process on which we are embarked can work only if all issues are put on the table, and if all issues are satisfactorily resolved.

One key issue is the style of negotiations. Today, the Soviet Union and the United States are on the same side of the table - literally and figuratively - in striving for global peace and the resolution of regional conflicts. Today, and in the future, we will work together in pursuit of a Middle East settlement.

The United States, at the highest levels, will remain intimately engaged in this process. We expect to be available to the parties throughout this process. The United States and the Soviet Union are prepared to participate directly in the negotiations themselves, with the consent of all parties. We will do our part. But we cannot do your part as well. The United States and the Soviet Union will provide encouragement, advice, recommendations, proposals, and views to help the peace process. Sometimes, you will be satisfied with our views, sometimes frustrated. Sometimes, we will support your positions and sometimes not. Sometimes we will act quietly and behind the scenes, and some times we will make known our views and positions in public. None of this, however, will relieve you - the parties - of the obligation of making peace. If you won't do it, we certainly can't. As I have said from the beginning of this effort, we can not want peace more than you, the parties most directly affected by its absence. Parties in this process cannot reasonably be expected to operate outside their political environment; but they should be expected to educate, shape, guide, and lead politics and opinion. Leaders in the region have taken difficult and courageous decisions to get to this Conference and to negotiations. More difficult and more courageous decisions will be required to settle this conflict.

Let me say a word about the venue of the bilateral negotiations. As you know, the invitation sent to the parties on October 18 contained the terms of reference for this peace process, terms of reference that had been meticulously negotiated and agreed. This invitation specified that direct, bilateral negotiations would begin four days after the opening of the Conference. But there was never agreement regarding the location for those bilateral negotiations.

The parties have not yet been able to agree on where to hold these negotiations. It is the view of the co-sponsors that the direct, bilateral negotiations should start in Madrid as soon as possible. It is the intention of the co-sponsors to continue to consult with the parties with a view to fulfilling the requirements of the invitation on this subject. From the perspective of the co-sponsors, and indeed from the perspective of most of the rest of the world, it would be very difficult to understand how a party could now refuse to attend bilateral negotiations simply because of a disagreement over the site of those negotiations. Finally, I want to note that a meeting will take place in several weeks among those parties who wish to participate in multilateral negotiations to organize those negotiations. These talks will focus on issues of critical interest to many parties in the region. They will be a complement to the bilateral negotiations. I am pleased that the multilateral negotiations have already gained widespread support and interest both in and outside the Middle East.

This week, many have focused on the need for steps that would build confidence and trust. The United States continues to believe that confidence-building measures are important for the process and for the parties themselves. I want to be perfectly honest, standing here as I am before colleagues with whom I have spent many, many hours since last March. The unwillingness of the parties to take

confidence-building steps has been disappointing. You have dealt successfully with formulas and positions. You have agreed on terms of reference that are fair and equitable. You have launched a process of negotiations that can succeed. But you have failed to deal adequately with the human dimension of the conflict. As I traveled through the region, I witnessed terrible scenes of human tragedy, suffering, and despair. Innocent civilians caught in the crossfire of a conflict they wish would end. Refugees and displaced persons wandering across the vast expanses of time. Mothers and fathers, afraid of the future that awaits their children. And children, being schooled in the lessons of animosity and conflict, rather than friendship and accommodation.

Formulas, terms of reference, and negotiations are not enough. Support for a negotiating process will not be sustainable unless the human dimension is addressed by all parties. A way must be found to send signals of peace and reconciliation that affect the peoples of the region. Don't wait for the other side to start; each of you needs to get off the mark quickly. You should know best what is needed. Through negotiations and through these and other steps, you can demonstrate respect for the rights of others. You can express understanding of the fears of others. You can touch the people - the women, men, and children - who are the victims of the Arab-Israeli conflict. We can only succeed at the table if we find ways of reaching out to one another away from the table. The challenges have been great, and the obstacles have been many, on the road to peace. Your decisions over these eight months of intensive diplomacy have created a new baseline of realism and commitment to peace. This Conference has been vital in breaking down the barriers of communication, and in establishing for all to see that Arab and Israeli leaders can meet face to face.

In closing, let me speak to each of you person ally and directly. For over four decades, the world waited for this week. Peace-loving peoples everywhere tried time and again to get you - the makers of this intractable conflict - to join together to discuss your differences. This week, here in Madrid, you finally have met and held such a meeting. This has been a start - a good start - an historic start that has broken old taboos - an important start that opens further opportunities. But it is only a start - and that's not enough. You must not let this start become an end. When you walk out these doors, you carry with you great responsibilities. You carry with you the responsibility to your peoples to seek peace. You carry with you the responsibility to the world to build a comprehensive and just peace. You carry with you the responsibility to yourselves to break with the past and pursue a new future. For if you do not seize this historic opportunity, no one will blame anyone outside your region. You now shoulder the destiny and challenge of making peace, as you enter direct negotiations with your neighbors. The continuation and success of this process is in your hands. The world still looks to each of you to make the choice for peace.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - CLOSING SPEECHES: STATEMENT BY SOVIET
FOREIGN MINISTER BORIS D. PANKIN, 1 NOVEMBER 1991**

Distinguished Ministers, Distinguished Participants in the Conference, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Madrid forum is in its third day. And all these days I have had the impression - as probably most of all us present here - that, despite all the odds, in the Palacio Oriente all of us seem to be the creators of, and participants in, the turning point in the modern Middle East history. Foreign Minister Amre Moussa asked a question on this score and I say - seem to.

The Madrid Conference may become a turning point in the destiny of the entire region. The peoples of the Middle East, who for decades have been suffering from wars and lack of security, are the victims of occupation, have been expelled from their homes and have become the victims of terrorism, now see the chance of a peaceful settlement. Humanity, it seems, has now realized that it is vitally important to overcome hostility, alienation, and confrontation. The search is gaining strength for new approaches to solve decades-old problems and to find solutions on the basis of a balance of interests.

I realize the immensity of the task we face. Yet, I am convinced that we have the possibility to fulfill the mission that history has entrusted us - to make the favorable wind of change become a reality in

the Middle East. We know how much we can achieve if we meet each other halfway. The road to Madrid was difficult and complex. For the representatives of Israel and Arab states to get together it was necessary to overcome hurdles that sometimes seemed insurmountable. It required bending every effort, thorough work and an intensive search for unorthodox solutions and realistic compromises in many countries. Each Middle East participant in the Conference had to mobilize the potential of the good will and to put aside numerous stereotypes and taboos. Yet, we managed to travel part of the road, and for [the time] being it is, indeed, only part of the road.

Let me remind you that the Soviet Union has always been in favor of convening a Middle East forum, which would give an impetus to the search for solutions in our region. The opportunity to embark on the road of practical implementation of that idea has surfaced after the Gorbachev-Bush summit in Helsinki last year. The Soviet Union and the United States have taken mutual obligations to act together in the interests of a [comprehensive] settlement in the Middle East. Naturally, the interaction and cooperation of the two great powers has become a major factor that has made it possible to convene the Madrid Conference. The Soviet Union and the United States have always been in contact at all preparatory stages of the Conference and acted as partners, complementing each other's efforts. The final preparatory phase of the Conference called for especially intensive efforts and their putting into effect.

Let me note that the efforts of the European Communities have played a significant role at all stages. West European countries have a considerable potential for a constructive contribution to organizing the cooperation and good-neighborly relations among the countries of the region. We welcome the participation of the representative of the European Communities in this Peace Conference.

The convening of the Conference itself is a major breakthrough, our common success. But it is important that it does not evade us, that the efforts we have made are not in vain. We find ourselves today at a very important stage of turning to direct bilateral and multilateral negotiations. The three days of the Conference have not shaken my hope that this stage can be overcome.

Taking the floor among the last speakers I have a significant advantage over those who spoke from this rostrum before me, and I would like to use this advantage to share my vision of the results of the three days of work in this hall. Despite the fact that at times the emotions ran extremely high, the statements by the heads of delegations, in my opinion, were focused on the fundamental problems of concern to the peoples of the Middle East. The broad range of views which surfaced in the course of initial and, so far, indirect discussions does not overshadow the common feature in the positions of all the parties - the desire to have a durable and just peace in the Middle East and to solve the most difficult problems that have turned this region into the global powderkeg.

It is true that many, if not all of us, have their own ideas of the model of international relations in the Middle East that envisages peace and unity, justice and security. Those models of the Middle East settlement may differ in some details, sometimes even in important ones. That is inevitable for it is impossible to deny differences in historical experience, traditions, or propensities. However, there can be no doubt that all models thought by their authors as workable should proceed from the same principle – the need to find a balance of interests.

Echoing the words of President Gorbachev, let me give a short description of our vision of major points of the peace process. First, the negotiations should lead Arabs and Israel to an historical compromise that may help leave behind the psychological, territorial, and national disputes presently dividing the parties. All states and peoples of the Middle East should gain the right and the possibility to live in peace and harmony, within internationally recognized borders, which are secure for all of them. Nobody can be singled out and, moreover, nobody can be excluded - neither Palestinians nor Israel.

The formula of the historic compromise between Arabs and Israel contains the central notion and the main purpose of the settlement. Its implementation is designed to become a kind of a beacon in search and at the same time the core of future agreements on the establishment of a just, comprehensive and durable peace. That goal, of course, cannot be achieved without mutually acceptable agree-

ments - both on the territorial aspects of the conflict and on its central element- the Palestinian problem. In the final analysis there can be no doubt that Resolution 242 - which forms the basis of this Conference - contains the principle of "territory for peace." This principle is applicable to "all the fronts" - the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights. The return of those lands to their legitimate owners will turn interstate borders into bridges of communication and remove the main obstacle in the way of eliminating the state of war and establishing peace.

Second, the settlement process should put an end to the several-decades-old tragedy of four millions of Palestinians. The Palestinian problem is the original source of explosions which have repeatedly blown up the situation in the region and shaken the entire planet. Clearly the Palestinian problem has grown in complexity which cannot be removed overnight. Statements by the participants in the Conference have shown once more that the solution to this problem should probably pass through various stages before a definitive settlement is reached. However, there can be no doubt that Palestinians have the right to self-determination enshrined in the UN Charter as a natural and inalienable right of any people. It is essential to ensure the required responsibility and good will on both sides in holding negotiations on how that right is to be implemented given the specific situation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. I believe that the negotiating option suggested by the co-initiators of the peace process opens up possibilities for realistic solutions to this problem taking into account the interests of both Palestinians and Israel.

Third, it is necessary to find an adequate solution to the problem of Jerusalem, acceptable to all. This city is the crossroads of religious interests of the peoples of the entire world, which go far beyond the Middle East. I think that the search for a common denominator in the positions of the parties will be a long and thorough process requiring tolerance and prudence in this extremely delicate and sensitive issue. Indeed, every believer - Moslem, Jew, or Christian - looks up to holy mosques, temples, or synagogues. Their feelings should be taken care of in a very thorough way.

Fourth, it is necessary to ensure the implementation of Security Council Resolution 425 as regards Lebanon. Fifth, the unfolding difficult movement toward peace and security in the Middle East cannot ignore comprehensive cooperation in the region. Only the living fabric of trust and mutual understanding substantiated by close ties and joint development can ensure genuine security for all and everybody. The process of reaching Middle East accord gets under way at a point in time when mutual trust in the region is unfortunately at a very low point. Difficult and vast [are the] problems to be solved to begin movement toward a durable and just peace. I mean above all the uncontrolled arms race. The Middle East is a sorrowful testimony to the situation when unlimited storage of lethal arsenals not only continuously depletes material resources of states but also cultivates a dangerous militarized thinking, turning the entire region into a minefield of sorts. The tragic example of consequences of uncontrolled super armament are the well-known events in the Gulf. In other words, the alarm has gone off. And we welcome the fact that in the Middle East all parties get to think of the practical steps to limit the armaments in the region.

There are numerous other common regional problems in the Middle East which can be tackled only through joint efforts. For example, peoples of the Middle Eastern countries know better than many others how precious water is for man. Acting in isolation, it would be impossible to save water resources for future generations. Neither can we ignore the problem of terrorism, which haunts every Arab or Israeli family. The inhuman practice of using hostages remains, so to say, a bomb threatening the process of the Middle East settlement. The threat of destroying the environment does not know any borders. Let me recall that during the Gulf crisis the threat of the ecological disaster transcended the borders of the conflict zone itself. Finally, it is impossible to imagine [a] peaceful future for the Middle East without a broad, equal, and mutually advantageous economic cooperation. Divided by mistrust, conflicts, and confrontation the region will not be able to integrate into the context of the development of the modern world, where openness and broad interaction are gaining strength. Should not that encourage states of the region to join their efforts together?

All of the above are problems to be solved at the negotiating table - provided we want hostility and mistrust to give way to an historic compromise between Israel and Arabs, and eventually, maybe, to building a common Middle East home.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Our plenary sessions are about to end. The parties have stated their positions. We now come to the stage of direct negotiations, of elaborating bilateral and multilateral agreements designed to ensure a comprehensive settlement in accordance with Resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council. Let us be realistic. This Conference only offers a chance to come to a settlement. We should be very careful about that opportunity and try not to let emotions run high in the negotiating process. I call upon representatives of all the parties to show at the table maximum constructiveness and preparedness to take into account the interests and concerns of each other. This is the most reliable way to mutually acceptable solutions, tested by ages of world diplomacy. That is why it is important after the plenary sessions to turn to the discussion of specific issues in the bilateral working groups. We are convinced that this should be started here, in Madrid, without losing the pace we have developed.

The multi-faceted and complex nature of the Middle East peace process urgently requires a timely shift to the discussion of organization of multilateral negotiations. The nature and contents of the future agreements should, of course, be determined by the parties involved themselves. This is an immense responsibility of the parties to the negotiations.

At present, just as the human being needs air to breathe, gestures from both sides testifying to good intentions are badly required. Undoubtedly, a most convincing demonstration of preparedness to a serious dialogue would consist in stopping the settlement activity in the occupied territories. I think that in this case Arab countries could take adequate steps in response. I would like to assure you that as a Co-Chairman, the Soviet Union intends to assist actively in the creation of an atmosphere favorable to reaching agreement. I am sure that this will be facilitated by the relations of partnership we have established with the other Co-Chairman - the United States of America - as well as by the trust expressed to the co-chairmen by all the participants in the negotiations during these three days of discussions.

Provided the situation unfolds in this manner, these three days in Madrid will be inscribed in the history of the Middle East as the point of departure in forming a qualitatively new period - a period of lasting and durable peace. In our view, this state of the region will make it possible to ensure to the peoples of the Middle East a future worthy of their great past and of their role in the development of human civilization. The region which has given to the world the first alpha bet and three world religions, outstanding achievements in mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, priceless masterpieces of culture, architecture, and literature, the region which has long been a most important crossroads of trade, that region instead of being an arena of hostility, alienation, and terrorism will turn into an arena of broad and fruitful international communication, cooperation, and peace.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

There is a good symbol and sign in the fact that the Middle East Peace Conference has been convened in Spain - the country where the European and Eastern civilizations have met and become harmoniously intertwined in their impressive achievements. It is my agreeable duty to thank sincerely the host country, the leaders of Spain - His Majesty King Juan Carlos I, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, and Minister for Foreign Affairs Francisco Fernandez Ordonez for the readiness to host the Conference, excellent organization, and traditional Spanish hospitality.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Ecclesiast said that there is [a] time to destroy and [a] time to build. I am deeply convinced that in the Middle East [the] time has come for building. So let us do everything we can to bring this about through successful bilateral and multilateral negotiations.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - CLOSING SPEECHES: REMARKS BY ISRAELI
PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR, 1 NOVEMBER 1991**

Distinguished Co-Chairmen, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me first apologize, as I have to leave this hall immediately after my statement, together with some of my colleagues, in order to return to Israel before sunset, in time for the advent of our holy day of rest. I trust no one will see in this a sign of disrespect. Let me also express again our thanks and appreciation to our Spanish hosts and to the co-sponsors for putting so much effort in making this conference possible.

For two days, we have sat in this hall, armed with a lot of patience, to listen to what our Arab neighbors have to say. We have heard much criticism and many charges. We can respond to each and every charge, to every misrepresentation of history and fact - and there were quite a few - and we can refute every contention. We, too, can cite morality, justice, and international legality in our favor. But is this what we have come here for? Such futile exchanges and rebuttals have been taking place during the last forty-three years at the UN and in countless international gatherings. They have not brought us one inch closer to mutual understanding and peace. This is precisely why we have persistently called for direct, face-to-face talks. Nevertheless, we came here out of goodwill, hoping there might be a change, a turn for the better in tone and content, that would lead us to a new and more promising chapter. And we have not given up this hope. Let me therefore make just a few remarks, not for the sake of polemics, but to shed light on a few facts.

Syria's representative wants us and the world to believe that his country is a model of freedom and protection of human rights, including those of the Jews. Such a statement stretches incredulity to infinite proportions. The ancient Jewish community in Syria has been exposed to cruel oppression, torture, and discrimination of the worst kind. Most of the Jews fled the country over the years and the few thousand left are living in perpetual terror. Anyone who tries to cross the border is incarcerated in prison, beaten and tortured, and his family exposed to punishment and constant fear. But not only are the Jews the victims of the Syrian regime. To this day, Syria is the home of a host of terrorist organizations that spread violence and death to all kinds of innocent targets, including civil aviation, and women and children of many nations. I could go on and recite a litany of facts that demonstrate the extent to which Syria merits the dubious honor of being one of the most oppressive, tyrannical regimes in the world. But this is not what we have come here for.

To the Lebanese people, our neighbors to the north, we send a message of sympathy and understanding. They are suffering under the yoke of Syrian occupation and oppression and are denied even the capacity to cry out in protest. We bear no ill-will to the courageous and suffering Lebanese, and we join them in the hope that they will soon regain their independence and freedom. We have no designs on Lebanese territory, and in the context of a peace treaty and the removal of the Syrian presence, we can restore stability and security on the borders between our two countries.

In many respects, we have a situation of *de facto* non-belligerency with the Kingdom of Jordan. We sincerely believe that a peace treaty with Jordan is achievable. In the context of such a treaty, we will determine together the secure and recognized boundaries, and lay the foundation for a relationship of mutual cooperation and neighborly relations. Both countries stand to gain from a relationship of peace and we hope to achieve it through direct, bilateral negotiations.

I listened attentively to the statement of the Palestinian Arab spokesman in the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. The Palestinian Arabs are our closest neighbors and in many respects, their lives are intertwined with ours. This is one more reason for the importance we attach to an accommodation with this community. The Palestinian Arab spokesman made a valiant effort at recounting the sufferings of his people. But let me say, that twisting history and perversion of fact will not earn them the sympathy which they strive to acquire. Was it not Palestinians who slaughtered a major part of the Jewish community of Hebron, without any provocation? Was it not Palestinians who rejected every peace proposal

since the beginning of the century and responded by violence? Was it not Palestinians who produced a leader who collaborated with the Nazis in the extermination of Jews in the Holocaust? Was it not the Palestinians who called their Arab brethren in 1948 to come and help them destroy the Jewish State? Was it not the Palestinians who rejoiced and danced on the roofs when Iraqi Scud missiles were falling on Tel Aviv? Have they forgotten that more Palestinians were killed by their own brethren in a few recent years, than in clashes with Israeli security forces? Even to this very day, under conditions which you describe as occupation, is it not a fact that any Jew who strays into an Arab village risks his life, but tens of thousands of Palestinian Arabs walk freely in every town and village in Israel and no one molests them? We have presented the Palestinians a fair proposal, one that offers them a chance to improve their lot immensely. I appeal to them to accept our proposal and join us in negotiations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have come here to seek together the road that would lead us to peace and accommodation, rather than to engage in a match of charges and counter-charges. Peace is not just words or a signature on a piece of paper. Peace is a frame of mind and a set of actions that are the opposite of hostility, and create a climate of mutual trust, tolerance and respect.

With an open heart, we call on the Arab leaders to take the courageous step and respond to our outstretched hand in peace. Yesterday, I extended an invitation to come to Israel for the first round of peace negotiations and begin a sincere exchange that would lead to agreement. We hope you will accept our invitation. We will readily reciprocate. I am sure I speak for every man, woman and child in Israel, who join me in the hope that, after all, this gathering will be registered in history as a turning point, away from hostility and forward to coexistence and peace. Thank you.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - CLOSING SPEECHES: REMARKS BY HAIDAR
ABDUL SHAFI, HEAD OF THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, 1 NOVEMBER 1991**

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It is indeed regrettable and disheartening that Mr. Shamir didn't find anything worthy of response in our statement of yesterday except to deal what was there to present the hardships and difficulties that our people are living under occupation. Now, it seems to me very obvious that Mr. Shamir wants to draw us back into the situational polemics and recriminations for which we have decide not to subscribe any more. That Mr. Shamir has left the audience today on the pretext of the Sabbath, also in my opinion, is not warranted. I think our deliberations here are as important as any religious rite. Friday is a holy for us, and we choose to stay in this audience, rather than to go for our religious rites.

Mr. Bankin, Mr. Baker, ladies and gentlemen: We wish first to congratulate the cosponsors for succeeding where so many have failed before. The fact of the conference itself convening is no negligible feat, but a tribute to sheer persistence, tenacity, and hard work. For this we extend our appreciation.

For this historic conference to succeed, it requires - to borrow a literary phrase - a willing suspension of disbelief, the predisposition and ability to enter alien terrain where the signals and signposts are often unfamiliar and the topography uncharted. This solemn endeavor on which we are embarking here in Madrid demands of us a minimal level of sympathetic understanding in order to being the process of engagement and communication. For this interdependent age demands the rapid evolution of a shared discourse that is capable of generating new and appropriate perceptions, on the basis of which forward-looking attitudes may be formed and accurate road maps drawn.

Failing this, time will not spare us and our peoples will hold us accountable. Thus, we have the task - rather, the duty - of rising above static and hard-set concepts of discarding teleological arguments and regressive ideology, and of abandoning rigid and constricting positions. Such attitudes barricade the speaker behind obdurate and defensive stances, while antagonizing or locking out the audience. Elic-

iting instant responses through provocation and antagonism would, admittedly, generate energy, but such energy can only be short-lived and, ultimately, destructive. Energy with direction-real momentum emerges from a responsible and responsive engagement between equals, using recognizable terms of reference regardless of the degree of disagreement.

In all honesty, we the Palestinian delegation came here to present you with a challenge, to lay our humanity before you and to recognize yours, to transcend the confines of the past, and to set the tone for a peace process within the framework of mutuality, expansiveness, and acknowledgment. We deliberately refused to limit the options before us to one, or to fall into the trap of reductive entrenchment with a rigid either-or argument.

Ladies and gentlemen, peace requires courage to make and perseverance to forge. In his opening speech, President Bush sent a strong message, not just to the participants, but to the world as a whole, a peace pledge with the dual signs of fairness and legitimacy as necessary components. We were gratified, for the Palestinian initiative is firmly grounded to these two principles. Most speeches which followed reaffirmed them and sought to demonstrate seriousness of intent. The Israeli statement, however, remains the exception, imprisoned in its own anachronistic and antagonistic rhetoric, incapable of responding to the tone and implications of the occasion. But the days of domination, of manipulative politics, are over. And the emergent realities of our contemporary world are consecrating the principles of moral politics and global harmony as the criteria and measures of value. We further find it incomprehensible how can violate with impunity the integrity of the process and the consensus of the participants. UN Security Council Resolution 242 and the principle of territory for peace constitute the terms of reference and the source of legal authority for the conference and negotiations as stated in the letters of invitation. The positive response of the Palestinian people was primarily in recognition and appreciation of this commitment. The essence of 242, as formulated in its own preamble, is the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war, thus containing within it an internal and binding definition which renders it incapable of being variously and subjectively interpreted or applied.

We came here to realize its implementation, not to indulge a exegesis or semantics, or to be party to its negation or extraction from the peace agenda. This is not only an Arab and Palestinian requirement, it is also a demand of the international community and a test of validation for the new era in global politics. The same terms articulated in 242 apply to East Jerusalem, which is not only occupied territory, but also a universal symbol and a repository of cultural creativity, spiritual enrichment, and religious tolerance. That today an apartheid - like pass system bars many Palestinians from entering our holy city is both painful and provocative. The gates of Jerusalem must be open. Palestinian Jerusalem is the vehicle of our self-definition and the affirmation of our uninterrupted existence on our land.

Ladies and gentlemen, the issue is land. And what is at stake here is the survival of the Palestinian people on what is left of our olive groves and orchards, our terraced hills and peaceful valleys, our ancestral homes, villages, and cities. International legitimacy demands the restoration of the illegally occupied Arab and Palestinian lands to their rightful owners. Israel must recognize the concept of limits - political, legal, moral, and territorial - and must decide to join the community of nations by accepting the terms of international law and the will of the international community.

No amount of circumlocution or self-deception can alter that fact. Security can never be obtained through the acquisition of other people's territory, and geography is not the criterion for security. The opposite is actually true. Retaining or expanding occupied territory is one sure way of perpetuating hostility and resentment. We are offering the Israeli people a unique chance for genuine security through peace. Only by solving the real grievances and underlying causes of instability and conflict can genuine and long-standing stability and security be obtained.

We the people of Palestine hereby offer the Israelis an alternative path to peace and security: Abandon mutual fear and mistrust; approach us as equals, within a two-state solution; and let us work for the development and prosperity of our region based on mutual benefit and well-being. We have al-

ready wasted enough time, energy, and resources locked in this violent embrace of mutual destruction and defensiveness. We urge you to take this opportunity and rise to meet the challenge of peace.

Settlements on confiscated Palestinian land and the expropriation of our resources will surely sabotage the process launched by this conference, for they are major obstacles to peace. They constitute a flagrant violation of Palestinian rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention. All settlement activity and confiscation of Palestinian land must stop, for these measures constitute the institutionalized plunder of our people's heritage and future.

Palestinians are a people with legitimate national rights. We are not the inhabitants of territories, or an accident of history, or an obstacle to Israeli expansionist plans, or an abstract demographic problem. You may wish to close your eyes to this fact, but we are here in the sight of the world, before your very eyes. And we shall not be denied. In exile or under occupation, we are one people, united despite adversity, determined to exercise our right to self-determination and to establish an independent state, led by our own legitimate and acknowledged leadership. The question of all our refugees will be dealt with during the permanent-status negotiations under the terms of UN Resolution 194.

We have already declared our acceptance of transitional phases as part of this process, provided they had the logic of internal coherence and interconnection within a specified limited time-frame and without prejudging the permanent status.

During the transitional phase, Palestinians must have meaningful control over decisions affecting their lives and fate. During the phase, the immediate repatriation of the 1967 displaced persons and the reunion of separated families can be carried out.

We have also expressed the need for protection and third-party intervention in the course of bringing about a settlement under such conditions of disequilibrium between occupier and occupied. For peace as a state of civilizations between societies, real peace between peoples cannot precede the solution of the problems which are the core of the conflict. It is the solution which opens the door to peace and not the other way around.

On these grounds, we hereby publicly and solemnly call upon the cosponsors of the conference, directly or through the United Nations, to place the whole of the occupied Palestinian territories under their trusteeship, pending a final settlement. Palestinian people are willing to entrust you with the protection of their lives and lands, until a fair and legitimate peace is achieved. They are the same people, our Palestinian people, who have celebrated the occasion of this conference by offering olive branches to the Israeli occupation soldiers. Palestinian children were decorating army tanks with this symbol of peace. Our Palestinian children were decorating army tanks with this symbol of peace. Our Palestinian people under occupation and in exile were here with us during the past three days, in our minds and hearts, and it is their voice that you have heard.

To the cosponsors and to the international community that seek the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East, you have given us a fair hearing. You cared enough to listen and for that we thank you. Thank you.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - CLOSING SPEECHES: REMARKS BY JORDAN'S
FOREIGN MINISTER KAMEL ABU JABER, 1 NOVEMBER 1991**

Mr. James Baker, Secretary of State, Mr. Boris Pankin, Foreign Minister,

The Jordanian position is based on sound moral grounds, adhering to principle, adhering to provisions of international law, United Nations resolutions, international legitimacy and the guarantees of the five permanent members of the Security Council, particularly the two co-sponsors. We had hoped that this would induce a sense of balance especially since we emphasized the need to structure a negotiated

settlement based on an institutionalized, legal framework. Instead, it appears as if time stood still as far as Israel is concerned. We had hoped and still do, that the spirit of Madrid would cause a change of heart and attitude leading to the development of a substantive position. What we heard, however, was in fact a further retreat into the old ideological molds, clearly designed to distract, worse, derail the process.

Sadly enough, what we heard was a reiteration of past positions, emphasizing yet another retrenchment, another retreat from the spirit of compromise. Positions clearly designed to obfuscate not only historical annals to fit a particular prejudice, but worse still to push the other side to climb behind the rigid ideological trenches it has been attempting to scale. Surely, the Israelis must have known that when they arrived in Palestine it was not an empty territory. It was inhabited by the ancestors of the Palestinians. Even then it was already called "the land of milk and honey." It is not our aim now, nor has it been when we first outlined our position, to indulge in an historical debate. We too have our own vision of history and our tale to tell. And while there is soft elegance in our culture there is also fierce durability that even now has an opinion about the bold stand we have taken. We had hoped that we will get out of our past, not in the spirit of denying it - never - but in the hope of looking towards the future: a better, brighter future for the children of the region. We hoped that all the participants will capture the present historic moment, and live up to it, instead of a process of selective rewriting of history.

The core of the present Arab-Israeli conflict revolves around the occupied territories. To say that "the issue is not territory" is a gross reduction of the truth. We have come here prepared to make peace within the context of a comprehensive and just peace settlement. The time has come for Israel to recognize the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people on their own territory, their ancestral homeland. No amount of denying the fact will make it disappear.

The negatives embodied in the Israeli address were in stark contrast to the willingness on the Arab side to negotiate an honorable settlement. Again Israel said: no to Palestinian self-determination, no to withdrawal from the West Bank, including Arab Jerusalem; no to withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, Jordanian territory as well as the Lebanese South. Bluntly and publicly Israel effectively declared its intention to maintain its illegal position and continue its settlement program. We hoped that the time may have come for Israel to overcome the heavy burden of its past wounds and to follow a path leading towards a better future. Instead it continues to cling to yesterday, nursing its mental and physical wounds. We have avoided negativism as well as code words designed to irritate, hoping to take a first step towards bridging the great divide. We had hoped to silence the call of the wild and the absolutist rhetoric.

We emphasized our vision of an honorable, durable and comprehensive peace with which we and our children can live with. We too need to look ourselves in the mirror with pride and we will. That is we based our position on 242 and 338 while we emphasized our recognition, even these were less than ultimate justice. Jordan is irrevocably committed to the noble cause of peace and we stand ready now, as we have always been, to pay our fair share for its realization. But, let me say it again, we are not seeking peace at any price. Far from it. We are seeking justice, fairness and legality. Israel can have either land or peace, but it cannot have both. It can have the true security that comes from a negotiated political solution. Force alone will never provide security. Only when accepted by its neighbors, as part of the region, not merely in it.

Let me reiterate Jordan's position, which rests on the simple and valid principle of "land for peace." That is why we call on Israel to abide by United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, and 425 pertaining to the occupied territories, the Syrian Golan Heights and Lebanon. Israel's refusal to abide by these resolutions undermines the credibility of the world body and seriously raises the issue of asymmetry and double standard in applying international law. The Palestinians must have and exercise the right of self-determination on their own soil. That is why the immediate halting of the establishment of settlements is an essential prerequisite of a comprehensive regional settlement. Not only Israel is in need of security, but every country in the region too. Considering the imbalance in the military equation, it becomes obvious that the Arab side is the part in more need of security guarantees.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have not come to Madrid, the venue of this historic international conference, simply to debate, discuss, or score points against each other. We came here with the intention of seriously considering the elements of a comprehensive peace settlement. Our approach remains constructive, and our faith and confidence in the seriousness and commitment of the co-sponsors is unshakable.

It may be very well that Israel wants peace, but it wants the Arabs alone to pay the price. Again we find it necessary to emphasize that the issue is territory: an exchange of land for peace that carries with it the promise of a brighter future going far beyond mere existence. In firmly and clearly calling for an honorable and lasting settlement, we had hoped to move the region from the past into a promising future. Instead we find that Israel still has both its feet firmly planted in the past.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - CLOSING SPEECHES:
REMARKS BY EGYPT'S FOREIGN MINISTER AMR MUSA, 1 NOVEMBER 1991**

Co-Chairmen, distinguished delegates,

Our meeting here during the past three days in these fabulous surroundings and warm hospitality, graciously provided by our Spanish hosts, has been described as historic and momentous. I have been reflecting upon the real meaning of the Conference. As I looked across this T-shaped Conference table and listened to the different views of the parties, I asked myself, are we on the threshold of a new era in the Middle East, as indeed we should be? The answer is in the affirmative, for whatever the positions of one party or the other, we cannot and we should not continue arguing, trading accusations and recrimination. Old arguments and archaic strategies should be left at the wayside the moment we leave this Conference.

We have listened especially today to some passionate speeches which manifest once again how acute the conflict in the Middle East is and how the change in attitudes, change in content, is badly needed. And I address Israel mainly. Speeches such as the one we heard today does not help the process of peace. This is not the language of peace. We came to negotiate. We came to talk to each other about the future, and we have a responsibility to do every thing possible to make this endeavor succeed. Arab nations have come here to achieve peace with Israel. Her status is not questioned, nor in doubt. Israel, we hope, has come to find peace with the Arabs, including and in particular with the Palestinians, a matter which entails by necessity the respect of their rights in territory and in self-determination. This is a *sine qua non* for peace.

The co-sponsors have committed themselves to continue working together rather than against each other in the Middle East. This is a very important fact and very positive point. Our meeting here, Ladies and Gentlemen, must [inaudible]. Misrepresentation of facts must stop. Wild dreams of expansion must come to an end. Illegal acts, such as building settlements, should be frozen. More than any thing else, and as never before, this Conference places an awesome responsibility on the parties to demonstrate that peace has a chance and that coming here was not in vain. This solemn quest for peace must be pursued, its full potential realized. In the next few days and in the weeks and months to come, different forms of negotiation shall hopefully commence. In the process, there will be continuing difficulties, moments of tension. But we must continue our search for peace, a just and fair peace, not peace at any price, but peace based on legality, on Resolution 242 and 338. Peace at the end must prevail.

Egypt, a nation that has been at the forefront, both in war and in peace, a nation with deep Arab roots and peaceful relations with the Jewish state, knows more than anyone else in the Middle East the agony of war and the virtue of peace; from this unique perspective, an unparalleled experience, at least so far, Egypt shall continue to support the legitimate rights of all the nations in the region and participate in laying down the foundation for [a] stable, secure, and prosperous Middle East. Egypt shall fulfill her role in the upcoming negotiations in order to ensure peace in the Middle East and

address regional problems, in particular the arms race and the problem of the proliferation of arms of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons.

Our common objective must be a consensus on how to coexist as equals. This will no doubt entail many difficult decisions for all sides. We must learn to reconcile ourselves with reality. There cannot be peace if we allow our dreams to cloud our vision. There can only be genuine peace with all its implications when Israel chooses sincerely to live with the Arabs and the Palestinians, respecting their legitimate rights and ending the occupation of Arab lands. Israel also has rights, and the Arab side has demonstrated readiness to respect those rights, as stipulated in Resolution 242 and 338. There is no escape from Resolution 242 or 338.

We have a long road ahead of us. All of us have a contribution to make in ensuring that we march on. Confidence that all parties are sincerely pursuing peace will have to be continuously reinforced. We may need to reassure one another at each hurdle that there have been no regressions from the achievements of this Conference in Madrid. Palestinian suffering must be alleviated. Many other confidence-building measures must be implemented.

Peace is not a luxury nor an option. Peace is an imperative. We must overcome our differences, and we shall overcome our differences. Thank you.



MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - CLOSING SPEECHES: REMARKS BY SYRIA'S FOREIGN MINISTER FAROUK AL-SHARA, 1 NOVEMBER 1991

I wanted to read a statement which I had prepared to reply to the speech made by the head of the Israeli delegation which he made yesterday. But the head of the Israeli delegation, who has just left, paying no heed to this historic Conference and to the peace process, has taken a different course from the chief subject on whose basis the Conference is held, which is the achievement of just, comprehensive, and lasting peace in an area which has not known security, stability, and well-balanced development for long decades.

Yesterday some Western journalists said the Syrian speech was perhaps tough, and I told them it was not tough. Rather it gave facts and realities as they are, and I challenged some of them when I said I shall find it strange if the Israeli delegation can find one single paragraph to answer to. This challenge was not out of place, because I never accused Israel of anything that is not in it, and thus the head of the Israeli government could not reply to any word or expression by which I described the Israeli policy in our region.

Today, I find it necessary to make clear some facts because those, for us, for the co-sponsors of the Conference and for the international community, are very important points closely connected with the future, peace, security, and stability of the area and for the world security in general. Therefore, I would briefly say that the head of the Israeli government did not mention in his speech the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which in effect means that they are not on the course for which the Conference is convened. This also means a rejection of even the invitation issued by the co-sponsors, the United States and the Soviet Union, who said in the invitation that the Conference convenes on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338. Naturally, he did not talk about the principle of "land for peace" because he openly said he does not want peace. He who analyzes his words will immediately come to the conclusion that he says if the Arab side comes to the Conference or to the talks to speak about land, we shall arrive at a dead end.

Naturally, I would not talk about the history which the head of the Israeli government yesterday used because it was a false and fabricated history that is not based on realities, nor does it rely on neutral world historians, particularly European and American historians who were sympathetic to Israel, as is well-known. He writes a special history as he sees it. For example, he says the Palestinian refugees left Palestine because the Arab governments asked them to. This is not true, and the Israeli delegation

will not have one single document to confirm this. Second, if we take it for granted that those Palestinians left by order of governments at the time, why, then, doesn't the head of the Israeli delegation who is talking about peace with empty words, ask them to go back to their lands. Arab governments now agree to this. They demand this.

The head of the Israeli delegation yesterday openly pointed out that Palestine is the only home land for all world Jews. He considered a Jew who lives in any other country in the world, however hospitable this country is - the United States, for instance, which is really hospitable to all Jews, and has treated them well, as the Arabs have treated them throughout their history - as an exiled Jew; Diaspora. This means that a Jew in the United States is not an American citizen, having no allegiance to the United States, as the head of Israeli government claims. His allegiance would be to Israel, because there a Jew is only a resident whose aim is to go to Israel, notwithstanding everything that the States had offered him, support and backing inside the US and on the international arena.

They want a Soviet Jewish citizen not to stay in the Soviet Union. I am confident that what he says does not express the truth. There are many honorable Jews in the Soviet Union and the United States and in Europe who declare allegiance to those homelands where they lived and grew up. Hence, one would easily conclude that the concentration on this point in itself is a real desire by the Israeli head of government to keep tension high not only in our region but all over the world as well, to keep the Jewish question alive in memory. He does not want the Jews to be equally treated. He always wants to see the Jews persecuted, and tortured, contrary to world facts now. When he talks, for instance, about Syrian Jews. Jews in Syria are subject to the law like any other Syrian citizen, be he Moslem or Christian. They know, the whole world knows, everybody who visited Syria knows, historians know, that a Syrian Jew lives in the same freedom and equality as any other Syrian citizen.

I shall briefly cite a paragraph of a report by a European parliamentary delegation who visited Syria only two months ago: Syria has an amazing religious freedom, for those who know little about Moslem Arab countries. What we saw astonished us. Religious freedom is perfect in Syria because the state considers itself secular, thus Judaism, Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Islam with all its sects express themselves in Syria and freely perform their religious duties. Of course, they distribute pamphlets through Israeli embassies in Europe to talk about persecution of Jews and drive people to demonstrate before Syrian embassies. No more than 20 or 50 persons carry false banners that Jews in Syria are persecuted, or they are hostages. Nonsense.

Mr. President,

I would like to get to an important point because the subject of the Conference is peace. The head of the Israeli delegation yesterday admitted that he would not return any part of the land, as I have just pointed out. Especially when he talked about the area for Palestinians, he indicated an area which is more than the area of mandated Palestine. This means he reaffirms occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem, Golan. Anybody who looks carefully into this will find out the truth. The Arabs are the only people who lived in Palestine over millennia of years. Even when the Jews came from the South through Sinai, the Palestinians were there in Palestine. I do not want to elaborate on this period.

I wonder if the head of the Israeli government says it is the right of every Jew to return to Palestine after an absence of about two thousand years. Then how is it that a Palestinian whose absence is only forty years has no right to return? Which is more realistic? A Palestinian who still remembers his house, who may even have the key to his house, or talk about the return of Jews who were there two thousand years before. This is a difference between forty and four thousand years, which was discussed by the head of the Israeli government. He talked about freedom of worship. We all know, through the media, and Arab media, that they encourage Israeli extremists to destroy sacred places, the act of arson against the holy al-Aqsa Mosque, their attempt to destroy the al-Aqsa Mosque and they claim they try those people. Israeli control over Jerusalem is not a guarantee for any of the three religions, or for the city to remain holy with its spiritual places eternal, to remain the city of peace, so long as it is under Israeli control and under the feet of their soldiers.

Mr. President,

I had wanted to concentrate on peace for which we have come. But before this let me show you an old picture of Shamir, when he was 32 years old. The caption says - it is distributed in Europe. At the time he was 32 years old. Height 165 cm., then the other details which you all know. This picture was distributed because he was wanted. He himself confessed he was a terrorist. He confessed he practiced terrorism and participated in murdering UN mediator Count Bernadotte in 1948, as far as I remember. He kills peace mediators and talks about Syria, Lebanon, terrorism. I cite another example: Israel in 1954 hijacked a Syrian civilian aeroplane, and downed a Libyan civilian aeroplane.

The problem is that I don't have enough time to talk about Israel's terrorist practices which needs volumes, not only a quarter of an hour. But I would like to briefly say that Israel hijacked a Syrian civilian aeroplane in 1954 with passengers on board between Cairo and Damascus. Israel downed a Libyan plane in 1973, as I remember, and killed over one hundred civilian passengers. Israel hijacked a Syrian plane six or seven years ago which was carrying a Syrian political delegation. Had Syria not hastened to file a complaint with the Security Council, the plane would not have been released.

Yesterday I gave our perception of terrorism and we believe he could not respond to any word in it. I don't want to disturb you with more details. If anyone wants more, they can refer to it. He says the 1967 war was defensive. In their media they say the Arabs attacked Israel in 1967. They insult historians. I would like to say one final word. Regardless of who occupied, or who started the war in 1967, the text of the resolution is clear, Mr. President, that it prohibits the acquisition of other people's land by war. This land must be returned.

Finally, and simply, Mr. President,

We have come here for peace. We shall continue to work for peace out of our faith in this peace. We declare with confidence and resolution our determination to work for just and comprehensive peace that liberates the land, and guarantees rights and security for all parties. We would find it strange if the Israeli side declined to continue the bilateral talks or created excuses to prevent their continuation in Madrid. I am sorry, Mr. President, I took a longer time but I have to clarify those facts. Thank you.



**MADRID PEACE CONFERENCE - CLOSING SPEECHES:
REMARKS BY LEBANESE FOREIGN MINISTER FARES BOUEZ, 1 NOVEMBER 1991**

Messrs. Co-Chairmen,

Today ends the opening phase of the Madrid Conference to which we have come with an open mind and the keenness to contribute to the establishment of peace based on justice, international legitimacy, and the United Nations resolutions. It is with great satisfaction that we listened to the statements of the co-sponsors, Presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev. They emphasized the basic principle guiding this Conference - namely, compliance with international law, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and the safeguarding of the right of peoples to live in security and with self-determination.

The Lebanese delegation also listened with much interest to the statements of all the other parties called upon to negotiate to bring about the desired peace. Therefore, we would like to make the following observations.

Firstly, the holding of this Conference was an indispensable first step towards achieving the objective of peace for which this Conference indeed took place. A just, lasting, and comprehensive peace in our region, based on international legitimacy and the United Nations resolutions.

Secondly, we consider the various points in the statements of Presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev, and particularly, those pertaining to the establishment of peace, based on justice and fairness. We consider them to be a viable means for peace and stability in our region.

Thirdly, we believe that the statement made on behalf of the European Community is a balanced and much appreciated contribution to the genuine efforts for the fulfillment of the aims of the Conference. We noticed with satisfaction that Lebanon was singled out in a paragraph which supported the implementation of Resolution 425.

Fourthly, having listened to the other statements, a clear difference emerged between Arab positions, which sought to overcome hate [between] countries and the residue of the past in order to open a new page in regional relations founded on wisdom and reason, and that of an Israeli position which maintained its traditional ideas and allegations which have been clearly proven to run counter to the peace process in the region.

The statement of the Israeli delegation was not only lacking a declaration of acceptance of the principle of this Conference, embodied in the United Nations resolutions, and the principle of "land for peace" - which have been unanimously agreed to by the organizers of this Conference and its participants. It also pursued its falsifications and denigration of international legitimacy and the United Nations Charter and resolutions.

We had hoped that the Israeli delegation would share our conviction that the success of this Conference depends on the will of all parties to seek peace and the need to demonstrate this will by taking specific measures in the field that would bring about mutual trust. We are still awaiting a clear demonstration of that will on the part of the Israeli delegation by declaring its commitment to the implementation of Resolutions 242, 338, the United Nations Charter, and in particular, the right of peoples to self-determination so as to make this right attainable by all, and especially at present, attainable by the Palestinian people.

Our attention was drawn, in the Israeli Prime Minister's statement, to his attempt to annul the United Nations resolutions and question their legitimacy, although Israel itself would not have come into existence if it were not for a Security Council resolution granting the Jews a part of Palestine.

Moreover, if that were Israel's attitude towards the UN resolutions, then what would be the meaning of holding this Conference, which is based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338? I would now like to turn to Lebanese - the national Lebanese issue. Lebanon has demanded, and reiterates its demand before you today, for the immediate, complete, and unconditional withdrawal of all of Israel from all the Lebanese territories, pursuant to Security Council Resolution 425 of 19 March 1978. However, it is surprising that the head of the Israeli delegation should speak of peace without taking one single step towards achieving it. On the contrary, Israel continues to aggress Lebanon and rejects the implementation of Resolution 425. Is Israeli escalation in southern Lebanon, which has accompanied this Conference, the best response to the umbrella of principles and values which govern this gathering?

Desirous of peace, Lebanon has made giant strides to recover. It, therefore, declares before you its undertaking to preserve security throughout its territory, especially in the south, as soon as Israel complies with Resolution 425 and withdraws its forces beyond the Lebanese international boundaries according to international provisions. The Lebanese delegation can only emphasize once again that Resolution 425 should be applied today, and not tomorrow, since this would provide an incentive for the Peace Conference to succeed and would pave the way for the settlement of the region's problems.

Sixth, we wish to stress the need to think about the future, and to arrive at a conception for the development of the region which would carry with [it] the foundations of construction, social justice, and economic welfare. However, we would also like to stress our belief that it is more important, and more constructive, to negotiate the present rather than the future. Let us focus therefore, and agree, on our present to enable us to prepare for our future. How can we consider distributing their (inaudible) before we shrug off our shoulders the burden of adversity so that the proclamation may enhance the

prospect of peace, the status of Jerusalem, a halt to settlement, and respect for the principle of land for peace. Therefore, we say that to pave the way for multilateral negotiations we need to make significant progress in bilateral negotiations.

Finally, we have noticed in the Israeli writer's reply that Israel is attached to withdrawing from Lebanon and does not have any ambitions in Lebanese territory. Therefore, we wonder why Israel continues to occupy Lebanon, why it continues to incite violence in Lebanon, why it continues to denigrate the dignity of our people.

The independence of Lebanon, as though it was Israel's obsession begins with the south. And as long as the south is under the yoke of occupation, [the] independence of Lebanon will not be complete. Israel, in fact, has brought with it all the contradictions in the world. Israel knows very well that Syria came to Lebanon supporting legitimacy and consolidating unity. Lebanon's relationship with Syria does not accept Israel's interference or even Israel's intention to link its presence in Lebanon to the presence of Syria. Finally, Israel's attempt to link its withdrawal from Lebanon with any other element or factor carries with it a clear rejection of Resolution 425, which should be implemented unconditionally.

Thank you.



**ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, STATEMENT ON THE
NEXT STAGE OF PEACE TALKS, 27 NOVEMBER 1991**

Israel seeks to continue the peace process as soon as possible in direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict. Needless to say, Washington, D.C. is regarded by us as an hospitable city and as the capital of a friendly nation. But we have constantly restated at all levels that for the negotiations to be effective, they must be held in the region, for the following reasons:

- We have grounds to believe that the Arabs are interested not in talking with us and conducting direct negotiations, but rather in talking with the U.S., and through them to try and exert pressure on Israel.
- The Arabs are aiming at a framework that would be an extension of the Madrid conference, i.e. one that would be as close as possible to an international conference, and as distant as possible from the direct negotiations framework, free of the involvement of other elements.
- The proposal to hold the three meetings simultaneously in Washington, D.C. would bring all the Arab delegations together beneath one roof. Experience has shown that under these circumstances, the lowest common denominator prevails - the extreme position takes over and the chances of true negotiations are diminished.

We are facing negotiations that are to be held simultaneously with three Arab factors. The contents of the negotiations are of utmost importance to the security and future of the State of Israel. It is therefore necessary that the negotiations be held in a location that is near the top political decision-making level, to facilitate close contact, constant consultation and continuous guidance for the negotiators.

In light of the above and in consideration of the American invitation, and out of respect to the U.S., Israel is prepared to conduct one or two meetings in Washington, D.C., so that subsequently, the negotiations will be held in the region or its vicinity. Israel also proposes to hold the meetings on three separate dates, with a time-span of four to five days between each one, with the first group convening on 9 December 1991.

Israel is hopeful that the negotiations will indeed resume as soon as possible, and that the Arab sides will view them and conduct them as direct negotiations with us - as was agreed. This is the surest way to proceed and to attain the desired goal of peace.



DECLARATION AND FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE SIXTH ISLAMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE (SESSION OF AL-QUDS AL-SHARIF, CONCORD AND UNITY), DAKAR, SENEGAL, 11 DECEMBER 1991 [EXCERPTS]

We the Sovereigns, Kings, Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference met in Dakar, Republic of Senegal, from 3-5 Jumada II, 1412H (9-11 December, 1991), for the Sixth Islamic Summit Conference (Session of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, Concord and Unity). [...]

Convinced that the African Member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference contribute in an effective and positive manner to the consecration in these different countries of the genuine principles of Islam, raising the banner of the true religion and spreading its noble precepts in the service of closer cooperation, greater solidarity among peoples and consolidation of the foundations of peace and security in the world. [...]

Determined to contribute actively together with the international community towards the establishment of a New International Order based on peace and progress and respect for the international legality and capable of guaranteeing justice and equity for all;

Emphasizing the importance of seeking solution to global issues through dialogue and cooperation among all nations of the World and adherence to the principles of international law and the resolutions of the United Nations;

Recognizing the indivisible nature of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination;

Committed to the achievement of the objectives outlined in the Plan of Action to Strengthen Economic Cooperation among Member States adopted by the Third Islamic Summit Conference;

Determined to foster further their cultural and information exchanges and to develop active cooperation in these fields;

Convinced of the need to rationalize and revitalize the institutional mechanisms of the Organization of the Islamic Conference;

Strongly attached to fundamental freedoms and human rights for all peoples of the world and determined to act together to safeguard and promote the dignity of all Muslims;

Considering that solidarity must constitute a supreme value for guiding all development strategies established at the level of the Islamic Ummah. [...]

We solemnly pledge to unite our efforts in defence of all Islamic causes, and in the first place the cause of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, the foremost cause of Islam, to ensure equity and justice in settling outstanding issues, conflicts and disputes, to banish poverty, misery and disease; and to develop the necessary scientific and technological capabilities through inter-Islamic cooperation; to further enrich our glorious Islamic heritage; and to work together with the international community in all domains to usher for the Islamic Ummah and for the whole of mankind a new era of peace, progress and prosperity.

In pursuance of the above, we the leaders of the Member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference solemnly commit ourselves to the following:

I- POLITICAL COOPERATION

- (i) We reaffirm our resolve to face the Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967; as well our determination to continue to reject and oppose the pursuit of Israeli plans and practices. We also reject and denounce those policies which make this occupation possible by providing it political, economic, demographic and military support. We also reject any initiative that does not conform to a just solution of the question of Palestine based on the realization of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people including their right to return to their homeland, their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in their homeland under the leadership of Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We reaffirm our resolve to confront this occupation and pressure with all the means at our disposal to mobilize ourselves to strive for the liberation of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the Holy places and to recover the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as recognized by International Law and the U.N. Resolutions relating to the question of Palestine. The violations committed against the Haram of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, the aggression perpetrated against Islamic and Christian sanctities in occupied Palestine and against the inalienable religious

and national rights of the people of Palestine as well as the continuation of the aggression through the decisions aimed at annexing Al-Quds Al-Sharif and its usurpation from its legitimate owners prompt us to adopt a categorical stand in the face of this aggression and to denounce those who support or recognize it. Accordingly, we shall support efforts conducive to the liberation of Al Quds and shall consider such liberation as the major Islamic cause and the responsibility of the present generation of our Ummah until such time as Al Quds and the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories are liberated and returned to their legitimate owners by the Grace of Allah.

- (ii) We welcome and support the peace process which is under way and which is aimed at establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and of the formula of land for peace and the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.
- (iii) We reaffirm resolution No.2/20-P adopted by the Twentieth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Istanbul concerning the occupied Syrian Golan. We further condemn Israel for persisting in the implementation of its settlement policies through the establishment of new settlements in the occupied Syrian Golan and through the adoption by the Israeli Knesset of the decision confirming previous Israeli decision to annex the occupied Syrian Golan in spite of the holding of the Peace Conference.
- (iv) We shall, within the framework of respect for the principles of international law and especially the principles of sovereign equality and respect for the rights inherent in the sovereignty, seek to develop further and consolidate our bilateral as well as multilateral relations.
- (v) We shall refrain in our mutual relations as well as in our international relations in general from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.
- (vi) We reaffirm our unanimous condemnation of the phenomenon of terrorism which constitutes a violation of the teachings of the glorious Islamic religion, values, norms and traditions of our countries which treat man with respect and dignity. We further affirm our unflinching determination to cooperate sincerely with the international community in its efforts within the framework of legality and respect of the principles of international law, with a view to eradicating international terrorism in all its forms and practices.
- (vii) We shall scrupulously abide by the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of our respective countries.
- (viii) We consider as inviolable all the internationally recognized frontiers.
- (ix) We shall settle any dispute that might arise amongst ourselves by peaceful means.
To this effect we shall use such means as negotiations, good offices, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement or other peaceful means to settle any dispute between us especially by using all possibilities offered in this regard by the Organization of the Islamic Conference.
- (x) We shall respect the equal rights of the peoples and their rights to self-determination, acting at all times in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charters of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of the United Nations.
We shall join efforts to support the just struggle of the peoples under colonial domination or foreign occupation to enable them to exercise their right to self-determination.
- (xi) We shall consider any threat against any Member State as directed against international peace and security, including those of the Member States. It is incumbent upon us to act individually and collectively within the framework of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations and other international and regional organizations, to eliminate such a threat with a view to strengthening the security and stability of all Member States through the adoption of appropriate measures aimed at consolidating our cooperation in these fields within the framework of international legality. In this connection, We affirm our conviction of the importance of establishing between us relations of permanent consultation and coordinating our efforts on the international scene in various domains, within the framework of the Charter, particularly in case of threats against our collective security or that of any Member State. We entrust the Secretary General of the Organization to follow up the development of such threats with all the required attention, and to undertake whatever contacts the situation may require, particularly with the two Bureaux of the Islamic Summit and the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, as well as the Member States as circumstances may require.
- (xii) We shall encourage, where ever appropriate, the initiation of confidence and security building measures among Member States, bilaterally or at the sub-regional or regional levels in conformity with the provisions and principles of this Declaration.
- (xiii) We shall individually and collectively endeavour to protect and promote the rights of Muslim communities and minorities in non-member states as well as strengthen the means of action of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference in this regard.

- (xiv) We pledge to strengthen Joint Islamic Action in the humanitarian fields by consolidating the actions of existing bodies in particular to alleviate the suffering of refugees and displaced persons as well as to meet the contingencies resulting from natural and other disasters.
- To this end we shall by active coordination with the General Secretariat of the Organization of the Islamic Conference; increase our individual and collective support for the competent UN Agencies particularly the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Disaster Relief Organization. [...]

FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ

At the kind invitation of the Republic of Senegal and in implementation of the decision of the Fifth Islamic Summit Conference held at Kuwait, State of Kuwait, the Sixth Islamic Summit Conference (Session of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, Concord and Unity) was held in Dakar, Republic of Senegal, from 3 to 5 Jamada Al-Thani 1412 H, corresponding to 9 to 11 December 1991.

A meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs was held at Dakar from 29 Jamada Al-Awal to 2 Jamada Al-Thani 1412 H, corresponding to 5 to 8 December 1991 to prepare for the Sixth Islamic Summit Conference. [...]

3. His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Emir of the State of Kuwait in his capacity as the Chairman of the Fifth Islamic Summit Conference made a statement in which he emphasized the vast capabilities bestowed on the Ummah to promote Joint Islamic Action on the basis of the noble teachings of Islam which calls for brotherhood and unity. He recalled in this respect the principles enshrined in the Charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference namely total equality between Member States, respect of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each Member State, settlement of conflicts by peaceful means and abstention from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity, national unity or political independence of any State. He added that all these noble principles were violated by the Iraqi regime which launched an attack against a neighbouring Muslim State and a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. He stated that the Iraqi regime continues to challenge international resolutions and conventions and flouts Islamic values and humanitarian principles by continuing to detain in its prisons, thousands of hostages and prisoners among whom are hundreds of women and children. His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah referred to the activities of the Organization of the Islamic Conference during his tenure as Chairman of the Fifth Islamic Summit Conference and which were related to the cause of Palestine, with Al-Quds Al-Sharif in the forefront; the comprehensive peace process initiated in Madrid; the question of Lebanon, Afghanistan, South Africa and the Island of Mayotte; the critical economic situation in Africa; the events in Somalia; the Jammu and Kashmir dispute; and the position of Muslim minorities in general.
4. On the proposal of His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Chairman of the Fifth Islamic Summit Conference, the Conference unanimously elected His Excellency Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal, as the Chairman of the Sixth Islamic Summit Conference.
5. In his opening statement His Excellency Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal and Chairman of the Sixth Islamic Summit Conference welcomed the delegations attending the Conference. [...] Referring to the Gulf crisis, His Excellency President Abdou Diouf expressed his happiness at the liberation of Kuwait and underlined that given the events experienced, it seems indeed logical and essential to ensure, through collective arrangements for the sub-region concerned, the kind of security which would guarantee stability and preclude that any such situation, which is inconsistent with Islamic ethics, may occur again.

On the Middle East issue, His Excellency President Abdou Diouf stated that the developments currently unfolding as regards the Middle East conflict were, no doubt, fostered by the deep changes taking place in the world. He expressed satisfaction at these developments and wished full success to the process initiated in Madrid. He hailed the efforts of all those who contributed directly or indirectly in making the Madrid Conference possible. He added that however, after almost half a century of conflict and misunderstandings, after so many frustrations imposed on several Palestinian generations, the road leading to the long-awaited settlement will be long and arduous. Yet, the main thing is that, during the negotiations, all the parties concerned should be prompted by the desire to achieve peace. He affirmed that the Organization of the Islamic Conference must encourage the continuation of these negotiations and, above

- all, it must continue to stand by the Palestinian people, who need the support of Member States more than ever before. This solidarity obligation is further consolidated by their commitment to peace. [...]
8. His Excellency Dr. Hamid Algabid, Secretary General, made a statement in which he expressed to H.E. President Abdou Diouf, to the Senegalese Government and the people his sincere thanks for the warm welcome and generous hospitality extended to all delegations. Talking about the developments which occurred on the Islamic scene since the last Summit, the Secretary General welcomed the liberation of the State of Kuwait and called on the Member States to work towards restoring lasting peace in the Gulf region and to think of conceiving and setting up appropriate mechanisms aimed at preventing the repetition of such crises in the region. The Secretary General further expressed satisfaction over the opening in Madrid of the Peace Conference on the Middle East, voicing the hope that this Conference will lead to Israeli withdrawal from the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories including the Syrian Golan and Al-Quds Al-Sharif to which Muslims remain profoundly attached. With regard to the question of Afghanistan the Secretary General urged the Member States to give their active support to the constructive role which the OIC, is called upon, in this crucial phase, to play along with the United Nations in favour of a just and durable solution to this problem. The Secretary General, H.E. Dr. Hamid Algabid emphasized the need for the Organization to reinforce its action in favour of the Islamic communities and minorities throughout the world, particularly in Cyprus, Southern Philippines and Jammu and Kashmir. In conclusion the Secretary General urged the Member States to better organize their efforts and to undertake a joint Islamic action founded on solidarity and complementarity.
9. [...] The Conference decided to designate this Session as "the Session of Al-Quds AL-Sharif, Concord and Unity". [...]

POLITICAL AFFAIRS:

26. The Conference reaffirmed that the Palestine Question was the prime cause for Muslims and that it was at the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- The Conference expressed support for the efforts made to bring about a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East region through the convening of the Peace Conference in Madrid and the beginning of negotiations among the parties concerned based on international legality including Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the principle of land for peace so as to ensure total Israeli withdrawal from all Palestinian and Arab territories, occupied in 1967 including Al-Quds Al-Sharif, and to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable national rights, including their right of return, self-determination and the establishment of their independent State on their national soil, with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.
- The Conference affirmed its active solidarity and total support for the just struggle of the valiant Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, their sole legitimate representative and saluted with great pride the blessed Intifadha of the Palestinian people against Israeli occupation.
- The Conference considered that establishment of settlements in Occupied Palestinian territories including Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the occupied Syrian Golan constitute a fundamental obstacle to international efforts exerted towards a just and global peace in the region.
- The Conference declared the Islamic Ummah's commitment to liberate the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque, First Qibla and Third Holy Shrine, reaffirmed that Al-Quds Al-Sharif is an integral part of the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 and reiterated its commitment to strengthen Islamic solidarity for the return of Al-Quds Al-Sharif to Palestinian sovereignty and to preserve the Arab Islamic character of the Holy City.
- The Conference reaffirmed that all the measures taken to annex Al-Quds Al-Sharif and impose Israeli laws on its Arab Palestinian inhabitants are null and void and called on the international community to condemn the continuing violations of Al-Aqsa mosque, the Islamic Sharia Court and other Islamic and Christian Holy Places, and to force Israel to comply with all international resolutions, the latest of which is Security Council resolution 681. It also called on the international community to provide the necessary protection to the Palestinian people and the Holy Places.
- The Conference invited all States to refuse to locate their Embassies and Mission in the City of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, thus expressing their opposition to the annexation, by Israel, of the Holy City.
- The Conference expressed its deep concern at the continuing implementation of the scheme of transferring Soviet and other Jews and settling them in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territo-

ries including Al-Quds Al-Sharif and the Syrian Golan and urged all States not to adopt any measures that may facilitate the settlement operations in the occupied territories.

The Conference appealed to all States to respond to the request of the U.N. Secretary General for implementation of the operative paragraph of Resolution 681 calling for a meeting of the States signatories to the Fourth Geneva Convention to discuss the necessary measures for the protection of the Palestinian people in accordance with international covenants and for enabling them to exercise their right to self-determination.

The Conference expressed its deep concern over the ongoing attempts at repealing UN General Assembly Resolution 3379 of 10 November 1975 and which are bound to impede the peaceful, just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine Question. The Conference declared its adherence to the above-mentioned resolution until such time as the reasons having led to its adoption have ceased to exist.

The Conference strongly condemned Israel's refusal to abide by UN Security Council Resolution 497 of 1981 and forcibly imposing its jurisdiction, laws and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan as well as for its annexationist policy and practices, the establishment of settlements, and the confiscation of land. It considered all these measures to be null and void and to be a violation of the principles and norms of International Law relating to occupation and war, in particular the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

27. The Conference condemned Israel's continuing occupation of parts of Southern Lebanon and of West Bekaa and its aggression and arbitrary and military practices against Lebanese citizens, and called for Israel's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanese territories. The Conference reiterated its attachment to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon within internationally recognized boundaries. It also reaffirmed the need to implement the UN Security Council resolutions on Lebanon, in particular resolution 425 of 1978. The Conference also expressed its appreciation for the achievements of the Supreme Tripartite Arab Committee as well as its support of the steps taken by the Lebanese Government to establish the State authority over all Lebanese territory so as to enable it to restore and rehabilitate the infrastructure and build essential facilities in order to achieve economic recovery.

The Conference also called on the international community to contribute to the International Fund for the Reconstruction of Lebanon which the Arab Summit Conference in Baghdad decided to establish.

28. The Conference recalled the declarations issued during the period between the 19th and 20th Sessions of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers regarding the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait as well as Resolution 9/20-P adopted by the Twentieth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. It reiterated its condemnation of the illegal acts committed by the Iraqi regime's forces during the occupation of the State of Kuwait; persecuting, torturing and killing of Kuwaiti citizens, plundering public and private property and setting fire to and sabotaging oil wells and facilities and destroying aspects of human life and natural environment particularly in Kuwait and generally in the region, as well as the oppressive aggression against the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia invading its territories and air space and launching missiles against its cities. It affirmed the necessity for the full implementation of all UN Security Council resolutions issued in this regard to ensure non-recurrence of a new Iraqi aggression in the face of the previous aggressions against its neighbouring States. It deplored that the Iraqi government had not fully complied with UN resolutions indicating the harbouring of aggressive intentions which necessitates the maintenance of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council, and expressed its distress for the ordeal endured by the people of Iraq due to the non-compliance of the Iraqi regime with the decisions of international legitimacy thereby disregarding the interests of the people of Iraq. It expressed its deep regret and concern over the procrastination of the Iraqi authorities regarding the implementation of the resolutions concerning the release of Kuwaiti citizens and other detainees in Iraq and called upon the Iraqi authorities for their immediate release. It held Iraq fully responsible for the human and material damages inflicted upon Kuwait and other countries, and demanded from Iraq compensation for those losses in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions without any procrastination or delay. It reiterated the necessity of Iraq's effective adherence to all Security Council resolutions regarding the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and affirmed the necessity of eliminating all kind of weapons of mass destruction from the entire Middle East region. [...]



8. Middle East Peace Negotiations (I): (1992-1994)

UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 726, 6 JANUARY 1992

[Israel announced on 2 Jan. its decision to deport 12 Palestinians accused of "inciting terrorism"; in protest, the Arab delegations to the bilateral negotiations with Israel scheduled to begin in Washington on 7 Jan. postponed their arrival. Press reports attributed the unprecedented strong language of the resolution ("strongly condemns" instead of "deplores," as in earlier resolutions concerning deportations) to efforts to move forward the peace process. Particular attention was also called to the fact that the resolution referred to the "occupied Palestinian territories" rather than the "Occupied Territories" or "Occupied Arab Territories." The resolution was adopted unanimously.]

The Security Council,

Recalling the obligations of member states under the United Nations Charter,

Recalling its Resolutions 607 (1988), 608 (1988), 636 (1989), 641 (1989), and 694 (1991),

Having been apprised of the decision of Israel, the occupying power, to deport 21 Palestinian civilians from the occupied Palestinian territories.

1. *Strongly condemns* the decision of Israel, the occupying power, to resume deportations of Palestinian civilians;
2. *Reaffirms* the applicability of the Fourth Geneva, Convention of 12 August 1949 to all the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;
3. *Requests* Israel, the occupying power, to refrain from deporting any Palestinian civilian from the Occupied Territories.
4. *Also requests* Israel, the occupying power, to insure the safe and immediate return to the Occupied Territories of all those deported.
5. *Decides* to keep the matter under review.



ISRAELI DELEGATION AND JOINT JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN DELEGATION TO THE PEACE TALKS, PROCEDURAL GROUND RULES, 13 JANUARY 1992

A. *General Umbrella*

1. The three heads of the two tracks to meet upon request.
2. The general meeting to meet upon request to discuss procedural aspects as well as other matters. The general meeting is without prejudice to the integrity of the two tracks and not a substitute for them.

B. *Tracks*

1. The Israel-Jordan track to deal with Israeli-Jordanian issues, headed by an Israeli and a Jordanian (eleven Israelis and nine Jordanians, 2 Palestinians).
2. The track between Israel and the Palestinians: Talks on interim self-government arrangements (as per the October 18 invitation) headed by an Israeli and a Palestinian (eleven Israelis, nine Palestinians and two Jordanians).
3. The tracks can establish committees.



**PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, “OUTLINE OF MODEL OF THE
PALESTINIAN INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY (PISGA)”,
WASHINGTON, DC, 14 JANUARY 1992**

Introduction

The Palestinian side believes that this outline of a model for the Palestinian Interim Self-government Authority could be the basis of negotiations during this phase, after the necessary preparatory steps referred to in our agenda have been taken, including the total cessation of all settlement activities. What is presented here reflects both the letter and spirit of the terms of reference upon which these negotiations have been convened, and universally accepted democratic principles.

The purpose of the interim self-government arrangements is to ensure the peaceful and orderly transfer of authority from Israel to PISGA, and to create the proper conditions for sustainable negotiations on the final status of the Occupied Palestinian Territory.

1. The Main Characteristics of the PISGA

- One:* These arrangements are interim ones, which will culminate in the establishment of the PISGA. They shall remain in force until the conclusion of the final status agreement which is to be negotiated.
- Two:* It covers all the Palestinian territories occupied since June 1967. The jurisdiction of the PISGA shall encompass all these territories, the land, natural resources and water, the subsoil, and their territorial sea and air-space. Its jurisdiction shall also extend to all the Palestinian inhabitants of these territories.
- Three:* The *de jure* applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Hague Regulations of 1907, as well as all relevant UN resolutions, in particular 242 and 338, should be recognized and strictly observed by Israel and the PISGA.
- Four:* It is an entity whose authority emanates from the fact that it was elected by the Palestinian people. No outside source invests it with its authority.
- Five:* It is the authority to which shall be transferred all the powers, responsibilities and jurisdiction which are exercised by any Israeli military or civilian authority, or any agency acting for or on behalf of the Israeli government.
- Six:* The PISGA shall have legislative, executive and judicial powers.

2. The Structure of the PISGA

The PISGA shall have the following three main organs:

- (a) *A Legislative Assembly* composed of 180 freely elected representatives from the Occupied Palestinian Territory.
- (b) *An Executive Council* composed of 20 members, who will be nominated by the Chairperson of the Executive Council and subsequently confirmed by the Assembly. The Chairperson shall be elected by the assembly.
- (c) *The Judiciary* shall be composed of courts of law enjoying full guarantees of independence.

3. Steps to be followed in establishing the PISGA

- (a) Elections for the legislative Assembly, in which Palestinians from the West Bank including Jerusalem, and Gaza, as well as persons displaced since 1967 and deportees should participate fully. Political detainees must also be freed and allowed to participate. These elections are to be supervised by an international body. All existing orders, regulations or laws which prohibit and/or restrict assembly, movement, participation in political activities or campaigning for elections shall be rescinded to enable these elections to proceed in an orderly and democratic manner.
- (b) Transfer of jurisdiction, powers and responsibilities which are exercised by any Israeli military or civilian authority, or any agency acting for or on behalf of the Israeli government, to the PISGA, and the *simultaneous* withdrawal of the Israeli military government and its civilian administration.

- (c) The Israeli armed forces shall withdraw from all populated areas immediately before the PISGA election process is initiated. They shall complete their withdrawal in mutually agreed phases to redeployment points along the borders of the occupied Palestinian territories by the time PISGA is inaugurated.

4. Security

Arrangements shall be implemented to assure internal and external security and public order during the transitional period with the assistance of United Nations peace-keeping forces. A strong local Palestinian law enforcement force shall be established and controlled by the PISGA in order to ensure security and public order. Arrangements for external security shall be agreed in the course of these interim negotiations.



ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER AND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER DAVID LEVY, ADDRESS AT THE MULTILATERAL TALKS, MOSCOW, 28 JANUARY 1992

Mr. Chairman:

Our meeting here, in Moscow, as representatives of countries from around the world, pursuing the specific, declared goal of distancing the menace of war in the Middle East and establishing cooperation between the peoples of the region, is an event marked by the most dramatic symbols of our age.

Only yesterday, no one would have thought possible such a gathering, motivated by a shared international desire for fundamental change in patterns of life and thought, and the creation of an atmosphere of trust on the road to peace. We lived then in an entirely different geopolitical world. Moscow and other Eastern European capitals were ruled by centralized Communist regimes. The Cold War between the superpowers thwarted any attempt to promote peace in the Middle East. Uncompromising hostility reigned between the Arab countries and Israel, fed by six wars in the course of only two generations. Western and Eastern countries alike were helping to arm and encourage Saddam Hussein. A year ago today most of the countries gathered here joined forces against his aggression, but now he is again gaining strength and threatening peace in the region.

The lesson to be learned from these events is that we must build confidence in the need, as well as the ability, to turn the specter of war into a vision of peace and cooperation, even in the Middle East; confidence that nations and rulers have sobered up after their intoxication with delusive power; a confidence that draws from the desire and determination to begin a new way of life, born of weariness with the agony caused by war and destruction.

Mr. Chairman:

I thank the ministers and delegations who have gathered for this historic occasion. My deepest appreciation goes to our host, the government of independent Russia, and to each of the republics in the Commonwealth of Independent States which want to establish a new way of life.

My special thanks go to the American people and their president for the courageous example of leadership which they have set for the world, and to US Secretary of State James Baker for his contribution and determination in setting the wheels of this historic peace process into motion.

The region to which we want to bring good tidings is the one which that gave the world its message of culture, faith, and peace. It gave humanity the Bible, the Koran, and the New Testament. The word peace is the essence of the teachings of the People Israel and the Arab peoples. Both greet each other with the words "shalom aleichem," "salaam aleikum," and respond "aleichem hashalom," "aleikum asalaam." This greeting, deeply rooted in our cultures, has withstood all tests of time. How tragic and paradoxical it is that peace itself, like the rainbow, is so close, yet so unattainable and desired.

Mr. Chairman:

The Gulf crisis has taught us many lessons, which have caused accelerated change and coalescence of world views in international relations. The direct relationship between the danger to world peace and stability and the stores of weapons in the hands of tyrannical regimes, was clearly demonstrated, as was the determination of countries to take a stand against this danger and extirpate it. No less important from Israel's standpoint is the lesson learned regarding the true roots of the problems of the Middle East and the factors connected with them. The fact that Arab countries and Israel faced a common danger from a tyrannical dictatorship which threatened the entire Arabian Peninsula, and that this regime was itself an Arab one, made the world and even most of the Arab countries aware, concretely and clearly, of the need and opportunity to bring the protracted, bitter, and fruitless conflict between the Arabs and Israel to an end.

Mr. Chairman:

The Arab peoples and Israel have been in a state of war for two generations. Three times in each generation, full-scale wars have broken out, sowing destruction and harvesting ruin. Nearly 100,000 people, most of them in the prime of their lives, have died in these senseless wars. Among them were over 17,000 Israelis and over 80,000 Arabs. Close to 250,000 have been wounded in the wars: 40,000 Israelis and over 200,000 Arabs. No price can be put on the loss of life, but the arms needed to maintain a constant state of war have a high, measurable price.

In the past decade alone, up to 1990, Arab countries have allocated over \$500 billion for armaments and other military expenditures. Arms imports to these countries accounted for 35% of the world arms trade, and almost twice the cost of arms for NATO and the Warsaw Pact together, which amounted to 22% of the world trade.

To better understand the significance of these shocking numbers, let us recall that the price of one tank could pay the annual tuition costs of 1,000 students in institutes of higher education. The price of one state-of-the-art fighter plane is equal to the cost of a year's education for 100,000 schoolchildren. Israel's National Water Carrier, which transports water from the Sea of Galilee in the north to the Negev in south, costs 4400 million in today's prices. Egypt's tremendous Aswan Dam was built, about thirty years ago, at a cost of \$5 billion. The price of the construction of a huge tunnel under the English Channel, which will one day connect Britain to the European continent, is estimated at \$10 billion.

These examples illustrate the magnitude of the loss to the peoples of the region, who, for two generations, have pledged their funds, treasuries, and human resources to this incessant arms race, a race lost from the start, purposeless and hopeless. Not only the wars themselves, but the mere continuation of the state of war, causes the destruction of infrastructure, arrests progress, and perpetuates suffering and frustration. The peoples of the Middle East, who enjoyed a "Golden Age" of progress in architecture, mathematics, and the exact sciences, are now on the losing side of the profit and loss ledger.

Mr. Chairman:

Our region is satiated with arms, hungry for progress and thirsty for peace. This situation should no longer be thought of as a *fait accompli*. It was not decreed by nature. Heaven forbid that we should pass through the gate beyond which one abandons all hope. Therefore, we see great importance in the fact that the agenda for the multilateral talks includes monitoring and reduction of the arms race, coupled with confidence-building measures as an essential component in the coalescence of regional defense agreements.

We are living in the dawn of an age in which democracies are gradually disarming and using their resources to work together for the good of their peoples. The consolidation of the European Communities into a powerful commonwealth is a good example of this. Countries which spilled the blood of millions in dreadful wars are today opening their borders to free passage of people and goods, and the exchange of information and culture. Yesterday's enemy has become today's neighbor and partner.

Mr. Chairman:

From the town where I live in the Jordan Valley, I behold with my very eyes how the vision of cooperation, as a way of reinforcing peace, advances to fruition. This valley is the border between Israel and Jordan. For years, Israel's side of the valley was green and blooming, whereas the Jordanian side was desolate and barren. This period of time was marked by incessant shooting and attacks against Israel from the other side of the Jordan River. As the years passed, the Jordanians learned from their Israeli neighbors how to raise crops; they built greenhouses and flourishing communities on the eastern bank of the river. They learned how to utilize the resources of the Dead Sea. Since then, the Jordan Valley has become a quiet place, where citizens of both countries exchange information instead of fire. Another example is the farms set up in Egypt in recent years with advice from Israeli experts; crop yields and the quality of the produce have been excellent. The Good Fence policy on the Lebanese border, and the open borders policy on the Jordan River, are further evidence of cooperation between Israel and its neighbors and the contribution of this cooperation to stability and calm on the borders. From these micro examples, we can learn about the macro. Israel proposes to its neighbors extensive cooperation which can lead to revitalization and prosperity in many areas of life. We can create a new Middle East, not in the end of days, but today. Israel is speaking of practical, feasible plans. Most of the Middle East is arid and thirsty. Israel has accumulated vast experience in water-saving frugal irrigation methods which produce some of the best agricultural yields in the world. We will share information about the desalination of sea water, about transporting water from place to place within the region, about the enhancement of groundwater. We will give all countries access to the technologies Israel has acquired in the field of solar energy.

We will work to eradicate disease in plants and animals, the causes of which are ignorant of national borders. Neither does ecological damage know of geographical concepts. Only one year ago, the entire world was shocked at the death of cormorants in the Gulf waters and tremble at the sight of the pillars of black smoke emitted from Kuwait oil wells, polluting the air as far away as Iran in the east and the African coast in the west.

Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt lie on the breathtakingly beautiful shores of the Gulf of Eilat/Aqaba, which attracts thousands upon thousands of tourists. These countries share a pressing interest in preserving these waters and shores from ecological damage.

Let us work together to rehabilitate the refugees, whose suffering is the price of rejection of peace. Let us also cope with the challenges of disease and low life expectancy which mark our region. Israel has thousands of doctors and scientists, arriving from the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States. May all states in the region share in the great blessing which comes with the knowledge and human resources of this massive immigration. May they see it as we wish it to be: as a corps of peace and healing for the ills of millions among our neighboring peoples. All these and more will be the building blocks, the stones paving the road to peace. They will also be the nuts and bolts of this peace once it is established.

Let us all work to beat our swords into ploughshares, to replace the cups of bitterness with fountains of life and the grapes of wrath with the fruits of peace.



**PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, OPENING STATEMENT TO THE
MULTILATERAL TALKS, MOSCOW, 28 JANUARY 1992**

To our gracious host, the government of the Republic of Russia: The Palestinian delegation is here in Moscow to participate in this phase of the peace process as a people with a totality of identity and rights. In this emerging era of the affirmation of principles - human rights, democracy, international legality and empowerment through cooperation and reconciliation within a universal vision of interdependence [sic] and joint development - we claim a place for ourselves among the community of nations. On the basis of these principles, we aim to exercise our right to freedom, self-determination

and statehood. From occupied Jerusalem, the heart and capital of Palestine, we bring a message of peace and affection to historic Moscow, the heart and capital of Russia, in a shared authentication of culture and identity. From the Palestinian to the Russian people, we convey a message of good will and friendship. To the co-sponsors and organizers, we convey our appreciation.

Distinguished ministers and colleagues: The people of Palestine are striving to maintain the integrity of the peace process and to generate a dynamic for peace which can become self-perpetuating, driven by a lucid and compelling vision of peace and an unwavering commitment to justice. The Palestine Liberation Organization, in its historic peace initiative of November 1988, has charted a new course for the genuine and peaceful resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli (hence Arab-Israeli) conflict. It has constantly supported and advanced the cause of genuine peace based on international legitimacy and justice. Our participation in these multilateral negotiations is the direct outcome of its constructive efforts and resolve.

The Palestinian delegation to Moscow is truly representative and comprehensive, for it encompasses all of the occupied Palestinian land, including Jerusalem, as well as representation from the two-thirds of the Palestinian people in exile. Such representation is essential to the purposes of these multilateral negotiations which seek to address issues of regional import, permanent status proposals and concerns pertinent to the Palestinian people as a whole.

In Madrid, we stood before the world and offered a positive vision of the future based on mutuality, reciprocity and equality between the Palestinian and Israeli peoples. We maintain this vision and we believe these principles are the basis of a new and better order in the Middle East. Yet, between Madrid and Moscow falls a shadow which casts darkness on this assembly of nations in search of peace, prosperity, human dignity, and the wholeness of nature.

The skies over occupied Palestine are overcast and the Palestinian people are held captive, a collective hostage to Israeli political dictates and manipulation, and a human shield before the politics of dominance and aggression. Israel has voraciously devoured more of our land and water, encroaching on East Jerusalem, and evicting Palestinian families of Silwan from East Jerusalem, and evicting Palestinian families of Silwan from their homes. Peace itself is under siege. Our people's Intifada continues to present the challenge of the human will in its struggle for authenticity and human assertion in the face of brute force and state violence. It is the essence of a pledge of peace and dignity.

Since Madrid, Israel has expanded and escalated its illegal settlement activities, in an attempt to create a fait accompli and to superimpose a spurious and illegal Israeli grid and topography on a defenseless land and an ancient culture. Since Madrid, Israel has imposed prolonged and cruel curfews on our towns and legalizes settler vigilante violence against our vulnerable and unsuspecting families. Since Madrid, the Israeli army has carried out systematic nightly raids on Palestinian homes, dragging sleepy children and parents from their beds, beating them mercilessly and scattering their possessions. Many hundreds have been detained without charge or trial, and prison conditions have become studies in gratuitous cruelty.

The expulsion orders issued against twelve Palestinians this month complete a pattern of horror, whereby Palestinian lives and rights are devalued, Israeli morality distorted, and international legality flouted.

Despite our baptism by fire, we persist in our quest for peace. We have engaged in direct bilateral negotiations with our oppressors, and have brought them to meet us face to face as equals and as people who refuse to succumb to the forces of mutual dehumanization. We have been positive and forthcoming, offering concrete and democratic proposals capable of bridging the abyss between occupation and freedom. They have remained negative and have held back, prisoners of their occupier mentality of intimidation and coercion. To them, we say, as in the Holy Koran, "Walk not proudly in the land, for thou can not cleave the earth, neither shall thou equal the mountains in stature." To them we say, relinquish that which is not yours, restore to us that which is ours, so that we can jointly enjoy the fruits of peace and of this earth.

Thus we have earnestly sought to make the bilateral talks succeed despite Israeli intransigence and extremist statements and actions. We firmly believe that the accomplishments of the bilaterals will pave the way for the success of the multilateral talks insofar as the former address the root causes of instability and conflict. The success of the bilaterals is encapsulated in the basic essential requisite of Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories and a firm and conclusive end to the Israeli occupation. Without the proper political resolutions, regional cooperation cannot be initiated or maintained for the underlying conflicts will constantly undermine whatever regional agreements are concluded on the shaky premises of unresolved disputes and unjust conditions.

Before this august assembly we state: our claims and aspirations are modest and just. As you assess the regional environment, lend a thought to the tear gas choking our children and clinging to our streets and homes. Save our trees from uprooting by settler violence or army decree, for we have put a lot of ourselves into their nurturing. Deflect the bulldozer from our homes and let it not turn living environments into unseemly rubble. Restore our land to enable us to thrive with it and on it. Give us back our water so we can plant and revive our pastures and orchards.

As you discuss water, remember our parched earth and dry wells, for 78% of what is ours is forbidden to us. As you carefully negotiate arms control, remember our thousands wounded and hundreds killed by army fire, and let the soldiers withdraw from our towns, villages and camps, for we are a civilian population. And do not forget that Israeli warplanes relentlessly rain terror on defenseless Lebanese and Palestinian civilians. While you wrestle with the nuclear horror in our midst, with Israel manufacturing and stockpiling weapons of mass destruction, think also of the weapons of individual destruction aimed at our children and people - for the horror of murder is one, and all human lives are equal before God and humanity.

When you turn to economic development, cast a glance our way and note the deliberate deprivation of our people as the occupation pursues its policy of economic strangulation and regression. Restricted permits and licenses, exorbitant and illegal taxes, customs and fines, restrictions on exports, curfews and closed military areas, racist magnetic cards and green identity cards that ban our workers from their livelihoods - all are manifestations of willful economic destruction.

When you speak of refugees, remember that dispossession and dispersion are particularly cruel and brutal violations of the collective humanity, history, culture and future of a whole people. Exile is a negation of home and homeland, a wrenching of the natural continuum of a nation, and a violent distortion of identity. A people cannot develop and flourish when it is severed and divided. The right of return is a just and legally binding right, guaranteed by the international community and its institutions. Nevertheless, despite exile and occupation, we remain whole - the nation of Palestine - and here we affirm this wholeness, and we are determined to exercise it in statehood.

In the words of Jesus: "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine," so are we as a people. Severed from the stem and roots, we can neither bear fruit, nor survive. The PLO, representing the entire Palestinian people, is the stem through which the sap of life flows from the roots deeply embedded in our land and nourishes the branches of our people both under occupation and in exile. Jerusalem is the live-giving [sic] sun whose warmth and light give and preserve life. The organic analogy holds true, for many have paid with their lives preserving and protecting the living reality of Palestine and the Palestinians.

Thus we are empowered to thrive and to grow and to join this conference as one among equals - not as a recipient of aims or as defenseless orphans. If this conference constructs a paradigm of disequilibrium, then it will incorporate within itself the elements of its own destruction. If it consecrates the discourse of disproportion, then its substance is as weak as its most deprived constituent. To this we say: "... give full measure, when you measure aught, and weigh with a just balance" (The Holy Koran). For what is in the balance here is not our material well-being alone, but the fate of human beings, the values which imbue life with quality and meaning, and the future of peace for humanity as a

whole. Our tormented region cannot be fragmented, nor can our concerns be treated as a set of discrete, isolated entities. One standard must be applied to all and aggression must never be rewarded. In this age of global interdependence, we make a plea for wholeness so that this may become an "epoch of expansion" not one of diminished concentration. Let us look outward beyond the narrow confines of self-interest and the convulsion [sic] of self-absorption, and reach out in magnanimity and confidence to encompass others in order to create commonality in variety.

The Palestinian people recognize that "the harvest is truly great, but the laborers are few." We have long labored to assert that in the fullness of time the harvest will be one of peace and prosperity which are common to all peoples. Such a global vision stems from a recognition of the fragile nature of life on this long-abused planet. The Middle East must reclaim its role as the cradle and defender of civilization, and must not degenerate into a flashpoint of endless strife. A bridge with strong foundations must be built over the chasm that threatens the world with the depths of destruction.

We stand here today as builders, with a message of hope and promise. We pledge ourselves to the enormous tasks which lie ahead, undaunted by the magnitude of the challenge. The choice belongs to all of us: to determine whether the Middle East enters the new century under the shadow of continued violence and injustice or in the light of peace and progress.



**US SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER, LETTER TO FAISAL HUSSEINI,
HEAD OF THE PALESTINIAN TEAM TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE,
JERUSALEM, 10 FEBRUARY 1992**

Dear Faisal,

It was good to see you in Moscow and be able to discuss firsthand our respective views on the challenges that lie ahead in the peace process. As I mentioned in Moscow, I believe the multilaterals offer the prospect of significant gains for Palestinians, and thus I hope Palestinians will join the process when it gets off the ground in later April and early May. As I said in Moscow, we will support participation by Diaspora Palestinians in appropriate working groups, such as economic development and refugees.

I was struck in Moscow by your description of the hardships on the ground which you and your colleagues face. We have raised these concerns, many of which we share, at the highest levels of the Israeli government with the view toward reducing, if not eliminating, the most severe burdens of the occupation. I also share your concern about the accelerated pace of settlements activity, a problem which remains high on my agenda.

It is a very positive development that you have put on the table an outline of your views on interim self-government arrangements. We are encouraging the Israelis to develop their views. This and coming rounds of negotiations should be used to flesh out these outlines and to identify the key issues on which agreement can be reached to effect the peaceful and orderly transfer of authority from Israel to Palestinians, which would give Palestinians control over political, economic, and other decisions that affect their lives. I look forward to your report of progress achieved during this round of negotiations and to hear your views on the prospect for moving ahead.

From the beginning of this process, the United States has said that it is prepared to be a driving force in the negotiations. It is critical, however, that our influence be brought to bear at the appropriate time and on the appropriate issues. To reach this point, it is essential that the parties themselves define their positions in a workable fashion, so that differences in positions become clarified and possible bridging ideas become apparent. This requires more intensive engagement on substance, which should be the focus of efforts in the coming rounds.

I want to reconfirm the commitment of both President Bush and myself to see this process through to its required objective, namely, a comprehensive settlement. Please look at what we are doing and what we are saying - in the UN, in our public statements, and in our bilateral talks with Israel. Our engagement remains intense, and we will be prepared to exert efforts to help the parties overcome substantive problems. We are in this process to achieve vital US national interests, as well as to help the people of the region enjoy the peace that they deserve.

Sincerely,
James A. Baker III



ISRAELI DELEGATION, MEMORANDUM TO THE PALESTINIANS REGARDING AUTONOMY, 20 FEBRUARY 1992

[In the following two documents, the Israeli delegation outlined their perceptions of autonomy in the Occupied Territories. The Palestinians rejected both proposals as they would only legitimize the occupation without changing anything on the ground].

IDEAS FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN THE TERRITORIES DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD

A. General Concept

1. Interim Arrangements

- a. The concept of interim arrangements for the Palestinian Arab inhabitants for five years stems from the basic premises that:
 - The wounds inflicted by the long and bitter Arab-Israeli conflict, need a time for healing, and trust must be built gradually.
 - The deeply differing points of view of the parties concerned, cannot be bridged in one comprehensive step. The gap can be bridged only through a process of building coexistence, through interim arrangements followed by an agreement on final status.
- b. The interim period must present an opportunity:
 - to examine and test the arrangements agreed upon for this period, including the fulfillment of all commitments;
 - to accommodate to the reality of living together on the same soil;
 - to build mutual confidence;
- c. The interim arrangements should create a change in the reality of life of the Palestinian Arabs in the territories, this change must be delineated by certain guidelines:
 - it should not prejudice the outcome of the final status negotiations;
 - it must deal with people, not with the status of the territories;
 - it must be based on a strict adherence to the arrangements as agreed before the implementation; and
 - no change in the terms of the arrangements can take place unilaterally.

2. Coexistence

- a. The interim arrangements are based on the agreed terms of reference that stipulate an agreement on:
 - establishment of interim self government arrangements for the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of the territories;
 - keeping the established links between Judea, Samaria, Gaza district and Israel intact;
 - arrangements for cooperation and coordination between the ISGA administrative organs and Israel;
 - keeping the traditional ties between the Palestinian Arab inhabitants and Jordan.
- b. During the interim period:
 - The Palestinian Arab inhabitants will be given, in the framework of the interim self government arrangements, an opportunity to run their own affairs in most spheres, according to the agreement.

- Residual powers and certain responsibilities will be reserved by Israel.
- Israelis will continue, as of right, to live and settle in the territories.
- The sole responsibility for security in all its aspects - external, internal and public order - will be that of Israel.

B. Interim Self Government Arrangements (ISGA)

1. Modalities

The organs of the ISGA, which will be agreed upon by the parties concerned, will be established in an agreed way.

2. Structure and Procedure

- a. The organs of the interim self government arrangements will be of administrative functional nature.
- b. The basic structural and functional configurations of the ISGA will be determined in the course of the negotiations.

3. Jurisdiction

The jurisdiction of the ISGA organs will apply to the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.

4. Powers and Responsibilities

a. In the negotiations Israel will propose to negotiate delegation of powers and responsibilities to the proper organs of ISGA in the following spheres of operation (subject to agreement on the general concept and structure, and to coordination and cooperation arrangements, as well as Jordanian-related aspects):

- (1) Administration of Justice - Supervision of the administrative system of local courts in the areas; dealing with matters connected with the prosecution system and with the registration of companies and partnerships.
- (2) Administrative Personnel Matters - Appointments and working conditions of employees (At the present time the civil service of the inhabitants of Judea-Samaria and Gaza, within the framework of the Military Government's Civilian Administration, comprises approximately 20,000 persons).
- (3) Agriculture - Various branches of agriculture, fisheries, etc.
- (4) Education and Culture - Operation of the network of schools in the areas, from nursery to higher education; supervision of cultural, artistic and sporting activities.
- (5) Budget & Taxation - Budgeting of the administrative operations and allocations of funds; direct taxation.
- (6) Health - Management of hospitals and clinics; operation of sanitary and other services related to public health.
- (7) Industry, Commerce & Tourism - Development of industry, workshops, commerce and tourist services.
- (8) Labor and Social Welfare - Management of welfare services, labour and employment services.
- (9) Local Police - Operation of a local police force for criminal affairs, and maintenance of prisons for criminal offenders sentenced by local courts in the area.
- (10) Local Transportation and Communications - Maintenance and coordination of local transport and internal postal services.
- (11) Municipal Affairs - Matters concerning Arab municipalities and their effective operation, including municipal water supply, housing, sewage and electricity supply.
- (12) Religious Affairs - Provision and maintenance of religious services for all religious communities among the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.

Powers and responsibilities in an agreed framework can be gradually delegated to the designated administrative organs, as determined in the negotiations.

b. Cooperation and Coordination

- (1) Agreement will be reached on arrangements to ensure cooperation and coordination between the designated organs and Israel in certain domains, for mutual benefit.

(2) The ISGA organs will, therefore, operate in its spheres of competence in three ways:

- As appropriate in the domains allocated to it agreed organs.
- In coordination with Israel - in certain spheres; coordination means joint planning.
- In cooperation with Israel - in certain spheres; cooperation means joint operation from the higher level of planning to the lower level of implementation.

5. Residual Powers and Responsibilities

a. Powers and responsibilities which are not delegated to the agreed organs of the ISGA will be reserved by Israel, being the source of authority.

The powers and responsibilities of the organs of the ISGA will not apply to the Israeli Defense Forces or to Israeli civilians in Judea, Samaria and Gaza District, as well as to the Palestinian Arabs who reside in Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, which is not part of the territories.

b. Security

- the sole responsibility for external and internal security as well as public order will be that of Israel.
- In the area of public order there will be cooperation between the Israeli relevant authorities and the local police force.

c. Laws

- The laws and orders in force in Judea, Samaria and Gaza District, and all powers vested by virtue of them shall remain in force.
- The powers to promulgate regulations in the spheres of operation of the organs of the ISGA will be determined in the agreement, subject of coordination and cooperation with Israel as mentioned above.



ISRAELI DELEGATION, MEMORANDUM TO THE PALESTINIANS REGARDING AUTONOMY, 21 FEBRUARY 1992

To: Dr. H. Abdul Shafi

From: Ambassador E. Rubinstein

THE AGENDA IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND GENERAL CONCEPT IDEAS

A. In order to proceed in our negotiations, we ought to agree first on the agenda, which encompasses issues of substance.

B. Our concept of the interim self-government arrangements, for five years, as expressed in our agenda proposal, is based on the following:

- (1) The interim self-government arrangements must provide for a period of healing, rehabilitation and confidence building in our relationship with the Palestinian Arabs in the territories, following a long conflict and against the well-known regional background.
- (2) (a) The interim self-government arrangements concept includes the delegation of a wide list of powers encompassing the life of the Palestinian Arab population in the territories to representatives of the population. when the arrangements are agreed and implemented, the Palestinians in the territories will be able to run their own affairs in many sphere, in fact, the majority of their walks of life.
 - (b) The interim self-government arrangements should be fair to the Arab population but not hamper the rights of Jews. They cannot compromise Israel's security, which given the well-known circumstances of terrorist attacks, as well as other threats - is faced with a clear and present danger. That is why security responsibility must remain with Israel; this is a vital strategic must.
- (3) The interim self-government arrangements should be achieved without prejudice to the final status of the territories, to be negotiated beginning the third year, as understood. Until the final status is agreed upon, the present source of authority will remain intact.

- (4) The arrangements will apply to the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of the territories under Israeli military administration. The arrangements will not have a territorial application, nor will they apply to the Israeli population in the territories. They will not include inhabitants of Jerusalem.
- C. We shall share with you our reasons for not accepting your agenda ideas as proposed, as well as your model, which - as indicated in my letter of January 16, 1992 - is a far cry from acceptable interim self-government arrangements and which basically represents a Palestinian State in all but name, considered by Israel a mortal security threat. Your agenda and model proposals appear to reflect disengagement on your part from the spirit of the agreed staged framework for negotiations, which is the only hope for progress. Nor can we accept preconditions of any kind, as introduced and announced by you during the former round of negotiations.
- D. Israel's basic approach to the arrangements is founded in principle developments since 1978. We regret, however, that during the negotiations you have rejected the Camp David Accords.
- E. The interim self-government arrangements should be conducted in an atmosphere free of terrorism and violence. This will consist a major test to the whole process.
- F. (1) Naturally, the interim self-government arrangements should include cooperation and/or coordination with Israel in the various spheres of responsibility as necessary.
(2) The interim self-government arrangements should be developed with proper attention to Jordanian-related aspects.
- G. The structure of the arrangements will be based on an agreed-upon functional-administrative approach, not to include state-like powers.
- H. The modalities for establishing the arrangements in accordance with agreed upon structures, will be decided upon in the negotiations.
- I. The list of spheres to be delegated subject to the necessary understanding, is suggested by us as part of the agenda.
- J. In light of the above, we should work on the agenda in a realistic and swift way and further continue our deliberations on substance.
- K. Attached is a paper containing greater details on some of the above.
- L. We may presently be at a historic point which presents us with an opportunity to move towards peace. Let us work in this direction through serious direct negotiations, avoiding unnecessary polemics. God willing, our goal may thus be achieved.



**PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, PALESTINIAN INTERIM SELF-GOVERNING
AUTHORITY ("PISGA") PLAN, 3 MARCH 1992**

[The plan - an elaboration of the 14 Jan. outline - was approved by the PLO leadership in Tunis.]

From: The Palestinian side in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.
To: The Israeli delegation.

The Palestinian delegation presented, on 14 January 1992, an outline of the model for *Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority* (PISGA), as part of interim arrangements for self-government. That outline is based on free elections under international supervision, and entails the orderly transfer of the powers and responsibilities at present exercised by the Israeli military and/or other Israeli authorities in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), including Jerusalem, to the PISGA.

The establishment of PISGA would create a new authority based on the will of the people, and would provide a framework under which the Palestinians in the OPT, along with the Palestinians in exile, will be able to participate, on an equal footing, in all negotiations leading to the permanent solution of the Palestinian question in all its aspects.

The objective of the negotiations at this stage is to establish a Palestinian Self-Governing Authority as part of the interim arrangements for a transitional period. These proceedings must enable the Palestinian people to gain control over political, economic and other decisions that affect their lives and fate.

The acceptance, by the Palestinian people, of interim self-government arrangements does not in any way prejudice the exercise of their legitimate right to self-determination as embodied in the United Nations Charter and in the UN resolutions affirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The General Assembly of the UN, by Resolution 181 of 1947, has consecrated the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and statehood, and has affirmed the legal foundation of the independent Arab State of Palestine.

The Palestinian people is resolved to establish its own independent state. However, and after the conclusion of final status negotiations, the Independent State of Palestine, established alongside the State of Israel, would opt for a confederal relationship with Jordan.

The Letter of Invitation to the present negotiations states that these should take place on the basis of resolutions 242 and 338, which affirm the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war and are the basis of the principle of the exchange of "Territory for Peace," and which demand a total Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967.

Security Council Resolution 242 also calls, *inter alia*, for achieving a just solution of the refugee problem, on the basis of General Assembly Resolution 194, which recognizes the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland.

We also call your attention to the fact that the government of Israel and its armed forces are bound by the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, as well as by the Hague Regulations of 1907, which are applicable to the OPT. UNSC Resolution 726, reaffirms that the Fourth Geneva Convention is applicable to the totality of the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including Jerusalem. Practices proscribed under the Geneva Conventions, particularly settlement activities, shall be halted immediately, and the consequences of earlier violations should be reversed.

In accordance with the above, the Palestinian delegation is willing to put forward concrete and workable proposals. At this stage, however, and while Israeli illegal practices impede our engagement in substantive negotiations, we would like to recall the basic assumptions underlying our participation in the process.

I. Throughout the centuries, Palestine has been the cradle where our people's identity was shaped, the homeland of its collective soul. The attachment of the people of Palestine to the land of Palestine is a permanent feature of their ancient as well as contemporary history.

All the successive wars and occupations that have befallen our people in the course of this century have not been able to erode this attachment. The Palestinian people have struggled, and will continue to struggle for freedom on the soil of their homeland until they achieve their inalienable national rights, in accordance with international legality.

In this context, it is necessary to reaffirm that Jerusalem is an integral part of the OPT, and that all transitional arrangements are applicable to it. Its annexation, as well as the artificial extension of its municipal boundaries, are illegal unilateral acts. As such they are null and void, and therefore should be reversed. Jerusalem is also a universal symbol and a repository of cultural creativity, spiritual enrichment and religious tolerance, in tune with the long-standing traditions of openness and generosity which have characterized our Palestinian people throughout its long history. Jerusalem lies at the heart of our people's aspirations, and we are committed to make it the capital of our future independent state.

The fact that the six million Palestinians, albeit physically torn between occupation and exile, constitute one single people is another basic element of our approach to peace. Their rights as a people must be respected.

Our people, inside and outside the OPT, including Jerusalem, have one sole leadership. Thus our very presence here, in conformity with the Palestinian Peace initiative of November 1988 and other rele-

vant PNC resolutions, derives from the unity of our national decision, and the unity of our representation, which must be recognized in the course of the negotiating process.

II. The Palestinian delegation is now presenting an expanded outline of the *Palestinian Interim Self-Government Arrangements*: concepts, outline, preliminary measures and elections modalities, which is based on the following:

1. Interim Self-Government Arrangements are by definition transitional. The transitional period must lead, through a phased negotiated process, to the full exercise of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The success of such a process and the attainment of peace can only materialize if the *Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority* (PISGA), fully assumes powers and responsibilities throughout the OPT, including Jerusalem.
2. The Palestinians in the OPT, including Jerusalem, have the right and the wish to govern themselves according to democratic principles, through free elections. The PISGA should be an embodiment of the principle of democratic government - "By the People, of the People, for the People."

We have entered and remained in this process of bilateral negotiations with open hearts, open minds and sincere intentions in order to achieve a just and comprehensive settlement.

The Palestinian delegation, expressing the will of the Palestinian people inside and outside the OPT, emphasizes once again that the only way to pursue negotiations and engage them on the path of progress is a commitment, on the part of Israel - the occupying power - to abide by the provisions of international law and to implement, *de jure*, the Fourth Geneva Convention, thus bringing an immediate halt to all forms of settlement activities. The continuation of these activities does not only impede our engagement into the following phases of negotiation on interim agreements. It also threatens to destroy the peace-process as a whole.

The Palestinian delegation hereby presents its full vision of the interim arrangements on the way to peace, including the holding of free elections based on universal suffrage and conducted by secret ballot, under international supervision, to provide the Palestinians in the OPT, including Jerusalem, with the democratic modalities, structures and institutions needed for the free exercise of their political will. It however considers peace as a global process, starting with the cessation of all illegal settlement activities all the way to the implementation of PISGA.

Israel's position vis-à-vis this key issue determines the continuation or the collapse of the very process making peace possible in our area. The choice rests with Israel: either to move on the road to peace, or to continue on the road to settlement.

This proposal constitutes a new and important contribution, by the Palestinian side, to the progress of the negotiations, and we hope that the Israeli side will respond to it in a similarly positive and constructive spirit.

PART ONE: CONCEPTS AND OUTLINE OF PISGA

I. Introduction

The immediate objective of the Palestinian-Israeli bilateral talks, as laid out in the cosponsor's letter of invitation of 18 October 1991, is to negotiate interim self-government arrangements. These talks are conducted within the context of international legitimacy, which recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The interim self-government arrangements are also intended to provide the basis for the second stage of negotiations on the permanent status of the West Bank including Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and al-Himmah. According to United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the Fourth Geneva Convention and the Hague Regulations, these areas are occupied territories, and Israel is a belligerent occupant. (These territories are hereafter referred to as the Occupied Palestinian Territory - OPT).

The Palestinian people have accepted to negotiate interim self-government arrangements, in a phased approach that would allow them, in the second and final phase, the free exercise of their legitimate right to self-determination. Moreover, the Palestinians in the OPT and in exile are one people, and the interim self-government arrangements should facilitate the exercise of the legitimate rights of those in exile, who will participate in the second phase of the negotiations to determine the final status of the OPT and achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Palestine question in all its aspects.

II. The Transitional Nature of the Interim Phase

According to the cosponsors' letter of invitation, the entire negotiating process we have embarked upon, including the "negotiations along two tracks", are "based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338." These resolutions stipulate that Israel's acquisition of the territories it occupied in the 1967 war is inadmissible, and are the basis of the principle of the exchange of territory for peace. It should be clear that resolutions 242 and 338 must guide all phases of the negotiations. They must be fully implemented by the final stage.

The interim phase, therefore, does not constitute a regime which would be stabilized short of self-determination. It represents, on the contrary, a framework whereby resolutions 242, 338, and international legality shall be implemented.

III. Authority in the Interim Phase

The term "interim self-government arrangements" can only mean arrangements for an interim self-government: a central, political entity that allows the Palestinian people in the OPT to govern themselves by themselves. The Palestinians in the OPT have the right and have expressed the wish to govern themselves according to democratic principles, i.e., through free elections without external interference.

The success of the transitional process is only possible if the PISGA is vested with all the powers of a true self-governing authority. All the powers presently exercised by the military government and civil administration of the occupier should be transferred to the PISGA upon its election and inauguration.

IV. Powers and Responsibilities of the PISGA

1. Being the representative of the Palestinian people in the OPT, the PISGA's authority is vested in it by them. Its powers and responsibilities cannot be delegated by a foreign authority. Israel was never entitled to sovereignty over the OPT, but rather has exercised certain powers as a belligerent occupant since the entry of its armed forces into the areas occupied in 1967. With the start of the interim phase, and the abolition of the Israeli military government and civil administration, Israel shall cease to enjoy all these powers, which shall be assumed by the PISGA.
2. There should be no limitations on the powers and responsibilities of the PISGA, except those which derive from its character as an interim arrangement and from the mutually agreed outcome of the peace process.
3. In order for the PISGA to exercise freely its powers and responsibilities, and be assured a peaceful and orderly transfer of all powers to it, the Israeli armed forces shall complete their withdrawal in phases to mutually-agreed specific redeployment points along the borders of the OPT by the time the PISGA is inaugurated.
4. The jurisdiction of the PISGA should extend to all of the OPT, including its land, natural resources, water, sub-soil, territorial sea, exclusive economic zone and air space. The PISGA shall exercise its jurisdiction throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territory.
5. The PISGA should have legislative powers. The transition from the state of occupation to the final status necessitates the assumption of such powers. No self-governing authority can function without having the power to enact, amend and abrogate laws.
6. The PISGA should wield executive power. It should formulate and implement its policy without any foreign control.
7. The PISGA shall determine the spheres, objectives and means of cooperation with any states, groups of states or international bodies, and shall be empowered to conclude binding cooperation agreements free of any foreign control.

8. The PISGA should administer justice through an independent judiciary, exercising sole and exclusive jurisdiction throughout the OPT.
9. The PISGA should establish a strong police force responsible for security and public order in the OPT.
10. The PISGA can request the assistance of a UN peace-keeping force.
11. A standing committee should be established from representatives of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, the Secretary General of the United Nations, the PISGA, Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Israel, to supervise the implementation of the self-government arrangements during the interim phase and settle disputes arising therefrom.

PART TWO: PRELIMINARIES FOR THE INTERIM PHASE

1. The conclusion of the negotiations on the interim phase and the establishment of the PISGA require implementation of a number of necessary preliminary measures and the provision of appropriate conditions for the conduct of elections.
2. The period between the commencement of the peace process on 29 October 1991 and the elections for PISGA and its subsequent inauguration on a date no later than 29 October 1992, during which these preliminary measures are to be implemented, constitutes a preliminary phase.
3. The Fourth Geneva Convention and Hague Regulations, and United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, and 726, provide the basis and principle for the implementation of the above.
4. During its prolonged occupation of the Palestinian Territory, the Israeli military government and the Israeli government have diverged increasingly since 1967 from the principles laid down in the Hague Regulations of 1907, the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, United Nations Security Council 242 and 338, and other international conventions and standards.
5. The Israeli authorities have introduced illegally a large number of substantial changes into the body of law applicable in the OPT, which have made possible the establishment and expansion of illegal Israeli settlements. These changes have resulted in the creation of a system approaching apartheid. The consolidation of the system undermines the short and long-term objectives of the ongoing peace process.
6. Discriminatory and extra-territorial legislation must therefore be rescinded and the issue of new military orders, whether in the guise of primary or secondary legislation, must cease.
7. Dismantling the legal basis of this discriminatory system in the OPT is necessary for the successful transition into the interim phase and for the ultimate success of the peace process as a whole.
8. In order to establish the proper conditions for the conclusion of the interim negotiations, the exercise of the powers and responsibilities of the PISGA, and the conclusion of the second stage of negotiations on the final status of the OPT, the Israeli authorities should immediately implement the following measures with regard to land and natural resources:
 - a. Cease all settlement activity, including construction of new settlements or expansion of existing ones, road construction and other infrastructural activity.
 - b. Cease acquisition, by any means, of land, water and other natural resources.
 - c. Refrain from any and all unilateral actions affecting the legal, demographic or geographic *status quo* in the OPT.
 - d. Revoke military order 291 which suspended the land registration process, thus allowing land registration to continue according to law.
 - e. Return all land and immovable properties seized under military order 58 on the basis of being absentee property.
9. In order to provide the proper atmosphere and conditions for the conduct of the elections and the establishment of the PISGA, the Israeli authorities should:
 - a. Release all Palestinian political prisoners, including administrative detainees.
 - b. End the practice of administrative detention.
 - c. Allow the return of all deportees.
 - d. Revoke military order no. 224 that revived the 1945 Emergency Regulations.
 - e. Refrain from closing educational and other public institutions, blocking economic activity, imposing curfews, or otherwise impeding the normal conduct of the daily lives of the Palestinian people in the OPT.

- f. Refrain from all forms of collective punishment.
- g. Lift all restrictions on Palestinian social, cultural, political and economic activity, and formally revoke all military orders that affect those areas of daily life in the OPT.
- h. Provide full protection of, and free access to, religious sites.
- i. Approve all pending family reunification applications.
- j. Make available all public records regarding all aspects of the resources and inhabitants of the OPT.

PART THREE: ELECTIONS MODALITIES

1. The elections are intended to produce the legislative assembly of the PISGA, comprising 180 members.
2. Basic principles:
 - a. The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provide the universally accepted basis for the conduct of free elections.
 - b. The elections for the establishment of the PISGA constitute a significant step towards realizing the national and political rights of the Palestinian people in the OPT.
 - c. The PISGA should be the self-governing authority which represents the Palestinian people in the OPT. It should be freely elected on the basis of the universal democratic principle of "by the people, of the people, for the people."
 - d. All guarantees should be provided for free elections. It is necessary that elections be conducted and supervised by an international body. All measures must be taken to guarantee that Israel should not interfere in the elections in any way.
3. Purpose of the elections:
 - a. To enable the Palestinian people in the OPT to elect democratically accountable representatives.
 - b. To provide a democratic basis for the establishment of the institutions of the PISGA.
 - c. To give democratic legitimacy to the assumption of its powers and responsibilities by the PISGA in the OPT during the interim phase.
4. Proper conditions. The preliminary measures mentioned in Part Two of this document, including in particular an immediate halt to all settlement activities, should be implemented before the elections. Further steps must also be undertaken in order to provide the proper conditions for the conduct of the elections, as follows:
 - a. Withdrawal of Israeli Army units, Border Police and other military and paramilitary forces outside all populated areas and main communication routes.
 - b. Disarming of Israeli settlers, disbanding of their paramilitary formations, and guaranteeing their non-interference in the elections process.
 - c. The provision of international supervision (see below).
5. Full participation. In order to ensure full participation by the Palestinian people in the OPT in the elections, the Israeli authorities should guarantee full freedom of:
 - a. Political expression, including the end of military censorship.
 - b. Access to, and establishment of, all forms of audio-visual or print media.
 - c. Assembly.
 - d. Public election campaigning.
 - e. Political activity, including the formation of political parties.
 - f. Movement throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territory.
6. The various preliminary measures described above should be implemented at least three months before the elections, and by a date not later than 31 July 1992.
7. International supervision. International supervision is to be provided by the United Nations, or any other appropriate and mutually agreed international body. This international body shall provide the following:
 - a. Designate a high commissioner to supervise the preparations for, and conduct of, the elections. The commissioner's mandate will continue at least until the inauguration of the Palestinian interim self-governing authority.
 - b. Establish an international supervisory committee that, in addition to assisting the high commissioner, will arbitrate disputes arising from implementation and allocate responsibility.

- c. Station UN or other international observers to ensure continued respect of the above-mentioned preliminary measures.
 - d. Station UN or other appropriate international or multinational forces to provide for public order during the elections.
 - e. There shall be free access throughout the OPT for the international media as well as foreign visitors.
8. The elections:
- a. The elections shall be conducted in accordance with an electoral system endorsed by the international supervisory committee.
 - b. The elections shall be based on universal suffrage, and be conducted by secret ballot.
 - c. The elections shall take place at least one month prior to the inauguration of the PISGA, which is to take place at a date not later than 29 October 1992.
9. All Palestinians who, on 4 June 1967, were listed in the relevant official population registers in any part of the West Bank including Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, and al-Himmah, and their descendants, have the right to vote in the elections or stand as candidates.
10. In order that all Palestinians eligible to vote can exercise that right, the Israeli military authorities should:
- a. Facilitate the return of all powers displaced and/or deported since 5 June 1967 and their descendants.
 - b. Submit all relevant population records for the preparation of electoral registers.
 - c. Complete the above measures by a date not later than 31 July 1992, under international supervision.



**MULTILATERAL WORKING GROUP ON REFUGEES, OPENING REMARKS
BY ELI SANBAR FOR THE PALESTINIAN SIDE OF THE JOINT PALESTINIAN-
JORDANIAN DELEGATION, OTTAWA, 13 MAY 1992**

The Palestinian refugee problem has long been the human core of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and its continued non-resolution has constituted one of the main sources of instability in the region. In our view, this instability is rooted in Israel's continued refusal to implement UN resolutions relevant to the question of Palestine, and in the silence of the world community over this continued bypassing of international legality.

Not surprising, the Palestinian refugee camps have been the cradle from where the Palestinian political claim to self-determination has reemerged after the Catastrophe of 1948. The refugee camps, whether in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), or in Exile, have been the embodiment of the unity of the Palestinian people, of its capacity to survive while transcending the fragmentation imposed on it.

The international consensus with materialized in Madrid, at the opening of this process, has made it possible to undertake the work of solving all at once the Palestinian refugee problem and the wider issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict of which it constitutes the very root, by satisfying the demands for Palestinian self-determination while responding at the same time to the Israeli demand for secure boundaries and recognition within the Middle Eastern community of nations.

We have expressed, in Madrid as well as in Washington bilateral negotiations, orally as well as in written documents, our position vis-à-vis the short-and long-term objectives of our participation. We have entered this process on the basis of specific terms of reference, which are contained in the letters of invitation to the Peace Conference sent to the parties by the co-sponsors, dated October 18, 1991. UN Security Council Resolution 242, passed some weeks after the June 1967 war, which stipulates the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, and establishes the principle of "land for peace", is the basic frame of reference for the whole peace process. Resolution 242 also explicitly requires the provision of "a just solution of the refugee problem". The basis for this "just solution" lies in the implementation of basic UN resolutions on Palestinian refugees, in particular Resolution 194.

The Palestinian Refugee Problem

The uprooting and forcible displacement and dispossession of which the Palestinian people have been the victim is undoubtedly one of the greatest tragedies of the contemporary era. The Palestinian refugee problem was created during the war of 1948, when the majority of Palestinians, urban dwellers and peasants were uprooted by force from their homeland, part of them found refuge in what later became known as the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, while others were dispersed over the neighboring Arab countries and elsewhere. Tens of thousands also became refugees inside Israel when their lands, their villages and even their homes were seized and destroyed or confiscated by the nascent State of Israel. It is important to note here that the vast majority of those Palestinians were expelled in the period between November 1947 (the Partition Plan) and January 1949 (the Rhodes Armistice agreement).

A second wave of refugees was created by the war of June 1967 in which the remaining parts of Arab Palestine, in addition to the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, came under Israeli occupation. An additional quarter of a million refugees escaped, or were made to leave, from the newly occupied territories, and they became a further burden on the strained economies of the host countries of Jordan, Lebanon and Syria.

During the 25 years of Occupation, a systematic pattern of land confiscation and economic hardships have resulted in displacing thousands of Palestinians within the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), and from there to neighboring countries. Much of the confiscated land was placed at the disposal of Israeli Jewish settlers (and non-Israeli) Jewish immigrants), in the avowed design to prevent the return of their rightful owners. A series of laws were enacted by Israel (including the Law on Absentee Property and the Israeli Law of Return-which gives privileged treatment to Jewish immigrants over those enjoyed by Arab citizens of Israel and Arab refugees from Israel, and were also meant to ensure that land and property thus acquired became non-accessible to Palestinians).

We should here mention the fact that Israeli settlement activities in the OPT, which have universally been recognized as illegal, continue to constitute an insurmountable obstacle to peace, and that their immediate cessation is a condition for the success of the peace process. Settlement activities, with their double aspect of explosion and exclusion, of land and water confiscation and apartheid, are indeed at the root of the whole conflict, and of the refugee problem in particular. Hence the centrality of the issue of Israeli settlement activities in all our negotiations.

Basic Definitions

Let us examine who is included in the categories of those Palestinians that can be designated as refugees, and thus are entitled to demand the implementation of UN resolutions concerning the Right of Return.

The Palestinian refugees are all those Palestinians (and their descendants) who were expelled or forced to leave their homes between November 1947 (Partition Plan) and January 1949 (Rhodes Armistice agreement), from the territory controlled by Israel on that later date. This, by the way, coincides with the Israeli definition of "absentees," a category of Palestinians meant to be stripped of its most elementary human and civil rights.

This definition does not apply only to camp-dwellers, and certainly not only to those recognized refugees who enjoyed formal registration by UNRWA, since the latter never exercised jurisdiction over more than a segment of the total refugee problem.

Such a definition does not include the emigrants who left Palestine before 1947, but it includes all those displaced, even inside the territory that become the State of Israel in the 1948-49 period. It also includes all the 1967 and post-1967 displaced persons, for whom we have already demanded immediate and unconditional return to the OPT within the framework of the establishment of the Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority.

It also includes the residents of "border villages" in the West Bank, who lost their agricultural lands in the war of 1948, and therefore the source of their livelihood, but remained in their villages. It includes

residents of the Gaza Strip refugee camps, who were either relocated to the Rafah side of the Egyptian border, or who found themselves separated from their families and kin as a result of border incarceration after the Camp David Accords between Israel and Egypt. It finally includes Palestinian Bedouins who were forcibly removed from their grazing lands within the State of Israel, as well as those who were induced to abandon the West Bank and relocate in Jordan.

Although some of the above categories may not be regarded as refugees in the technical sense (for example, deportees, or residents of “border villages”) they nevertheless share the hardships and fate of most refugees who fall in the first categories. At the core of their status is alienation and the denial of return to their country.

The State of Israel has been, and continues to be, responsible for the process through which the refugee problem was crafted (through violence against civilian populations in times of war, and through expropriation of their lands and homes after the war). Yet Israel persists in disclaiming responsibility for these acts, and in denying the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland (including the right of return to the territories occupied in 1967).

A Just and Lasting Settlement of the Refugee Problem

The fundamental legal framework for a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem is the UN General Assembly Resolution 194. Its strength is derived essentially from its consensuality: the fact that in 1949, the US, and even more so Israel (at that time eager to be admitted to the UN as a full member-state), voted in favor of that resolution. In fact, both the Partition Plan [Resolution 181], which asserts the principle of self-determination, and the return of refugees [Resolution 194] constituted the foundations for the State of Israel itself, for their implementation was a condition for Israel’s admittance into the community of nations [Resolution 273]. Hence the strong and special Israeli obligation towards these two resolutions in the spirit and letter of international law.

Without the solemn recognition of the refugees’ right of return, the refugee problem will remain unsolved. Such a recognition is also necessary to alleviate the impact of prolonged refugee presence in the host countries, and thus to facilitate harmonious relations with the latter during the period of forced exile.

It must, however, be clear that our people have consistently refused all the schemes of resettlement and naturalization into the host countries, and have expressed in all possible ways their will to solve their problems within the context of a national solution of the Palestinian people as a whole.

The current condition of Palestinian refugees, whether inside or outside refugee camps, cannot be ameliorated by “humanitarian” projects aimed at improving the condition of their living (although we fully favor upgrading their health, welfare and educational standards). What is more needed, more urgently today than ever, is a comprehensive political settlement based on the recognition of the right of return and self-determination. Refugees are not merely slum dwellers who need an improvement in the quality of life. The refugee question is a national question. Its humanitarian aspects are a consequence of the refugee status, not its essence.

Improvement of the refugees’ living conditions is a moral obligation for the world community, in addition to the core of the political aspect of the conflict and the urgency for a just and a durable political settlement. It is an inherent human right, not a subject of *quid pro quo*, nor the subject of negotiation. The right of the refugees cannot be exchanged for any political advantage.

To contribute to a lasting and just settlement, the world community is invited to support a settlement based on the application of the UN resolutions pertaining to this issue and which:

- Guarantees the implementation of international legality, that is to say allows the exercise of the refugees’ right of return as embodied in UN General Assembly Resolution 194, and all subsequent relevant international resolutions.

- Expresses the political aspirations of the parties concerned. The refugees' basic aspiration to live in dignity indicates their fundamental demand, which they share with the rest of the Palestinian people: self-determination.

Conclusion

The logic of racial, religious or ethnic homogeneity, or "purity," often used to justify the denial of the Palestinian right of return, is repugnant to the ethics of our age. It mocks the very concept of coexistence which motivates our present endeavors. Peaceful coexistence among the people and states of the Middle East cannot be built on societies which find plurality intolerable or threatening.

To conclude, I would like to appeal directly to the Israelis. We know they are listening to us, even through their delegation has decided to boycott this session, because of the mere fact of our presence.

To the Israelis we shall say that the real condition of sustainable peace is to achieve, beyond the treaties and agreements between states, reconciliation between peoples. This requires that men and women, at given crucial moments of their history, have the courage to take a look at themselves in order to be able to see, and at last understand the adversary.

To the Israelis we shall say that reconciliation passes through the moral recognition of the immense injustice inflicted upon our people 44 years ago.

To the Israelis we say: Is it not clear that the security which you claim to pursue will not come from your military might and territorial assets, but from a just peace based on the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people?

To the Israelis we also say: In order for us to offer you the solution of the two states, mutually recognized and accepted, the people of Palestine have had to inflict a great violence upon themselves. Indeed, for unlike war, peace is always a tormenting victory of one's own self. And the time has come for you to take this decisive step and recognize the rights of our people.



PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, MEMORANDUM TO US SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER, JERUSALEM, 20 JULY 1992 [EXCERPTS]

The Palestinian side has demonstrated a deep and principle commitment to the peace process launched in Madrid in October 1991, despite the unjust and painful conditions and in spite of all Israeli attempts at derailing the negotiations while exacting a heavy toll in human rights and lives from the Palestinian people under occupation. It is the responsibility of the Israeli government to halt and reverse the dangerous deterioration. [...]

The United States has taken upon itself to act as a driving force to implement the objectives of the peace process based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace.

All forms of settlement activity in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT), including Jerusalem, are illegal and in violation of international law, as well as the terms of reference of the peace process. Hence, Israeli-imposed distinction between "security" and "political" settlements is an attempt at legalizing an unacceptable and illegal activity. [...]

While we acknowledge the emergence of a new tone in Israel, we seek effective and active steps to indicate good faith and a new phase in negotiations. [...] We hope that any improvement in US-Israeli relations will not be at the cost of the peace process.

As proof of seriousness of intent, Israel must accept *de jure* applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention and carry out specific steps, including the release of political prisoners, the lifting of censorship, a total halt to the torture and maltreatment of Palestinian prisoners, and end to summary executions. [...]

We wish to reiterate our position that the first phase of Interim Self-Government is a temporary and transitional phase within a specific time frame. [...] Any Palestinian authority for this phase must enjoy control over land and resources (including water) and is to be elected through nation-wide political elections in the OPT, including Jerusalem. [...] The national elections and the transfer of authority require international supervision [...] to prevent Israeli interference. [...]

We expect the resumption of negotiations to take place in Rome at the earliest possible opportunity in August 1992.

The PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people has made positive and constructive efforts at advancing the cause of peace contributing to the current process [...] it would be highly appropriate and beneficial if the US takes concrete steps to restore its dialogue with the PLO.



**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ, 25TH ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING,
MANILA, PHILIPPINES, 21-22 JULY 1992 [EXCERPTS]**

INTRODUCTION

1. The Twenty-Fifth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting was held in Manila from 21 to 22 July 1992. The Meeting was formally opened by His Excellency Mr. Fidel V. Ramos, President of the Republic of the Philippines. [...]

MIDDLE EAST

26. The Foreign Ministers reiterated their support for the continuation of the Middle East peace process under the auspices of the United Nations to address the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict in accordance with UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and other relevant resolutions. On the situation in Lebanon, the Foreign Ministers reaffirmed their support for the full implementation of the 1989 Tariff Agreement and the UN Security Council Resolution 425.
27. The Foreign Ministers welcomed the initiative taken by the United States and the Russian Federation in co-sponsoring a Regional Peace Conference for direct negotiations on the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict which constitute the main source of instability and tension in the region.



**ISRAELI DELEGATION, “THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL OF THE INTERIM SELF-
GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS” (ISGA), 20 AUGUST 1992**

General Principles

The interim arrangements, for five years, will be based on the following principles:

1. Establishment of Interim Self-Government Arrangements for the Palestinians of the territories; thus, they will administer their affairs in the agreed spheres of operations that affect their own lives. The ISGA will have those powers and responsibilities which will be allocated to it in the agreement.
2. Maintaining the links and ensuring the freedom of movement between Judea, Samaria, Gaza district and Israel; thus, during the interim arrangements' period, there are spheres of operation that affect:
 - Israel, the territories, and the interaction between them; and

- between Israeli citizens and Palestinians in the territories, that should be handled by the ISGA Administrative Council in coordination and cooperation with the designated organs of the Government of Israel, taking into consideration the concerns of both populations and providing for the benefit of all.
- 3. Certain areas that affect Israel's basic rights and interests, and residual powers, including in particular, security and Israelis in the territories, will remain Israel's responsibility and will be operated by Israel.
- 4. Maintaining the traditional ties between the Palestinian inhabitants and Jordan; thus, Jordan's participation in the interim arrangements can be of benefit for all.

Structural Configuration of the Interim Self-Government Arrangements

The organs of the interim self-government arrangements must reflect the administrative-functional characteristic of the power and responsibilities which will be delegated to them, according to the agreement.

1. Principles for Structural Configuration

- The powers and responsibilities of the ISGA, will be operated by one, freely elected, administrative-functional body—an *Administrative Council*.
- The number of its members will be determined in accordance with the functional-administrative domains that will be operated by it, and will not exceed 15 members.
- The Administrative Council will select its own chairman from among its members, and allocate the spheres of operation among its members.

2. Election

The Administrative Council will be elected by the Palestinians of the territories from among the Palestinians of the territories, in accordance with the agreed modalities. The elections will be free, based on the preservation of the rights of peaceful assembly, free expression and secret ballot, and appropriate measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Israelis will not participate in the elections for the Administrative Council.

3. Jurisdiction

In operating their designated spheres of operations, the freely elected Administrative Council will have jurisdiction in the framework of the agreed administrative-functional arrangements.

The powers and responsibilities of the Administrative Council will not apply to the Israeli security forces and authorities, nor to Israeli civilians in the territories.

4. Liaison and Dispute Resolution

The cooperation and coordination regime requires a multi-level system of liaison between the organs of the Administrative Council and various Israeli government authorities and the Jordanian government. The multi-level liaison system will comprise of:

- A high liaison and coordination committee;
- Liaison committees in the various spheres of operation;
- Special liaison committees to deal with special matters.

In a number of areas a monitoring process may accompany the implementation of the agreements and understandings. A "trial and error" period may hence be required for necessary adjustments in accordance with the experience that will be gained. The liaison mechanisms could serve this purpose too.

General Powers of the Administrative Council

The Administrative Council, as one functional body, will have the following general powers and responsibilities:

- Power to promulgate regulations in its spheres of operations, subject to the agreement, including arrangements for coordination and cooperation with Israel and Jordan.

- Power to enter into contracts, sue and be sued, and decide on administrative matters relating to the operation of their spheres of operations, such as:
 - budget and financing;
 - allocation of functions;
 - supervise and audit its sections' operations.

Spheres of Operation of the Administrative Council

1. Administration of Justice

This sphere of operations contains the administration and supervision of the various judicial systems and services in the territories, relating to the Palestinian population:

- Operating the various systems of local courts (including general and municipal courts systems);
- Establishment of new tribunals, dealing with specific matters, within the framework of the existing legislation and the agreement;
- Appointment of judges and court officials;
- Issue regulations on procedural matters;
- Operating the central and district prosecution system;
- Operating the central and district execution offices;
- Publication of courts' decisions and other official documents;
- Fixing the level of court fees;
- Dealing with the process of mitigation and pardon of convicted criminal prisoners;
- Rendering registration services of companies, partnerships, voluntary associations, etc.;
- Rendering registration services of patents and trademark;
- Rendering notary services like: verification of signature, authentication of documents;
- Rendering services of relevant professional councils: lawyers, accountants and assessors;
- Licensing of lawyers, accountants and assessors;
- Rendering legal aid for the needy.

The implementation of some of these powers and responsibilities, by this designated organ of the Administrative Council, should be coordinated with the parallel sections of the Government of Israel and the Government of Jordan, as appropriate, and in accordance with the agreement, taking into account the Israeli courts' jurisdiction that would apply in certain spheres - security related and Israelis' related.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- Relationship between the legal systems applying in the territories.
- Procedures concerning legal reciprocity and the execution of judgments between the ISGA and Israeli authorities (including the delivery of documents, summoning of witnesses, etc.).
- Registration of companies - exchange of information between Israeli authorities and the ISGA Administrative Council.
- Registration of patents and trademarks - agreed mutual arrangements between the Israeli authorities and the ISGA Administrative Council.
- Activities of Israeli and foreign corporations.
- Status of the Cessation court.

2. Administration of Personnel Matters

This sphere of operation contains all administrative matters related to the organs of the Administrative Council:

- Establishing the Council's organs and determining their organizational configurations;
- Defining the powers and responsibilities of all employees, together with their duties and obligations, on one hand, and their rights, on the other;
- Determining the terms of employment of personnel and their salaries;
- Ongoing management of all employee affairs;
- Organizing general and professional training.

The main body of employees of the organs of the Administrative Council will naturally consist of the present 20000 employees of the Civil Administration.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- Status and guarantee of the accumulated rights of the existing employees.
- Recruiting new employees.
- Employment of residents of Israel in the ISGA organs.

3. Agriculture

This sphere of operations will contain the administration and supervision of all branches of agriculture, livestock and fisheries:

- Developing, planning and regulating production of agricultural products;
- Supervising marketing and distribution of agricultural products, including imports and exports;
- Veterinary supervision and containing of agricultural diseases;
- Agricultural instruction and inspection.

The links between Israel and the territories, especially in the agricultural sphere, are beneficial to all. They are also necessary. Therefore, they require arrangements for cooperation and coordination in some of the agricultural spheres of operations, to be fulfilled by experts from Israel, Jordan as appropriate, and the designated organ of the Administrative Council.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- Marketing arrangements for agricultural products from the territories in Israel and of Israeli products in the territories.
- Exports to Jordan through the Jordan bridges and to Egypt through the Rafah Crossing.
- Exports through Israeli ports.
- Standards and report procedures concerning plant and animal diseases.
- Protection of flora and fauna.

4. Ecology

This new sphere of operations contains three major areas of powers and responsibilities:

- Developing, setting up and operating environmental projects, such as:
 - sites and facilities for the disposal of refuse of all kinds;
 - effluent treatment systems including sewage;
 - solid waste treatment;
 - toxic-waste treatment.
- Developing, setting up and operating environmental monitoring systems in areas such as:
 - air and water quality;
 - noise prevention.
- Supervision of beaches and public bathing places.
- Environmental education.

Due to the impacts of some of these areas of operation on both the populations of Israel and the territories, environmental operations in the territories should be set up in cooperation with the designated professional Israeli agencies.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- Sewage.
- Solid waste.
- Hazardous waste.
- Mosquitos and other pests control.

5. Education and Culture

This sphere of operations relates to the whole network of educational and research institutions in the territories, from kindergarten to higher education:

- Operation of the governmental network of learning institutions, in accordance with the existing educational system;
- Supervision of non-governmental educational institutions, including colleges and universities;
- Supervision of scientific-research institutions and activities;
- Development and administration of cultural, artistic and sporting activities.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- Archaeological research and sites preservation.
- Arrangements for preventing incitement and subversion inside the educational and cultural systems.

6. Finance, Budget and Taxation

This sphere of operation, which is the central economic organ of the Administrative Council, contains the following powers and responsibilities:

- Preparation of the budget of the Administrative Council and its allocation among its various divisions;
- Management and administration of the revenues of the Administrative Council, namely: taxation - e.g., income and property taxes; grants and loans.
- Accounting the disbursing of the Administrative Council's budget and other financial transactions.
- Supervising and regulating the activities of the insurance companies operating in the territories;

The basic reality of economic ties between Israel and the territories, which is vital and beneficial for both their populations, requires economic coordination and cooperation as well as mutual adjustments of economic, fiscal and monetary policies.

The application of this sphere to both economies, including in the sphere of industry and commerce, agriculture, as well as other issues, and Jordanian-related aspects, will be further elaborated.

7. Health

This vital sphere of operation contains the following major areas of professional activities:

- Operation of governmental medical institutions: hospitals, clinics and laboratories;;
- Supervision of non-governmental health services and institutions;
- Operating the medical insurance program;
- Operating the preventative medicine and immunization programs;
- Supervision of the production, importation and marketing of pharmaceuticals;
- Environmental health supervision;
- Licensing of medical and paramedical professions.

Note: During the previous rounds of negotiations we presented a detailed and comprehensive description of this sphere of operations. We also suggested that, notwithstanding the continuation of the negotiations, a delegation of powers and responsibilities will take place, from the Civil Administration to a professional designated organ, which will operate this sphere in an agreed framework, may immediately be negotiated and implemented.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- Immunization and anti-epidemic arrangements.
- Hospitalization, ambulatory and laboratory services in Israel as requested.
- Training of medical personnel in Israel as requested.
- Medical insurance for employees from the territories in Israel.
- Supervision of food quality.

8. Industry and Commerce

This sphere of operations contains several economic powers and responsibilities:

- Developing and encouraging industrial and commercial projects by:
 - direct investments.
 - investment incentives.
 - loans and grants;

- Promoting industrial research and development in order to facilitate advanced industry;
- Supervision of prices;
- Supervision of fair trading practices;
- Licensing of factories and industrial enterprises;

It is self-understood, based on the freedom of movement concept, that discharging these powers and responsibilities by this organ of the Administrative Council, must be based on an overall cooperation and coordination arrangements with Israeli designated authorities.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- Mutual movement of goods and commodities.
- Standards, product labeling, etc.
- Import and export through Israeli ports.
- Import and export through the Jordan bridges.
- Supply of oil and gas.
- Regulating and supervising the distribution of vital products.
- The relationship and application of Israel's free trade agreements to the interim arrangements. The above will be further elaborated.

9. Labor and Employment

This sphere of operations will render labor and employment services to the population in the territories, including:

- Providing the essential connection between entrepreneurs, those who seek workers, and those who seek employment, by:
 - operating labor exchange and employment offices;
 - providing opportunities to learn or change occupation, by operating occupational training services.
 - licensing of cooperatives;
- Ensuring that workers will enjoy proper working conditions, rights and payment, by:
 - supervising the adherence of the employers to the labor laws and regulations, and implement safety and hygiene standards;
 - supervising and assisting trade unions.
- Administer the procedures for the employment of workers from the territories inside Israel, by:
 - connecting employers and employees through the employment offices;
 - dealing with permits for work in Israel;
 - advising workers on employment conditions, rights and wages;
 - processing claims for social benefits and compensation of these workers.

The employment of workers from the territories in Israel is beneficial to the economies of both Israel and the territories and it is in the interest of both population that this connection continue. Cooperation and coordination in this sphere is essential from legal, economic and social points of view, and due to security considerations.

Direct connection between the employment offices of Israel and the Administrative Council, will facilitate procedures of employment in Israel.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- Mutual employment procedure.

10. Local Police

This sphere of operation will include the establishment of a local police force, for the implementation of police tasks to be agreed upon. It should be noted that the overall responsibility for maintaining security in the territories during the ISGA period will remain with Israel.

In this framework the local police tasks may include enforcement of law in areas related to the Palestinians in the territories, such as:

- A. Criminal offenses including offenses dealt now by military courts, such as drug traffic offenses, trespass and tax fraud.

- B. Police tasks such as security of Administrative Council installations and personalities, minor offenses, implementation of court arrest orders, carrying out of our judgments.
- C. Mutual assistance between the local police and the Israeli police through service of summons, implementation of arrest orders and carrying out of court judgments.
- D. Dealing and assisting with public judgment orders in areas to be agreed upon in the negotiations.
- E. Operating prisoners for criminal offenders.
- F. Jordanian involvement in the establishment, training and operation of the police is positively viewed and should be negotiated.

Note: As to the security aspects involved, the Israel security forces and police must maintain discretion in matters pertaining to security as determined by them, which may be brought to military courts.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- A. Establishment and structure of the local police force and recruitment thereto.
- B. Cooperation between the Israeli and the local police.
- C. Powers and jurisdiction of the local police and its officers.
- D. Size and arms.
- E. Rules of engagement.
- F. Review following initial period of the police functioning.

The above is to be further elaborated in the negotiations.

11. Local Transportation and Communication

- The transportation section will deal with the following function:
 - traffic regulation and signs;
 - regulations, licensing and supervision of public transportation services;
 - licensing and supervising car rental agencies.
 - responsibility for safety and anti-pollution regulations and standards;
 - road maintenance
 - registry, licensing and inspection of drivers, vehicles and heavy engineering equipment;
 - supervision of adherence to compulsory insurance regulations;
 - licensing and supervision of driving schools and driving courses;
 - licensing and supervision of garages, auto workshops and spare parts regulations;
- The communications section will deal with the following functions:
 - Operation of local post offices and local Postal bank branches;
 - responsibility for distribution and collection of mail;
 - Local telephone services; operation, installation and maintenance of lines, exchanges and equipment; operation of payments collection.

The nature of these services requires various levels of cooperation, coordination, strict supervision and trust, between this organ of the Administrative Council and the concerned Israeli authorities. Subject to be further elaborated.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

Transportation:

- Road markings and signs.
- Vehicle purchase and the transfer of ownership between Israeli citizens and residents of the territories.
- Vehicle safety regulations and standards.
- Vehicle traffic between the territories and Jordan.

12. Municipal Affairs

This sphere of operations includes two layers of activities:

- The local and municipal layer which deals with municipal matters including: zoning, water supply, housing, sewage, electricity, bylaws, etc.;
- The central layers which deals with the following matters:
 - Supervision of activities and meetings of the local authorities;
 - Approval of regular and special local budgets;

- Supervision and approval of the financial expenditure, accounts and tenders;
- Approval of loans and grants;
- Supervision of local tax collection;
- Appointment of municipal officers (Mukhtars; village council members, etc.);
- Changes of municipal status of localities;
- Coordination of local emergency services;

The vast and diversified areas of responsibilities, activities and operations, require implementation of arrangements for cooperation and coordination in some elements of this sphere of operations.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- Cooperation between emergency services of the Administrative Council and Israel.

13. Religious Affairs

This sphere of operation will have responsibilities for rendering religious services to Moslems, Christians, Samaritans, and other sects in the territories.

These services shall include, *inter alia*:

- Building and establishing new houses of worship and community centers for the different denominations;
- Preservation and operating of the Holy places and cemeteries of the different denominations;
- Assisting in organizing of major religious ceremonies;

Two major functions are the sole concern of the Moslem population:

- Controlling and managing the Waqf money and assets;
- Supervising and operating the Shari'a courts.

Note: Joint Holy places in the territories will be operated by Israel's authorities.

The Jewish Holy places in the territories will be operated by Israel's authorities.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- The Jordanian aspects of these functions, including the Waqf administration.

14. Social Welfare

The welfare services which will be provided to the population in this sphere of operation, are:

- Providing welfare services to families, youth, elderly and hardship cases;
- Health, economic and social rehabilitation for the needy;
- Registration and supervision of charitable organizations and distribution of voluntary contributions;
- Operation of welfare institutions for needy persons, such as the elderly, the retarded, the blind, juvenile delinquents, etc.
- Administration of orphanages and adoption processes.

15. Tourism

This sphere of operations contains two main functions:

- Tourist services, such as: Licensing and supervision of hotels, restaurants, tourist guides, tourist agencies, souvenir shops, etc.
- Development, operation and supervision of tourist sites.

Topics for Discussions (e.g.):

- Cooperation in order to expand and encourage tourism in Israel and the territories.
- Reciprocal relations between tourist authorities and tourist services, including exchange of information.
- Training and licensing of tour guides.

Tourist crossing at the Allenby Bridge and Rafah - coordination and cooperation of tourist aspects with Israel, Jordan and Egypt.



**PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, DRAFT PROPOSAL: FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT
ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR PALESTINIAN INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT,
1 SEPTEMBER 1992**

The two sides,

Having expressed their desire to quickly reach agreement on the arrangements for interim self-government stipulated in the Letter of Invitation to the Madrid Peace Conference, through negotiations based on UN Security Council Resolution 242 and 338, the principle of land for peace, and in compliance with international legality,

Agree on the following:

1. The Concept of Interim Arrangements

- (a) The arrangements for interim self-government are of a provisional and transitional character, the purpose of which is the orderly and peaceful transfer of authority by Israel to the Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority (PISGA), taking into account the legitimate security concerns of both parties.
- (b) The interim phase is the first phase in the implementation of UNSC Resolution 242 in all its parts. This phase will last for a period not exceeding five years. No later than the beginning of the third year, negotiations will commence to determine the permanent status and to enable the Palestinian people to freely exercise its legitimate national rights, including its right to self-determination.
- (c) During the transitional period, the Hague Regulations of 1907 and the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 will apply to the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT). Accordingly, Israel will not exercise sovereign powers over the OPT. International protection will be assigned. Prior to the start of the transitional phase, and in compliance with the above, Israel will take all steps and measures to adjust or annul the military order, instructions and proclamations that impede or undermine the principle and exercise of self-government.

2. Election of the Interim Self-Governing and its Authority: The Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority (PISGA) shall be established by free, fair and direct election to be held, under international supervision, on the basis of secret ballot and universal suffrage for all Palestinians of the OPT including displaced persons and deportees. As an elected representative body, PISGA derives its authority from the people. It will have legislative, executive and judicial powers, with due regard to agreed security arrangements.

3. Jurisdiction

- (a) The jurisdiction of the PISGA encompasses the entire Palestinian territory occupied by Israel in the June 1967 war which shall be considered as an integral whole. This jurisdiction will extend to all its inhabitants. The PISGA will exercise control over land, water, economic and natural resources in the OPT, and all movement to and from the OPT.
- (b) PISGA will exercise control over all economic activities in the OPT as an integral economic unit.

4. Withdrawal of Israeli Military Government and Forces: The Israeli military government will withdraw and its civilian administration will be dissolved. The Israeli armed forces will withdraw and redeploy to agreed specific security locations. Transfer of authorities to the PISGA will be effected under international supervision.

5. Jerusalem: Without prejudice to the final status of the city of Jerusalem which will be determined in the second stage of negotiations, the agreement on arrangements for the interim self-government will apply to East Jerusalem. The PISGA will ensure the freedom of access and worship to followers of all faiths at their respective holy shrines.

6. Israeli Settlements: Israel undertakes to cease immediately all settlement activities in the OPT, including East Jerusalem, in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention and relevant Security Council resolutions.

7. *Displaced Persons and Deportees*: Israel undertakes to allow the return to the OPT of all displaced persons and deportees.

8. *Security*: Mutual security arrangements ensuring maximum security for both peoples will be agreed upon. Internal security in the OPT will be the responsibility of the PISGA which will form a strong police force.

9. *Supervision and Dispute Resolution*: A standing committee will be established from representatives of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, the Secretary General of the UN, the PISGA, Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and Israel, to supervise and guarantee the implementation of the arrangements for Palestinian self-government during the interim phase and settle disputes arising therefrom.

10. *Time Frame*

- (a) Committed to the time frame set in the Letter of Invitation, the two sides shall work toward reaching an agreement on the transitional phase within three months from this date and agree that negotiations on permanent status will begin no later than 30 October 1994 and will be concluded no later than 30 October 1997.
- (b) The two sides commit themselves to work expeditiously and in good faith in order to reach agreements on the said two phases ahead of the set dates.



US GOVERNMENT, LOAN GUARANTEES TO ISRAEL, WASHINGTON, DC, 10-11 SEPTEMBER 1992

[On 11 Sept., US Pres. Bush submitted legislation authorizing the granting of US\$10 billion in loan guarantees to Israel. The issue was particular controversial because of the linkage that developed between Israeli settlement policy and the loan guarantees.]

THE WHITE HOUSE
The President of the Senate

Sir,

I ask Congress to consider a budget amendment for FY 1993 for Funds Appropriated to the President. The amendment would provide authority for up to \$10 billion in loan guarantees to the Government of Israel over a five-year period. The guarantees would be provided in installments of up to \$2 billion per year, starting in FY 1993. The loan guarantees will facilitate the absorption of immigrants into Israel from the republics of the former Soviet Union, Ethiopia, and other countries.

The details of this request are set forth in the enclosed letter from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. I concur with his comments and observations.

Sincerely,

George Bush

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT - OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

Submitted for your consideration in a budget amendment for FY 1993 for Funds Appropriated to the President. This amendment would provide authority for up to \$10 billion in loan guarantees to the Government of Israel over a five-year period. The guarantees would be provided in installments of up to \$2 billion per year, beginning in FY 1993.

The guaranteed loans would facilitate the absorption of immigrants into Israel from the republics of the former Soviet Unions, Ethiopia, and other countries. This request is based on extensive discussions with the Government of Israel and reflects understandings between the United States and Israel.

The loan guarantees would be provided under such terms and conditions as you may determine necessary. They may be used for infrastructure, housing, and other purposes, and only in the geographic areas that were subject to the administration of the Government of Israel before June 5, 1967.

The Government of Israel has agreed to pay the annual subsidy costs of these guarantees as calculated by this Office pursuant to the Federal Credit reform Act of 1990. For this reason, no new budget authority is required, and this proposal will have no effect on outlays. The calculation of the subsidy costs will take into account the fact that Israel is developing a comprehensive, multi-year economic strategy based on prudent economic policies and structural reform.

I have carefully reviewed this proposal and am satisfied that it is necessary at this time. Therefore, I join the Acting Secretary of State in recommending that this amendment be transmitted to Congress.

Respectfully yours,

Richard Darman

LOAN GUARANTEES TO ISRAEL ACCOUNT.

Sec. (a) In General -

Subject to the terms and conditions of this section, during the period beginning October 1, 1992, and ending September 30, 1997, the President is authorized to issue guarantees against losses incurred in connection with loan guarantees against losses incurred in connection with loans to Israel made as a result of Israel's extraordinary humanitarian effort to resettle and absorb immigrants into Israel from the republics of the former Soviet Union, Ethiopia, and other countries.

b) Fiscal Year Levels -

The President is authorized to issue guarantees to furtherance of the purposes of this section. Subject to subsection (d), the total principal amount of guarantees which may be issued by the President under this section shall be up to \$10,000,000,000 which may be issued as follows:

- 1) in fiscal year 1993, up to \$2,000,000,000 in each fiscal year may be issued on October 1 or thereafter:
- 2) subject to subsection (d), in fiscal years 1994 through 1997, up to \$2,000,000,000 in each fiscal year may be issued on October 1 or thereafter.

c) Use of Guarantees -

Guarantees may be issued under this section only to support activities in the geographic areas which were subject to the administration of the Government of Israel before June 5, 1967.

d) Limitation on Guarantee Amount -

The guarantees that the President is authorized to issue shall be reduced as specified in subsection (b) by an amount equal to the amount extended or estimated to have been extended by the Government of Israel during the previous year for activities which the President determines are inconsistent with the objectives of this section or undertakings reached between the United States Government and the Government of Israel regarding the implementation of the loan program. The President shall submit a report to Congress no later than September 30 of each year during the pendency of the program specifying the amount calculated under this subsection and that will be deducted in the next fiscal year.

e) Fees -

Fees charged for the loan guarantee program under this section each year shall be an aggregate annual origination fee equal to the estimated subsidy cost of the guarantees issued under this section for that year, calculated by the Office of Management and Budget under the Federal Credit Reform Act of 1990. All such fees shall be paid by the Government of Israel to the Government of the United States. Funds made available for Israel under chapter 4 of Part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, may be utilized by the Government of Israel to pay such fees to the United States Government.

f) *Authority to Suspend Loans -*

The President shall determine the terms and conditions for issuing guarantees. If the President determines that these terms and conditions have been breached, the President may suspend or terminate the provision of all or part of the additional loan guarantees not yet issued under this section. Upon making such a determination to suspend or terminate the provision of loan guarantees, the President shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President *Pro Tempore* of the Senate his determination to do so, including the basis for such suspension or termination.

g) *Procedures for Suspension or Termination -*

Any suspension or termination pursuant to subsection (f) shall be in accordance with the following procedures:

- (1) Upon making a determination to submit to the speaker of the House of Representatives and the President *Pro Tempore* of the Senate his determination to do so, including the basis for such suspension and termination.
- (2) Such a suspension or termination shall cease to be effective in Congress enacts, within 30 days of submission, a joint resolution authorizing the assistance notwithstanding the suspension.
- (3) Any such joint resolution shall be considered in the Senate in accordance with the provisions of section 601(b) of the International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976.
- (4) For the purpose of expediting the consideration and enactment of joint resolutions under this subsection, a motion to proceed to the consideration of any joint resolution after it has been reported by the appropriate committee shall be treated as highly privileged in the House of Representatives.
- (5) In the event that the President suspends the provision of additional loan guarantees under subsection (f) and Congress does not enact a joint resolution pursuant to this subsection, the provision of additional loan guarantees under the program established by this section may be resumed only if the President determines and so reports to Congress that the reasons for the suspension have been resolved or that the resumption is otherwise in the national interest.

h) *Economic Content -*

The effective absorption of immigrants into Israel from the republics of the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia within the private sector requires large investment and economic restructuring to promote market efficiency and thereby contribute to productive employment and sustainable growth. Congress recognizes that the Government of Israel intends to adopt a comprehensive, multi-year economic strategy based on prudent macroeconomic policies and structural reforms. Congress also recognizes that these policies are being designed to reduce direct involvement of the government in the economic system and to promote private enterprise, important prerequisites for economic stability and sustainable growth.

i) *Consultations -*

It is the sense of Congress that, as agreed between the two Governments and in order to further the policies specified in subsection (h), Israel and the United States should continue to engage in consultations concerning economic and financial measures, including structural and other reforms, that Israel should undertake during the pendency of this program to enable its economy to absorb and resettle immigrants and to accommodate the increased debt burden that will result from loans guaranteed pursuant to this section. It is the sense of Congress that these consultations on economic measures should address progress and plans in the areas of budget policies, privatization, trade liberalization, financial and capital markets, labor markets, competition policy, and deregulation.

j) *Goods and Services -*

During the pendency of the loan program authorized under this section, it is anticipated that, in the context of the economic reforms undertaken pursuant to subsections (h) and (i) of this section. Israel's increased population due to its absorption of immigrants, and the liberalization by the Government of Israel of its trade policy with the US, the amount of US investment goods and services purchased for use in or with respect to the country of Israel will substantially increase.

k) *Reports -*

The President shall report to Congress by December 31 of each fiscal year until December 13, 1999 regarding implementation of this section.

This proposal would provide \$2 billion in loan guarantees to the Government of Israel to facilitate the absorption of immigrants into Israel from the republics of the former Soviet Union, Ethiopia, and other countries. The loans would be used for infrastructure, housing, and other purposes in Israel. The loans would be used for infrastructure, housing, and other purposes in Israel.

The loan guarantees will be provided under such terms and conditions as the President determines. The Government of Israel has agreed to pay the subsidy cost of the guarantees issued under this special program, as calculated by the Office of Management and Budget under the Federal Credit Report Act of 1990. For this reason, no new budget authority is required.

This proposal would have no effect on FY 1993 outlays.



GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS TO THE PALESTINIANS, 15 SEPTEMBER 1992

In its basic policy guidelines, the new Israeli government declared that it is determined to promote the peace-making efforts with its neighbors, and will leave no stone unturned in its pursuit of a solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, announced that he intends to carry out intensive and prompt negotiations within the Madrid conference framework, in order to achieve this goal.

On August 24, the sixth round of bilateral talks between Israel and the Arabs began. It is scheduled to continue until September 24. The Israeli negotiating team came to this round of talks with a double mandate - continuity with regard to framework, and innovation concerning content:

Continuity: With regard to the composition, framework and goal of the talks, Israel continues to remain obligated to the Madrid formula, which was developed through months of intensive diplomacy and was achieved as the result of concessions and compromises by all parties.

Innovation: In order to give new impetus to the talks and to expedite early agreement, Israel has presented a series of innovative and detailed proposals and negotiating papers, which are presented below.

The negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel are meant to achieve an agreement on Interim Self Government Arrangements (ISGA) for the Palestinian population in the territories. Since the beginning of the talks in October, Israel has presented its Palestinian counterparts with a number of detailed proposals and offers in an effort to facilitate an agreement on the ISGA. These proposals have been wide-ranging and forthcoming, and demonstrate Israel's sincere and earnest desire to find a solution to this aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The following paper is an overview of the self government proposals presented by Israel's negotiators to the Palestinians, and which are presently on the table. Israel believes that these proposals can serve as an appropriate starting point for the serious negotiations which lie ahead.

ISRAEL'S PROPOSALS REGARDING THE CONCEPT OF INTERIM SELF GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PALESTINIANS OF THE TERRITORIES, 15 SEPTEMBER 1992

The Goal of the Negotiations: The negotiations are held on the basis of the invitation to the Madrid conference. That framework stipulated that the goal of these talks between Israel and the Palestinians of the territories is the establishment of Interim Self Government Arrangements for a period of five years. Beginning the third year, negotiations on the permanent status will take place on the basis of UN Resolutions 242 and 338.

The Principle of Interim Arrangements: The basic idea of the interim arrangements period is to create a new atmosphere for the future permanent status negotiations, while not prejudging or predetermining

ing their outcome. Israel is offering arrangements which provide the Palestinians in the territories with a significant improvement in their daily life conditions.

Confidence Building Measures: In preparation for the opening of the present round of talks, the Israeli government decided upon a number of significant confidence building measures meant to improve the atmosphere towards the renewal of the peace negotiations. These steps include the cancellation of deportation orders, the release of 800 Palestinian inmates, easing travel restrictions, and reopening structures and roads sealed for security reasons.

The Palestinian Administrative Council (PAC): Israel envisions the establishment of an organ to administer the ISGA. The proposed body, a Palestinian Administrative Council, will be agreed powers and responsibilities to perform its duties and to administer the affairs of the Palestinians. Israel proposes that the PAC be freely elected by the Palestinians in the territories, from among the Palestinians in the territories.

The Structure and Jurisdiction of the PAC: Israel has proposed that the Palestinian Administrative Council be a single administrative-functional body comprised of 15 members, in accordance with the 15 spheres of operation that will be administered by it. The jurisdiction of the PAC will be powers and responsibilities oriented. While the territorial/geographic aspects are reserved for the future permanent status negotiations, the PAC will deal with agreed relevant aspects of infrastructure.

Spheres of Operation: Israel envisions the following 15 spheres to be administered by the PAC:

- Administration of justice
- Agriculture
- Education and Culture;
- Health;
- Labor;
- Local transportation and Communication;
- Religious affairs;
- Tourism.
- Administration of personnel matters
- Ecology;
- Finance, Budget and Taxation;
- Industry and Commerce;
- Local police;
- Municipal affairs;
- Social welfare;

Together, these 15 spheres encompass nearly all aspects of the Palestinians' daily life. Issues relating to security, foreign relations, Israelis and vital Israeli needs in the territories will remain in Israel's hands in the framework of residual powers.

The Powers and Responsibilities of the PAC: The council, as an administrative-functional body, will wield executive general powers within its spheres of operation. These include the power to promulgate regulations and to exercise general executive powers.

Administrative Council Elections: Israel proposes that the PAC be freely elected by the Palestinians in the territories, from among the Palestinians in the territories. The elections will be free, based upon the preservation of the right of free assembly, free expression and secret ballot, while providing appropriate means to prevent disruption and disorder. Election modalities could be discussed as soon as an understanding is reached on the principles of the PAC.

Cooperation and Coordination: In its proposals, Israel envisions the establishment of mechanisms for cooperation and coordination between the PAC and organs of the Israeli government during the interim period. Some spheres of operation inherently affect all parties. For example, the movement of persons and goods between the territories, Israel and Jordan, or the use of common infrastructures, necessitates coordination and cooperation mechanisms. This coordination and cooperation is not meant to derogate from the agreed powers of the PAC, but rather to enable a smooth operation of the ISGA, and reduce possible friction.

Jordanian Related Issues: The ties between Jordan and the Palestinians of the territories, and Jordanian involvement in some aspects of the daily life there, call for the participation of Jordan in the Interim Arrangements in a variety of areas, such as economy, monetary issues, religious affairs and other aspects.

Liaison and Dispute Resolution Mechanisms: The success of the ISGA will, in a large sense, depend upon the ability to effectively resolve issues and disputes as they arise. Israel proposes a multi-level system of liaison mechanisms, including the establishment of a High Liaison and Coordinating Committee composed of Israel, Palestinians and Jordan, and additional liaison committees within the various spheres of operation.

Timetables and Target Dates: Once there is agreement on the PAC concept, Israel suggests that negotiations on election modalities could be concluded by December 1992, and negotiations on PAC powers and responsibilities by February 1993. Elections could then take place in April-May 1993.

Establishing Negotiating Committees: Israel has proposed the establishment of joint working groups in order to deal more effectively with the details of specific issues. The convening of working groups could take place even while other matters are being discussed in the plenary. Access to relevant information and public records will be provided by Israel as is appropriate to the context of the negotiations, and implementation of the agreement.

Enhancing the Negotiations: Israel has suggested that the talks be conducted as continuously and as uninterruptedly as is feasible, so that agreement is reached as soon as possible. The present round of talks is therefore over a month long, in order to facilitate early progress.



**SEARCHING FOR COMMON GROUND - TEN POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:
ISRAEL'S PROPOSALS FOR INTERIM SELF GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS,
21 SEPTEMBER 1992**

- 1) *A Major Change for the Palestinians:* Israel is offering the Palestinians in the territories a major change in their existing situation. Israel's Interim Self Government Arrangement (ISGA) proposals accord the Palestinians an opportunity to substantially improve the general quality of their lives, by creating a fair and extensive framework enabling them to administer their own affairs. The true test for the ISGA will emerge on the morning after the ISGA agreement is reached, when the Palestinians ask themselves - 'Are we significantly better off now than we were before?'. The Israeli ISGA proposals will stand up to this test.
- 2) *The Palestinian Administrative Council (PAC):* As the organ of the Interim Self Government Arrangements, Israel has put forth the concept of a Palestinian Administrative Council (PAC). This 15 member elected body would, under the ISGA agreements, assume broad powers and responsibilities in order to deal with the vast majority of the areas of daily life affecting the Palestinian population. These powers and responsibilities would extend to infrastructure aspects such as land uses and water, as will be determined in the ISGA agreement.
- 3) *Elections for the PAC:* The Israeli proposals envision free, open and general elections, in which the Palestinians of the territories would elect from among themselves, the 15 members of the Palestinian Administrative Council. The elected council members would, in turn, be accountable to their electorate, and will discharge their designated functions in the framework of the ISGA agreement. Such elections would be historic and unprecedented for the Palestinians. The election modalities would be based upon the preservation of the right of free assembly, free expression and secret ballot.
- 4) *The Powers and Responsibilities of the PAC:* In the ISGA agreement, the proposed PAC would be vested with wide-ranging powers and responsibilities over the entire spectrum of their daily lives. Israel has suggested that the PAC administer the following 15 spheres of operation:
 - Administration of justice
 - Agriculture
 - Education and Culture;
 - Health;
 - Labor;
 - Local transportation and Communication;
 - Religious affairs;
 - Tourism.
 - Administration of personnel matters
 - Ecology;
 - Finance, Budget and Taxation;
 - Industry and Commerce;
 - Local police;
 - Municipal affairs;
 - Social welfare;

- 5) *Executive and Judicial Functions of the PAC*: Under the ISGA agreement, the PAC, as an administrative-functional body, would wield executive general powers within its spheres of operation, including the power to promulgate regulations and bylaws, and to exercise general executive functions. Within the framework of the ISGA agreement, independent criminal and civil courts would also function under the jurisdiction of the PAC.
- 6) *Timetable for Negotiations and Implementation*: Once agreement is achieved between Israel and the Palestinians on the general concept of the Palestinian Administrative Council, Israel foresees the following timetable for the ISGA talks:
- December 1992: Complete negotiations on election modalities.
 - February 1993: Conclude negotiations regarding the powers and responsibilities to be conferred upon the PAC.
 - April-May 1993: Conduct general elections for the Palestinian Administrative Council.
- 7) *The Interim Arrangement Principle*: The outstanding issues between Israel and the Palestinians in the territories are too complex and too divisive to be solved today in a permanent fashion. However, immediate efforts can still be made to move the parties toward a future settlement. Recognizing this, the terms of reference of the Madrid process establish that the solution of the Israel-Palestinian issue will be negotiated in two phases - first Interim Self Government Arrangements and then, permanent status negotiations. The ISGA is to last for a five year period, and is meant to bring about the kind of changes in the Palestinians' daily lives which would contribute to the development of peaceful coexistence between the two peoples. It is hoped that the ISGA period will create the necessary understanding and improve the atmosphere for the future permanent status negotiations.
- 8) *Permanent Status Negotiations*: The negotiations between Israel and the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation regarding the permanent status of the territories are meant to begin in the third year of the Interim Self Government Arrangements. This phase of the negotiations will be carried out on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, as established in the ground rules of the Madrid process. In this second phase, the permanent status issues of territory, security and peace will be addressed.
- 9) *Residual Powers*: Due to the interim nature of the ISGA, issues relating to Israel's security and vital interests in the territories, and the affairs of Israeli citizens in the territories would remain in Israel's hands in the framework of residual powers. The disposition of these issues is subject to the future negotiations regarding the permanent status.
- 10) *Israel's Practical and Pragmatic Approach*: The Israeli ISGA proposals represent a flexible and viable approach to a most complex and diverse situation. Israel's suggestions are a serious and sincere effort to take into account the many aspects and angles of the issue. The Israeli offer gives the Palestinians maximum control over their lives, and substantial improvement in their daily reality, while not prejudicing or pre-empting the outcome of the future permanent status negotiations.



**MULTILATERAL WORKING GROUP ON REFUGEES, OPENING REMARKS
FOR ISRAEL BY PROFESSOR SHLOMO BEN-AMI, OTTAWA, 11 NOVEMBER 1992**

The Multilateral Conference on Refugees in the Middle East is a historic endeavor. It is the vindication of an old aspiration expressed by successive Israeli governments. Indeed, a central chapter in the Israeli peace initiative of May 1989 has explicitly called for such an international effort to solve the refugee problem. Based on a deep moral conviction that a national of refugees like ours must be actively in the search for humane solutions to the plight of refugees and on the persuasion that the peace we are now negotiating in the bilateral track needs to be accompanied and sustained by an international effort of human improvement and social rehabilitation, we have come to this conference with many illusions, much good will and, we believe, creative ideas. Hence, our peace policy today is inspired by a dream that there must be a way to reconcile peace with justice and security.

Arab and Jewish Refugees

The wave of refugees in the Middle East, which started towards the end of 1947, was the direct result of the Arab effort to prevent by force the implementation of the United Nations resolution of November 29, 1947, to partition Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. Following upon the declaration of Israel's independence on May 14, 1948, Arab armies launched an all-out war against reborn Israel with the purpose of establishing exclusive Arab control in the whole of Palestine. The war, as is tragically the case in most wars in recorded history, swept in its wake large segments of the civilian population. The Arab exodus was initiated by the wealthy and the powerful Arab families who left the masses insecure and leaderless. The mass escape that ensued was inflamed by the horrors of war and by the hope of a speedy return to an Arab Palestine once the victorious Arab armies had completed their task. The escape affected not only those Palestinians who lived in the land for generations but also tens of thousands of very recent legal and illegal Arab immigrants to Palestine from neighboring countries. A land of contention, Palestine had attracted both Jewish and Arab immigrants. The latter flocked into the country especially during periods of prosperity. Indeed, in recognition of the very recent origin of many of the refugees - inaccurately represented as part of a "millenarian" Palestinian population - the United Nations was later moved to describe as eligible for refugee status any Arab who had lived in Palestine for a minimum of two years.

It is a travesty of historical truth to present the Palestinian refugee problem as the result of mass expulsion. There is no denying, however, that once the Jews, who for thousands of years waited with humility for their redemption, made their re-encounter with history as a sovereign nation, they had to assume the inherent immorality of war. The suffering of the civilian population will always be a burden on the conscience of any nation at war. The Arab-Israeli conflict has no monopoly on this maxim. Clearly, the Palestinians were a major victim of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Palestinian refugee problem was born as the land was bisected by the sword, not by design, Jewish or Arab. It was largely the inevitable by-product of Arab and Jewish fears and the protracted bitter fighting.

On the other hand, the Middle East witnessed a virtual exchange of population as hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees were forced to evacuate their places of residence and find a haven in Israel. The 1948 War of Independence climaxed centuries of discrimination against, and even repression of, the defenseless Jewish minorities in some Arab countries. The war bequeathed a refugee problem to both parties as the Jewish communities of the Arab world were virtually liquidated during the period 1948-1952 and their property was all but lost. Indeed, when we reach a stage where peace may require the termination of Jewish and Arab claims, Israel will present the case for due compensation for all the havoc, destruction, the loss of life and properties of the Jews in the Arab lands. Ideally, one would expect that a system be devised of mutual compensation with the full participation of the international community.

While Jewish refugees were warmly integrated into Israel, Arab refugees were subjected to an abuse of their plight. Since World War II, over 100 million people have become refugees, virtually all of whom have been integrated into the host societies. In the case of the Palestinian refugees, pawn politics and indifference were the two foci of a problem of tragic and human dimensions. Their fate was to be denied resettlement and be consigned to camps in dismal conditions of hopelessness and destitution. The notion that nothing should be done to rehabilitate the refugees as long as a political settlement has not been achieved is morally wrong.

The Government of Israel views an agreed-upon solution of the refugee problem as an essential component of the historical reconciliation between the Palestinian people and Israel.

A New Approach - Rehabilitation

The philosophy of welfare and relief, important as it certainly is, must give way to one of rehabilitation. More than once in the past the need was voiced for large-scale productive investments in the host Arab countries in order to create sources of employment for the refugees and facilitate their rehabilitation. But the Arab countries nipped in the bud this approach and continued to insist on the most unrealistic solution possible: repatriation. It is our endeavor, together with others, to join efforts in order to resolve the refugee and displaced persons problems. It is also our position that this noble enterprise

should avoid references to cumulative one-sided UN resolutions adopted hitherto, for we would then run the risk of converting this working group into a replica of the UN General Assembly. I trust that this was not exactly the intention of the initiators of this conference.

Israel has always maintained that a multinational effort to dignify living conditions in the refugee camps does not have to await a political solution or indeed to substitute for it. The treatment of the humanitarian problem is not aimed at prejudging the bilateral discussions and the future political settlement. It is doubtful whether the existence of refugees makes the case for Palestinian political rights any stronger. Palestinian refugees can live in better conditions while the search for peace continues. The rewards of peace can be shared by all while we build its political foundations.

Israel is fully aware not only of the necessity to redeem the plight of the refugees of 1948 but also of those who were displaced by the 1967 war. As early as 1949, Israel initiated a Family Reunification Scheme, which made possible the return to Israel by 1967 of about 50,000 and to the territories by 1991 of an additional 93,000. The Family Reunification Scheme is an ongoing system inspired by humanitarian considerations; it is not an instrument for radical demographic movements. It is our contention that this working group was not convened to decide about the movement of people; it is rather a historic attempt to bring about a movement of resources and ideas in order to improve the living conditions of people.

An Agreed Database

The need for an agreed database on refugees in the Middle East is clear. It is obviously not only a question of figures - some of the statistics and definitions may be in discrepancy with socioeconomic realities - but also, or perhaps mainly, of living conditions. An agreed and reliable database is an essential instrument of socioeconomic policy. Israel would be willing to join a group of experts that might be formed to prepare by consensus a reliable system of categorizing and cataloguing the data and of finding methods to increase data accessibility.

Project for the Refugees

Israel is ready to participate in the implementation of projects ranging from global designs of total reintegration in the host countries and in the administered territories, leading eventually to the dismantlement of all the refugee camps throughout the region, down to more specific and modest enterprises of improving health services, child welfare, development of human resources, vocational training and job creation and the development of a social and economic infrastructure. A comprehensive plan that would demonstrate that the fruits of peace exceed the spoils of war should ideally replace funds which have prolonged the refugee status of the Arab refugees by aid in conjunction with development, in a way that would ensure self-support and respect. The program should be offered without prejudice to the political negotiations. If the idea of a Reintegration Fund sounds revolutionary to some of us, I should recall that precisely such an approach was endorsed in the early 1950s by UNRWA (the Blandford Plan) only to be later undermined by the Arab countries. Forty-five years of mass deprivation and fatalistic frustration of two entire generations of refugees on the one hand, and the promising prospects of an Arab-Israeli peace on the other, should hopefully lead us to inaugurate a new phase in refugee rehabilitation.

Israel is willing to participate in, and to facilitate, any partial solution that would lead to an alleviation of the plight of the refugees and improve the equality of life in the camps. We are ready to work with each Arab country on a bilateral basis and with other concerned parties on a multilateral basis.

Israel is ready to propose a program of housing, infrastructure and basic services for the refugee camps in the territories and in the refugee camps in Arab countries as well. Based on the experience and conclusions drawn from the ongoing rehabilitation program implemented in the Gaza District that has already housed 12,000 families of refugees comprised of about 100,000 persons, all of whom were given an opportunity to acquire land and build their houses as they wished, in the camps or adjacent to them, our proposal is designed for a time span of five to eight years, and will affect 45,000 families.

If such a comprehensive program sounds too ambitious, we are ready to submit detailed project proposals for the improvement of living conditions in each and every refugee camp throughout the territories with the understanding that similar projects would be applied to refugee camps in Arab countries as well. Israel would collaborate in carrying out the program whether it is endorsed in its totality or only on one of several of its components, however modest they may be.

Simultaneously, or alternatively, we would consider submitting a pilot project for the rehabilitation of one particular refugee camp in the territories and one in an Arab country. Sharing problems and experience that could turn such a project into an instrument of regional cooperation.

A Regional Research Center

All the nations of the Middle East share common problems of refugees and mass dislocation. To better understand and share our respective experience in this field and in order to work out better solutions to the problems, we propose that a Regional Research Center be established to conduct applied investigation into the human and material problems of refugees. Such an institute could act as a regional think tank that would serve the peace process in the field of refugee rehabilitation. It may even be instrumental in facilitating a policy consensus on a regional basis. The Center should employ experts from Israel, Arab countries, Palestinians and experts from outside the region.

Israel is ready to join an initiative of developing human resources through vocational training, and submit its own proposals. The experience in this field - about 85,000 young men and women have so far acquired new professions in the territories - should be expanded; the lessons of its achievements and shortcomings can be shared in the context of regional cooperation. A program in this particular field should start, we believe, with the survey of the pressing needs in terms of skills, vocation and the needs of the different economies of the region. The project could be elaborated and led by a steering committee of experts that would also coordinate its implementation with the countries hosting the refugees camps, monitor its developments and evaluate its results.

A Time for Peace

Israel is not a homogenous society; it is one of the richest ethnic mosaics possible, adding to that the fact that 20 percent of our population consists of an Arab minority enjoying full citizenship. These are the same Palestinian Arabs who remained on their land during the exodus of 1948 that condemned their brethren to a hopeless life of destitution and despair in refugee camps throughout the region. Our society is fully aware of the vital necessity to reach a historic compromise with the Palestinian people while recognizing its legitimate rights for a life of freedom and dignity. The tragedy of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict stems from discrepant historical rhythms. The history of our modern national movement has been characterized by realistic responses to objective historical circumstances; the Palestinians have consistently fought for the solutions of yesterday, those they had rejected a generation or two earlier. This persistent attempt to turn back the clock of history lies at the root of many of the misfortunes that have befallen the peoples of the region. Now it is time for all of us to overcome dire memories and look forward. Neither the physical nor the rhetorical war of images will bring us any closer to peace and reconciliation. No one has a monopoly on the mythology of suffering and atrocities. In this tragic dispute, we have all committed acts of violence that we ought not to be proud of. To the Palestinians we say: we are excited to be sitting with you for the first time in the troubled history of our relations in order to shape our dreams of peace. Let us then join hands in asking the world which has been watching, perplexed at, and sometimes even fueling our wars to mobilize its resources for the benefit of our peoples.

We are all entangled in a seemingly insoluble conundrum. We know that unless your and our wounds are healed, peace - not only the political peace but also that of the mind and the conscience - would not be complete. Yet, at the same time we realize that the total satisfaction of our respective dreams or presumed rights will lead us to perdition. Hence, it is incumbent upon us to devise realistic ways that would heal without opening new wounds, that would dignify our existence as free peoples without putting into jeopardy the collective existence of each other. I believe that at the end of the road we shall find such an ideal compromise, while banishing the sword from this Land of God.



**PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, LETTER TO THE ISRAELI DELEGATION ON THE
PROGRESS OF THE PEACE TALKS, WASHINGTON, DC, 19 NOVEMBER 1992**

As this seventh round of our negotiations is coming to a close, we deem it necessary to share with you our assessment of what has been achieved.

We would first of all like to recall that it was our flexibility and openness which made the start of this process possible. We have accepted conditions which we continue to consider as both unjust and counterproductive, particularly in the field of representation. We have done so out of our commitment to progress, and as a sign of our willingness to reach the just and durable peace which both our peoples need and deserve.

We would also like to remind you that we had to spend the better part of a year facing the deliberate stalling of your previous government, to which former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir candidly confessed on the morrow of his electoral defeat, and for which both our peoples have had to pay the price.

We greeted the change in the Israeli government, expecting a substantial change in policy, as implied in the many official declarations concerning the change in your national priorities, the new emphasis put on security rather than on territorial claims, and the will to speed up the peace process, in particular with us.

We resumed our negotiations after the Israeli elections with the hope that this new spirit would be reflected in the negotiations. And we spared no effort, in spite of many difficulties and obstacles, to engage in substantial and fruitful talks, out of a sincere desire to move forward in the direction of peace.

There is no doubt that our discussions have been more constructive, but unfortunately, this session ends without our being able to point to the nucleus of an agreement.

Through your answers to our many questions, the implicit shape of your "model" of ISGA has started to emerge. We have studied it with all the required attention, earnestly seeking points of consensus upon which we could build, but this effort has not been crowned with any tangible success.

The model which you projected is complicated, to such an extent that you, yourselves, find it difficult to expose. Besides being unfair, and in total contradiction with the terms of reference of this peace process, it is also highly impractical, and in fact totally unworkable. If it were to see the light of day, it would create more problems than it would solve, it would make the implementation of UN Resolution 242 impossible in the permanent stage, and would not constitute a sound basis for bridging our respective positions and concerns.

As we see it, your proposal is basically aimed at: a) providing the Israeli settlers in the OPT with maximum "autonomy," and devising ways to ensure that they are in no way affected by Palestinian authority; b) maintaining maximum control over our people, even in the fields supposed to be transferred to its jurisdiction; c) paving the way to annexation of a large part of our territory in the final phase, by devising a complex, multiple land administration and legal system, thus prejudging its final status. It is not the least paradox that this attempt is unfolding under the banner of your concern to "keep all options open," and cloaked with the recurrent accusation that we want to prejudge the future.

Thus, the proclaimed dissolution of the civilian administration emanating from your military government is annulled by your proposal to reconstitute it under another guise. Your model provides for no genuine transfer of authority (except maybe to the settlers), but rather envisages a limited transfer of powers in some sphere (social welfare may be the sole field where you envisage unfettered transfer of authority). You must be aware that this effectively contravenes the very terms of reference of this process.

In your desire to insulate the settlers and institutionalize their immunity from Palestinian authority, you propose the creation of a dual judicial system, akin to legal apartheid.

You have so far abstained from any mention of withdrawal and redeployment of military forces, even partial. You have based your approach to the land issue on the notion of land use, denying Palestinian ownership over whole categories of land and laying the claim to shared control over a large portion of the territory. You have quietly let us understand that in your view, settlement activities might very well continue, and even expand during the interim period.

Last but not least, you have totally excluded East Jerusalem from your arrangements, on the basis of your unilateral and illegal annexation of our capital, which you know well is unacceptable, not only to us, but to the international community as a whole.

The end result of your concept is that such a “self-government,” even though it may exercise some jurisdiction over some parts of the land, is devoid of any real territoriality. Its authority would be vulnerable, weak, unable to pass the test of time, and ultimately devoid of legitimacy. It would therefore be unstable, and wholly non-functional. In such a situation, the sources of friction and conflict would remain, and the cycle of violence, as well as the violations of human rights would continue. This could therefore neither constitute a valid experience in coexistence, nor a step towards a real solution, and it would not lead to peace.

We understand that this position of yours does not constitute an outright rejection of any compromise. We also would like to understand that this is not your final offer. But there is no sense in concealing from you that we expect much more.

It is our firm conviction that we can make decisive and rapid progress if we agree on the principle of the transfer of all the authority hitherto exercised by the military government and its civilian administration. We want to reassure you, however, that we remain committed to the logic and imperatives of the interim period, and that we are ready to discuss with you our mutual security needs. We are sensitive to your legitimate security concerns, and quite willing to negotiate this crucial issue in a positive spirit, and we are not raising our legitimate claim to statehood at this stage, but only demand that nothing be done to foreclose this option in the permanent solution.

But we want to make it very clear to you, so as not to mislead you or ourselves, that we are engaged in these negotiations in the name of the Palestinian people, with a mandate from our leadership. We are eager to display maximum flexibility on all the issues, but we must state without any ambiguity that we shall not accept the dissolution and fragmentation of the territorial integrity of our land. We shall not accept the continued annexation of East Jerusalem, and we shall not accept to grant legitimacy to the settlements, or create a legal duality on a discriminatory basis on our soil. In short, we cannot accept, on our territory, any authority besides that of the PISGA. While accepting to consider the limitations that may be imposed on PISGA’s authority by your legitimate security concerns, we think you should understand that our own security needs are no less vital, as our people is attempting to reconstruct its own independent life after generations of occupation and repression.

We are quite aware of the complexity of the situation on the ground. What is needed however, is the courage to transform it, and not to perpetuate it.

We urge you once again to revise your position, so that we can engage in serious, practical negotiations on the transfer of authority in the OPT to the Interim Palestinian Self-Government. This is our first serious common task towards building real peace for our two peoples.



**ARAB DELEGATION REPRESENTATIVES TO THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS,
NEWS CONFERENCE, 20 NOVEMBER 1992 [EXCERPTS]**

MARWAN MUASHER (Jordanian delegation): Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. This is our second joint conference for the Arab heads of the delegation. I think we will follow the format we had last time. Each head of the delegation will give a brief statement of three to five minutes, followed by questions. We will start with Dr. Haider Abdul Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation.

DR. HAIDER ABDEL SHAFI (Palestinian delegation): Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. When we met about 20 days ago at the end of the first half of this round, I remember I told you that my impression about the Israeli position with regard to the interim self-government arrangements is that they are trying to legitimize what has been illegitimately established.

As you all know, during these 25 years, Israel, in violation of Resolution 242 and the principles of international law and United Nations resolutions in general, established settlements in the occupied territories. And now, during this peace process, really Israel, in spite of the fact that Resolution 242 is the terms of reference of this process, is really trying to legitimize what has been established. And this reflected itself negatively and entailing a great deal of complication in the model that Israel has presented on the negotiating table.

Our model was to try to reverse or undo what, for instance, has been the legal reality that has been established in order to make the reality that has been established for the service of Israel political program of annexing the occupied territories to Israel to relax these things, to be reconcilable with the requirements of peace.

And so this was the source of the impasse that we were in so far. And if Israel maintains this position, certainly we are going to stay in deadlock, and that means that the peace process is going to break. So we have been, as I said last time, Israel is in the occupied territories and whatever it has been doing there, it is by virtue of its military power and in violation of the international law and United Nations resolutions.

What is required now is for the sponsor, I believe, to do what it's supposed to do, and as I indicated last time, that I think some pressure should be exercised on Israel to adhere to the terms of reference, Resolution 242. And in my opinion, that's the only way that there is a chance for progress of the peace process. Thank you very much.

MOWAFFAK ALLAF (Syrian delegation): Well, ladies and gentlemen, I think I can add to what Dr. Abdel Shafi has said, that as this yet one more round ends without any meaningful progress, mentionable progress towards the objective of peace, this disappointing result raises, I think, a number of questions and a lot of concern.

Why, after 13 months of the Madrid conference, there is no progress? Did things differ really in any meaningful manner between what used to be the policy of the previous Israeli government, Mr. Shamir's government, and the present government, which was elected on the promise to reverse the policy of Mr. Shamir? And instead of delaying peace, maneuvering in order not to reach the objective of peace, this new government promised to do its utmost to speed the peace process. And in the light of the disappointing results, one also should ask, what are really the main obstacles and why there is no progress?

It's very clear now that all the promising expectations when the new Israeli came to power are beginning to fade away. If we can borrow an expression in use these days, the honeymoon of the new Israeli government is long over, and that new government has to prove the promises it's presented, to prove that this government has really come in order to move the peace process forward.

As far as we are concerned, we haven't seen any evidence of that on the Syrian-Israeli track, and after two lengthy sessions of about two months, we did not find big difference between the arguments and

the positions of the previous Israeli government and the present one. The main obstacles are and remain first, the refusal by Israel to commit itself to end its occupation of Arab territories in spite of the fact that the Arab parties have committed themselves firmly and strongly to establish that desirable peace with Israel if Israel withdrew completely from the territories it has occupied in 1967.

Secondly, at the same time when Israel refuses to undertake that basic commitment, which is required from Israel, as Dr. Abdel Shafi said, by the charter of the United Nations, by international law, but what is more important, by the basis on which this peace process was established, resolution 242 of the Security Council. Israel, while refusing to commit itself to this, it attempts instead to impose, or pre-impose on the Arab parties all sort of preconditions and demands, which are all fruits, or attributes, consequences of peace before Israel undertakes on its part to remove the reasons why that peace, or those fruit of peace, consequences of peace, are not possible.

So I think, in spite of these fact that at every round there are also some external events, or circumstances, some created by Israel itself before every round, like what we have seen during this second part of the seventh round, like what we have seen previously during previous round, rounds, and even when we first went to Madrid. Suddenly, we see that Israel provokes tension in the region, and comes here to talk peace while it is undermining peace in the region. Like, if to say to the people's of the region - do not listen to what your delegates are trying to do here, because I am there with the might I possess, and this is the only language that I want to use. And at the same time it uses those detention provoked by this provocation in order to justify the lack of progress during the peace process. Other circumstances which are not fortunately of this nature, like elections here, or elections there, are also used by Israel in order not to proceed forward, and what is more really ironic, that same tactic is then attributed to the other side, to the Arabs.

We, the Syrians, in spite of all what we have presented during the previous round and this round, which still unanswered by Israel, in spite of that very strong challenge for the establishment of peace that we have presented, we are still accused by Israel that we are delaying progress because we are waiting for certain arrival of another administration. And I do not think there is any reason for Syria, or for any other Arab party to wait, because we are the parties whose territory is under occupation. So waiting is not in our interests, and we do not have reasons to differentiate between various American administrations, because we do not believe that peace is a matter of interest to parties, or to residents on a personal basis or grounds.

Any president of the United States of America will follow a policy which is in the interest of this great country. Peace is in the interest of the United States of America as much as it is in the interest of the parties directly concerned, and in the interests of Israel itself. Thank you very much.

ABDEL SALAM MAJALI (Jordanian delegation): Ladies and gentlemen, in fact I haven't got very much to report to you of what we, when I reported to you in our last meeting in this hall, that we have reached an agenda in principle which means ad referendum, with the Israeli party, but still there are certain changes in the language of certain items which we feel, unless they are absolutely clarified properly, so they will not be misread for our disadvantage. So I just thought to make it very clear, that what we have done is not a peace treaty like some of the people in the media have said. It is just agenda, but in the same time this agenda has got principles and these are quite important principles in the agenda.

In the second half of this round, we have given the Israeli party our language text, and still we are awaiting their response which we hope it will be, but at the same time that we do not want to waste time before this comes about. We continued in our efforts between the technical people to discuss the various aspects of the subjects, to the extent of some depth, so it might help once we get the agenda out from our way, that we can negotiate more in depth. So this is what I just thought to let you this morning know, and I would be very happy to answer any questions related to the Jordan track, taking in mind that as you all know and I may have not to remind you, that the Palestinian problem is the core of the whole issue, and unless there is a progress, proper progress in that direction, I doubt very much whether any of us would be able to continue in a good faith for the end of the negotiations in this long path, path of negotiation. And thank you very much.

SOUHEIL CHAMMAS (Lebanese delegation): I shall refrain from making any introductory remarks for the following reasons. One, I think the introductory remarks of my colleagues have laid down what I call an appropriate framework which would apply surely on the Lebanese track. And I share all of their views, which they were kind enough to convey as introductory remarks.

Two, I've had ample occasion all through this year to address the situation prevailing in Lebanon on the ground and the ongoing peace process. In particular, I've had ample occasion to address, perhaps in detail, the developments in the negotiations on our track. And that was during the joint press conference which the head of the delegations held.

Third, we do make statements at the end of each meeting we hold with our Israeli counterparts. I think they are usually - they're always extremely generous with the press and they have quite an audience. We, on our part, try to appraise the press with whatever we thought they should be appraised of and I prefer to leave the time for the questions and answers. Thank you.

MUASHER: Okay. We will open the floor for questions now. Please direct the question to the head of the delegation that you want.

QUESTION: I have a question for the four gentlemen, maybe for Mr. Chammas and Mr. Abdel Shafi and Majali because (inaudible). Mr. Chammas, you go back now to Lebanon and you want to (inaudible) you have made. (Inaudible.) What will you say? What happened last year?

CHAMMAS: Well, let me just make a general remark to that effect. We have a central difference with the Israelis. They do, by a very flexible stretch of the imagination, qualify their occupation of the Lebanon as a presence necessitated purely for security reasons. In our thorough discussions with them, we have proven to them that regardless of their attempts, the fact of the matter is that there is an Israeli occupation of Lebanese territory, and it would be our right to address and oppose that occupation with whatever means at our disposal. And we think that it's our right to do that. This does not at all undermine the fact that our indicated preference is to resort to political and diplomatic means, and we have an indicated preference for them. Hence, our presence in the peace process and our total, indivisible commitment to it. Unless there is movement in the right direction, the initiative towards which must be taken by the Israelis, the situation on the ground will remain explosive and fraught with danger. So the best message that I can take from the Israelis to my people is for them to move forward in our talks and our negotiations, which will help us bring about peace and tranquillity all along our international borders.

ABDEL SHAFI: Well, with respect to the Palestinian- Israeli conflict, we came to the peace process because first of all, we thought it's very important to take the opportunity to put our position across to the world where a great deal of distortion and falsification has been committed with respect to the problem. And so we made use of this opportunity, but at the same time, of course, we have proven that we are sincere and serious about making peace in the area. At the same time, we did not participate in the peace process at the expense of any other effort or way that can help the Palestinians regain their usurped rights. So we say to the opposition, we did not promise anybody that we are with assurance are going to get peace through this way, but this is one of the avenues and the important avenues of trying to reach a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

We also say, and this is becoming very clear in the wake of what Israel is doing in the matters of continuing to violate the principles of human rights in the territories and reduce the credibility of this peace process, we don't see ourselves engaged in an open-ended negotiating process and certainly there is going to be a limit, and here, where we call on the sponsors, and on the world in general, on world democracies who proclaim the values of justice, and human rights, that they should assume their role vis-à-vis Israel which stands in absolute violation of all these principles. But certainly if we don't get anywhere, and especially after the inauguration of the present American administration, then really we have to evaluate the matter and see whether it is any more profitable to continue with this peace process. Thank you.

MAJALI: Well, my answer about - she asked me what am I going to say to the opposition in our part of the world. I will say this: that everybody has to understand in peace negotiation there is no victorious and the loser. Everybody has to gain and they should know this. And the second to (inaudible) them, that the principles of our claims should be protected and protected very well, without any doubt on that. And the third one - as you know the principles in Jordan, that we have an occupied land, to take it back, our water rights, and the refugee problem to be solved in the proper international, with international law, and the transfer, because you'll remember now and again even in the times of Shamir there was always the threat of transferring the Palestinian people to push them out of their country to Jordan, claiming that Jordan is Palestine. So this, this sort of thing, this is what I will tell them, and I will tell them clearly so far what we are doing.

QUESTION: I want to address my question to Dr. Haider Abdel Shafi. Could you please describe for us the contents of your discussions at the informal talks that your delegation has had over the past - over this round. What have you discussed in those informal talks?

ABDEL SHAFI: Yes, we really resorted to these informals in order to probe the depths of the Israeli position as it is presented on the table and we thought in the light of not getting anywhere, that we should do this, in fairness to Israel and in fairness to the peace process. And as I said, and I said 20 days ago, that we think Israel is trying to legitimize what is illegitimate. This - our feeling has been confirmed, because as we probed into the Israeli position, and on concept, on territory question, on other fields pertaining to the interim self-government arrangements, we exposed the impracticalities of the Israeli position because it insists to give legitimacy to the established fact. And so it became clear that Israel wants to equate the settlement, the settlers' presence with the Arab presence in the occupied territories, and that means, in practicality, that there is going to be two entities in the occupied territories. The settlers entity, and I don't know what they are going to call it, an autonomy for the settlers, as well as an autonomy for the Palestinians. And presumably as we (inaudible) from our questions, there's going to be two legal systems, one for settlers, one for the occupied - for the Arabs, and so forth and so on. And really, this Israeli attempt to legitimize or to illegitimate (sic) have reflected itself in these impracticalities that really makes a joke of what they are proposing for the interim period.

But aside from all this, really, I go back to the basics and that, as resolution 242 states, it is inadmissible to acquire territory by force, and it talks about withdrawal as a necessity for establishing a just and fair peace in the area. So Israel really is ignoring and evading the terms of reference, and supposedly it has terms of reference of its own. And so this is the situation and we didn't come to this affirmation except really after we have held these informals during all this second interval and we came to the conclusion that this is so, and we tell this to you, we tell this to the sponsors, and to face this Israeli intransigent, Israeli position. Thank you.

QUESTION: To what extent is progress in one track affecting progress or lack of it in another track? In other words, what is the coordination between all you delegation members (inaudible) affecting the overall development of progress of the talks?

ALLAF: Well, if I can, on behalf of my colleagues, answer this question. We came here all in order to achieve progress. We have bilateral tracks and we have sometimes different circumstances in different tracks. But the whole Arab- Israeli conflict is one conflict. The roots are the same. The remedy is the same. The peace process is based on Resolution 242, which is applicable to the Palestinian, Syrian, Jordanian track, and Resolution 425, which is applicable to the Lebanese track. The whole peace process is based on the principle of land for peace, returning Arab land in exchange for peace. This principle is applicable to the four tracks.

So on the contrary, we believe that if there is progress on one track, and since the causes and the roots are the same, so that progress on one track should facilitate progress on other tracks. And at the end, what is required, it is a comprehensive peace, comprehensive settlement. And all the Arab parties are committed to that objective. The final outcome of the peace process, in order for peace to be real and

genuine, it has to be a comprehensive settlement on all fronts of the Arab-Israeli conflict, involving all parties to that conflict and all parties participating in this peace process.

MAJALI: If I may add just a few words about this, we have said it many, many times in the past, that peace cannot be in pieces. Israel tried peace with Egypt. It's not a complete peace. If we are talking of just lasting, comprehensive peace, it has to be for the whole region. It cannot be peace with Jordan alone, with Syria alone, with the Palestinians alone, with the Lebanese alone. This has been agreed upon and I think for many rounds before, we did have this struggle to convince the Israeli side of the word even "comprehensive", the word "comprehensive", though it is in the invitation itself. Luckily that we have reached this word, but now sometimes, now and again, there is a different interpretation of it. But this is from the Arab side, that it has to be a comprehensive peace for everybody. It cannot be in pieces.

QUESTION: Dr. Abdel Shafi, may I pursue with you a little bit what strikes me as maybe the most interesting development in this recent semi-round - the working groups. You call what Israel's doing a joke, an attempt to legitimize illegitimate acquisitions. Maybe I'm splitting a hair, but you say they're trying to acquire (inaudible). They speak of administering. In these, what I think are interesting discussions, in the working groups, has Israel asserted its sovereignty over any of the West Bank, or is it talking about a sharing of administration to freeze - you may not like freezing, you make like to reverse it - but to freeze the current situation? And just a technical quick question. Will everybody be back in December?

ABDEL SHAFI: Well, Israel, in matters of territory, which is very basic and very important, its initial position was that it did not want to recognize any territorial context towards an interim self-government and it refused to allow any jurisdiction of the interim self-government over territory.

But then they modified this as we probed this matter in the informal discussion. They considered that the interim self-government has territorial jurisdiction over the territories pertaining to the Arab villages and towns. At the same time, on the other hand, the settlers have the jurisdiction over the territory that is allocated to the existing settlements and their environs. And then they said that the remaining territory, in between, and which they have seized during these 25 years, they said that this is negotiable. Now, this, on the surface, it looks like that they became a little more flexible, a little more forthcoming, but really we think that there is no reason for Israel to claim any authority over land because it is in contradiction with the terms of reference. And certainly when you talk about the territory, which is a sizable territory, that is negotiable. Well, our feeling that this is going to end up Israeli territory, because - and also, they have no reason to claim that the territory where the settlements are established should be the jurisdiction of the settlers or what-not. So this is the situation, and where we expressed our reserve against this.

Also, there is, of course, another matter which stands by itself, that they insist that Jerusalem and with its expanded municipality of frontiers is outside the negotiating process altogether, and this is, of course, a formidable obstacle and it's enough by itself to break the negotiating process. Thank you.

QUESTION: I'd like to ask a question of Mr. Allaf. Dr. Shafi suggested that Palestinians would re-evaluate this whole process after the coming to power of the new administration in Washington and after they see what the new administration brings. Does Syria have any timetable for reevaluating its participation in this process, and is there any question in your mind that your government will agree to return to the talks in December?

ALLAF: Well, beginning with the last part of your question, no, there is no doubt in my mind because all what we are awaiting to know whether all the parties are coming back in December. And although this is usually a decision taken by the ministers themselves, but my minister authorized me to say that if all the parties are there, especially the Israelis, we shall be there.

Now, as for the present administration and the coming administration, as I hinted previously in my introduction, I believe that the peace process, peace in the Middle East, the end of the Arab-Israeli conflict, is a matter of great importance to every country in the world, but more so, more specifically to the United States of America, since the United States of America is now the leader, a great power, a

permanent member of the Security Council, and the initiator, with former Russia, former Soviet Union, the initiator of this peace process.

This peace process is in the interest of America as much as it is in the interest of the Arab countries and Israel. And there is now a certain credibility in the Middle East, and it is not a secret that most of the Arab parties, they joined this peace process not because they have a lot of confidence in the Israeli intentions but because of what they have seen as seriousness and determination on behalf of the two co-sponsors and on behalf of the international community, to try to put a peaceful end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Therefore, and we can judge even from now, because of the, what we understand as consultation between the two administrations on the basis of which the invitation to the next round has been issued. I think it is - whoever would be president of the United States will find it, that it is in the interests of the United States, and in the interests of the world peace, to continue seriously this peace process. Therefore, we have no fears and no doubts whatsoever about this.

QUESTION: If I can just follow up, does Syria have any timetable in mind for realizing (...) process?

ALLAF: Yes, of course Arab patience cannot last forever. I think we have to be at the same time, I think realistic, because of various circumstances this peace process has lasted more than it should. First of all, there was the Israeli change of government, Israeli elections. Then the American elections. Now, we have to give ample time to the new administration, and to the present one because we are meeting in December, and hopefully we can achieve some progress. But we have to give some reasonable time to the new American administration to pursue the efforts of President Bush and Secretary Baker, and I think three or four months after the arrival of the new president to the White House, I think then the Arab parties, if they see that rounds are continuing with progress, then that is the timetable, I think then it will be time to reconsider the whole thing. But we cannot now, today, at this moment say we have lost patience. Thank you.

QUESTION: I'd like to follow up on that last question, Mr. Allaf. I'd like to ask the rest of you gentlemen whether you plan to be here on December 7th, and I'd like to ask Dr. Shafi (inaudible) whether - what he means by pressuring (inaudible) on Israel. Are you of the view that some special emissary from the United States, perhaps from Secretary Baker or anyone else, should plan some sort of trip to the Middle East, do anything special, or could you expand on that, please.

ABDEL SHAFI: Well, we spoke about this before in the last session, the question of pressure. I think there is terms of reference, everybody knows that Israel is in the occupied territories by virtue of its military power. We are in an asymmetry as far as power is concerned, Israel being the stronger partner in these negotiations, and so Israel is benefiting from this by taking this intransigent attitude. And really right from the beginning, that the role that the United States assumed for itself, and which it called a catalyst's role, is really under the circumstances, is not practical, it is ineffective, because what a catalyst role can do against a naked, a naked power. And when we speak about this there are precedents. Last time I mentioned the precedent of 1957 when Israel was in occupation of the Gaza Strip and it only - and it resisted United Nations resolution. It was only President Eisenhower who served an ultimatum threatening financial constraints in this thing and Israel withdrew over night. So there is a precedent over there. And there is of course a very recent precedent in the gulf where the United States resorted to a terrible war to see that legitimacy is respected.

So we are not asking for drastic things, but I think, you know, reasonable pressure, and there is plenty of leverage in the hands of the United States and the rest of the world democracies in Europe to exercise, so that Israel will conform to the, to the parameters of the peace process, to the requisites of peace.

QUESTION: Does everybody expect to return on December 7th (inaudible)?

MAJALI: Well, I think Mr. Allaf has said this decision is the government decision, and normally between meetings the ministers of foreign affairs meet, and they get the evaluation of the present round, and looking what would be in the coming rounds and they take a decision of accepting the invitation and accepting the date, so we are waiting for that.

CHAMMAS: I would like to answer formally on this particular question. A meeting for the foreign ministers was supposed to be held in Beirut. The decision for holding that meeting was taken in the coordinating meeting held in Amman between the respective foreign ministers concerned. I was in direct contact with Beirut this morning because I expected the question would be addressed. Contacts are being made. So that the response to the invitation to have an 8th round on the 7th is being dealt with. If the meeting could not be held because the calendars of the respective foreign ministers do not match, then such a decision will be agreed upon over the telephone. I'm sure you have heard Dr. Allaf tell you that he was authorized by his foreign minister to make the statement he made. One important thing is the decision on the part of the Arab delegations would be unanimous. It will be announced in due time.

QUESTION:(inaudible) elaborate on that, and (inaudible) as positive?

MAJALI: Well, in fact I said it straight-away yesterday when we finished the meeting and I said there is no real progress on the negotiation as such. There was a lot of discussion on various subjects between the experts and I think that was very useful. So this is the way I really describe it - it was very useful to exchange ideas and faults between the various experts in the various fields, but I cannot claim whatsoever that there is a progress, because progress will start properly once we finalize and the Israelis accept the clarification and the language of the agenda. Then we can go in more depth in the various subjects.

QUESTION: I'd like to ask a question of Dr. Abdel Shafi concerning the Israeli settlements. You claim that they have been removed from the sphere of negotiations. How did the Palestinians suggest, or the settlements, and the settlers be dealt with during the interim period?

ABDEL SHAFI: Well, let me say first of all that we have accepted the interim period simply because Israel has established this reality of settlements and settlers. Because we knew that we can deal with this reality in a light manner, we have to give all due respect to a human reality. But that in itself, and as it has been established illegally, should not be a serious predicament against reaching a just and fair peace. And I say that's why, that's the reason that we have accepted the principle of interim period.

Now I think it goes without saying that in the interim period the settlements and the settlers will be there, in their place. But certainly, the territories should be under the jurisdiction of the interim self-government, but the administration of the settlers themselves, I think it is a matter - I mean really, in seriousness, and justice, it should be also, the administration should be the jurisdiction of the interim self-government. But I know that there are sensitivities here and maybe this needs to be negotiated with the Israelis, that the administration of the settlers. We know their sensitivities, their fears. However, we are prepared to find a way that we can cooperate with the Israeli authorities about this, and I want to say here that we are committed to responsive to the legitimate security concerns of Israel and the settlers.

So the settlements and settlers will be there during the interim period, but certainly we expect in the final status, that we reach, settlers will be given the choice, if they want to remain - I mean, I presume it's from our point of view, we think we - the final phase should be an independent Palestinian state. And if this is so, the settlers are given a choice whether they want to remain citizens in the Palestinian state, or if they choose to go into Israel.

Anyhow, I should end by saying that in the context of a sincere peace, with all seriousness, there will be no problems whatever. We are - we continue to be dedicated and committed to the peace process with all earnestness and truth, and we hope that Israel will reciprocate with us in this manner. Thank you.

QUESTION: I'd like to ask the heads of delegations what they think the prospects of a new round in December will mean (inaudible). Do you think the prospects would encourage or restrain (inaudible) Israelis in terms of (inaudible)?

CHAMMAS: I think I would be on that question the person to answer it. To start with, it does not reflect the realities, if the Israelis were to reduce the prevailing situation as being a conflict between Israel and Hezbollah. It has itself perhaps a national interest to reduce it to that dimension. The reality

that Israel continues to deny, that under international law, under the rules of international law, customary law, and the provisions of the charter of the United Nations, the prevailing situation in Lebanon is surely a state of occupation. Israel is an occupying power. Until now, we have been unable to invite our Israeli counterparts in long discussions to use the term withdrawal from Lebanon. We know why, because if they say okay, we'll discuss with you withdrawal, that would imply that they are recognizing the fact that they are an occupying power with the obligations emanating therefrom.

We understand their position. On the 22nd of October, when we were discussing with our counterparts, the head of the Israeli delegation told me, when we speak of security and we want to assure our security, of course we would not be thinking of redeploying to Sidon, but surely to south of the international borders. We thought that this could offer a breakthrough. And as we discussed their proposal to us, we asked them to define the political parameter. They refused under the heading of security - security; security. They refused to define the political parameter and used themselves on their own turf the terms they like. So how would you want the situation on the ground to change when you have this ongoing conflict which is in the end a result of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon, and not a cause of it. The problem is when will Israel's security concerns be met? Have they realized that the security zone brought no security no peace, no tranquillity? Is it through its expansion further north, as Mr. Rafael Itan proposes, or as Mr. Sharon suggests, up to the Auwali River, and a new conflict which will really bring nothing but destruction, fire, not only to Lebanon, to the whole area. We believe that Prime Minister Rabin, who is said to be a man concerned about security, has a chance to give impetus to this peace process with any positive position on any track affecting the positions on the other, I think the Lebanese track offers that option because the Israelis told us that there is no territorial dimension to our conflict.

QUESTION: (inaudible)

ABDEL SHAFI: Well, we have just informed the Americans where the negotiating process stands, what are the difficulties, how we see it, what is required of the sponsor. We have expressed ourselves candidly on all these matters. The sponsors continue to say that they stand by the peace process by what is stipulated as terms of reference and they call on everybody to subscribe and to adhere to all that.

So far, as in the past, does not seem that they are ready to take, as I suggested, a role other than the catalyst role, which is ineffective, in my opinion. Well, I can understand in this interval where there is, you know, this transition period between the two administrations, maybe it's not feasible that they can play a more active role. However, we remain expectant that in the near future, that the sponsor can't stand by seeing this peace process deteriorate into nothingness.

QUESTION: Mr. Allaf alluded to what sounded like a deadline earlier. He said after the new administration is in place, if things aren't moving in a positive direction, he said, in about three or four months, are you indicating that you'd break off the talks at that point? And why do you think that after 13 or 14 or 15 months of talking, that you can settle issues that have been fomenting for centuries?

ALLAF: Well first of all, I did not put any deadlines. It is not my authority to put deadlines. I was responding to a question about whether we have any timetable and when we think it is reasonable to consider or reconsider how the peace process is doing. And I said that it is not realistic to think now, in between two administrations, about this, since we were that patient for now 13 months. And we are still committed very firmly to this peace process, as long as there is hope of achieving results.

At the same time, I said that our hope is not forever a reason to let us go and come to successive rounds with no results. And if we see, after what I consider personally as a reasonable time after the new administration is in place, three, four months of that, if we see that the situation is exactly the same, then it is time for our authorities to reconsider what to do in front of this, at that time, what would appear as a determined Israeli policy to use the peace process in order to legitimize occupation, to continue settlements and settling activities, and to use peace in order to prolong its illegal occupation of Arab territory. Thank you.



AMBASSADOR GAAFAR M. ALLAGANY, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF SAUDI ARABIA TO THE UN, STATEMENT TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONCERNING 'THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE', 47TH SESSION, NEW YORK, 1 DECEMBER 1992

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Mr. President:

The Palestinian issue still occupies the interest of the international community because of its repercussions on international peace and security. From the early years when the United Nations was founded, the Palestinian issue has been on the agenda of the General Assembly. In its 29th session, the assembly passed its Historic Resolution 3236, in which it affirmed the right of the Palestinian people for self-determination, and their right for independence and sovereignty in their homeland, Palestine.

The General Assembly established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in Resolution 3376 of November 10, 1975, to conduct studies and submit recommendations whose aim is to enable the Palestinian people to practice their legitimate rights. The committee submitted its report to the current session welcoming again the Middle East peace conference, which was opened in Madrid on October 30, 1991, and which was co-sponsored by the United States of America and the former Soviet Union, as a significant step towards establishing a complete and just peace in the region.

Mr. President:

The concept of nationalism is based on two fundamental principles: the first is that national rights evolve from a nation which is aware of its independent identity, and the second is that self-determination is a fundamental right for achieving national rights. And without self-determination, which is practiced without foreign pressure or repressive practices, no nation will have any political choices. Consequently, national rights, including the rights of independence, sovereignty, and return, are the result of the actual and authentic practice of self-determination.

One of the aims of founding the United Nations was to establish friendly relations founded on the principle of equitable rights and the right of self-determination for people all over the world. I would like here to refer to General Assembly Resolution 2672, which affirmed the right of the Palestinian people to enjoy equitable rights and self-determination in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and according to which it was declared that complete respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people is an intrinsic element in achieving a permanent and just peace in the Middle East.

Mr. President:

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People expressed in its report before us its deep concern over the increased deterioration in the occupied Palestinian territories and Israel's continuing harsh repressive practices in violation of international law and United Nations resolutions. The committee condemned in particular Israel's continuing use of armed force in suppressing the intifada which is in its fifth year. The committee affirmed in its report that Israel's continuing occupation of the Palestinian land and depriving the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including their right of self-determination without foreign intervention, is the main obstacle in the face of achieving a permanent and just peace.

Israel's violations of international law, and in particular its obligations according to the Fourth Geneva Convention concerned with the protection of civilians during armed conflicts, make it a priority for the international community to take specific measures to guarantee Israel's respect and application of this convention in all circumstances in accordance with its obligations under Article One of that convention. The second article of the convention specifies that military necessity does not give an occupying army the right to deprive the people under occupation of basic protection. The report says that the number of Palestinians who were killed during the fourth year of the intifada (1991) was 117. Children represent 37.6 per cent of that number, bearing in mind that 50 per cent of the dead were assassinated by secret units which consist of persons from the Israeli Army, the border forces, and the Shin Beth Police, who disguise themselves in Arab garb and shoot Palestinian youth indiscriminately and without warning.

Israel continues to violate the Fourth Geneva Convention by appropriating land and building settlements in the occupied territories. The report of the committee on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people says that the Israeli authorities appropriated, by military decrees, 60 percent of the West Bank and Gaza between 1967 and 1992; 230,000 Israelis were settled in 212 settlements all over the occupied territories, including the holy city of Jerusalem. Israel continues in its projects to alter the demographic status of the old section of Jerusalem and the areas surrounding it in order to alter the Arab and Islamic identity of Jerusalem. The Israeli authorities are executing regional plans to exploit the natural resources in the Palestinian land by appropriating water resources and controlling them and by restricting the use of water by the Palestinian people for use in irrigation and other necessities.

The Israeli Housing Ministry has lately allocated huge amounts of money to execute projects that connect the Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza with Israeli areas in an attempt to eliminate the borders between Israel and the occupied Arab territories. It continues to destroy the West Bank by harming the fabric of Palestinian society, which worsens the dilemma facing the Palestinians and deprives them of the right to work and movement and exposes them to collective punishment like school and university closures for long periods of time, the disruption of health care, and arbitrary mass arrest. And according to reports by international human rights organizations to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the Israeli authorities killed at least 1,062 Palestinians from December 1987 to June 1992, most by bullets. As collective punishment, the cities and villages in the occupied Palestinian territories were subjected to 11,500 days of curfew, and more than 145,000 trees were destroyed.

Mr. President:

The report of the committee (A/AC.183/1992/CRP.2/REV.1 of October 27, 1992) says: "The committee reiterates its most urgent appeal to the Security Council, to the high contracting parties to the Geneva Convention and to all concerned to take all necessary measures to insure the safety and international protection of the Palestinians in the occupied territories pending the withdrawal of Israeli forces and the achievement of a just settlement." The committee also calls upon the international community to "take all possible measures to halt the rapid deterioration in the living conditions of the Palestinian people and to develop socio-economic structures that will lead to genuine development of the occupied Palestinian territory in preparation for independent nationhood."

In this regard, I would like to say that the Arab countries have affirmed their sincere wish for establishing a permanent and just peace in the Middle East. They also proved their positive positions within the framework of participating in the peace negotiations, co-sponsored by the United States of America and the Russian Federation, and according to Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the other related resolutions.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has given its full support to the peace process in the Middle East. It believes that no real peace in the Middle East could be established unless there is a just and permanent solution to the Palestinian question, and unless there is a complete Israeli withdrawal from Arab occupied lands, foremost among which is the holy city of Jerusalem, which is an integral part of the occupied Arab territories.

The question of the holy city of Jerusalem is a constant to which the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia gives full importance according to the resolutions by the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference concerned with this issue. Therefore, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia believes that the success of the current peace process in the Middle East depends on Israel's clear and serious adherence to the implementation of legitimate international resolutions and to the complete withdrawal from occupied Arab land, including the holy city of Jerusalem. Then there is hope for security, peace, and prosperity in the region.



**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RESOLUTION 47/63,
NEW YORK, 11 DECEMBER 1992 [EXCERPTS]**

A

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East",

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 25 November 1992,

Recalling Security Council resolution 497 (1981) of 17 December 1981,

Recalling its relevant resolutions, the last of which is 45/83 B of 13 December 1990,

Recalling also its resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, in the annex to which it defined an act of aggression, *inter alia*, as "the invasion or attack by the armed forces of a State of the territory of another State, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another State or part thereof" and provided that "no consideration of whatever nature, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, may serve as a justification for aggression",

Reaffirming the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force,

Reaffirming once more the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to the occupied Syrian Golan and the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and the other occupied Arab territories,

Noting that Israel has refused, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations, to accept and carry out the numerous relevant resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolution 497 (1981),

Deeply concerned that Israel has not withdrawn from the Syrian Golan, which has been under occupation since 1967, contrary to the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions,

Taking note with satisfaction of the convening at Madrid of the Peace Conference on the Middle East on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 and 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973, but regretting that the desired substantial results have not been achieved,

1. *Declares* that Israel has failed so far to comply with Security Council resolution 497 (1981) and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;
2. *Declares once more* that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan is illegal and therefore null and void and has no validity whatsoever;
3. *Declares* that the Knesset decision of 11 November 1991 annexing the occupied Syrian Golan constitutes a grave violation of Security Council resolution 497 (1981) and therefore is null and void and has no validity whatsoever;
4. *Declares* all Israeli policies and practices of, or aimed at, annexation of the occupied Arab territories and the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and the occupied Syrian Golan to be illegal and in violation of international law and of the relevant United Nations resolutions;
5. *Determines once more* that all actions taken by Israel to give effect to its decisions relating to the occupied Syrian Golan are illegal and invalid and shall not be recognized;
6. *Reaffirms* its determination that all relevant provisions of the Regulations annexed to the Hague Convention IV of 1907, and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, continue to apply to the Syrian territory occupied by Israel since 1967, and calls upon the parties thereto to respect and ensure respect for their obligations under these instruments in all circumstances;
7. *Determines once more* that the continued occupation of the Syrian Golan since 1967 and its de facto annexation by Israel on 14 December 1981, following Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on that territory, constitute a continuing threat to peace and security in the region;
8. *Firmly emphasizes once more* its demand that Israel, the occupying Power, rescind forthwith its illegal decision of 14 December 1981 to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Syrian Golan, and its decision of 11 November 1991, which resulted in the effective annexation of that territory;

9. *Demands once more* that Israel withdraw from the occupied Syrian Golan in implementation of the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions;
10. *Calls upon* the international community to urge Israel to withdraw from the occupied Syrian Golan and other occupied Arab territories for the establishment of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region;
11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session on the implementation of the present resolution.

B

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 36/120 E of 10 December 1981, 37/123 C of 16 December 1982, 38/180 C of 19 December 1983, 39/146 C of 14 December 1984, 40/168 C of 16 December 1985, 41/162 C of 4 December 1986, 42/209 D of 11 December 1987, 43/54 C of 6 December 1988, 44/40 C of 4 December 1989, 45/83 C of 13 December 1990 and 46/82 B of 16 December 1991, in which it determined that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which had altered or purported to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in particular the so-called "Basic Law" on Jerusalem and the proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, were null and void and must be rescinded forthwith,

Recalling Security Council resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980, in which the Council, *inter alia*, decided not to recognize the "Basic Law" and called upon those States that had established diplomatic missions at Jerusalem to withdraw such missions from the Holy City,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 25 November 1992,

1. *Determines* that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Holy City of Jerusalem is illegal and therefore null and void and has no validity whatsoever;
2. *Deploras* the transfer by some States of their diplomatic missions to Jerusalem in violation of Security Council resolution 478 (1980) and their refusal to comply with the provisions of that resolution;
3. *Calls once more* upon those States to abide by the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations;
4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session on the implementation of the present resolution.



**GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, REVISED SELF-GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS –
UPDATED IDEAS ADDRESSING PALESTINIAN CONCERNS, 14 DECEMBER 1992**

Today, Israel presented the Palestinians with a written, comprehensive compilation of its ideas concerning the Interim Self Government Arrangements (ISGA) currently under negotiation.

Since the start of bilateral negotiations one year ago, Israel has been reviewing, developing and modifying its ideas, in accordance with the positions and reactions expressed in the negotiating room. Most of the changes in the proposals are the result of concentrated Israeli efforts to take Palestinian considerations and sensitivities into account, in order to advance the negotiations.

These changes can be seen in the following overview of Israel's ISGA ideas as they stand today.

- A. *The Goal of the Negotiations:* Israel's position regarding the goal of the negotiations with the Palestinians is based upon the Madrid invitation which establishes a two-phased negotiating process, dealing first with interim arrangements and then with the permanent status. Israel stresses that it is obligated to the Madrid invitation which states that beginning the third year of interim arrangements, the permanent status negotiations will take place, on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338. Meanwhile, the concept of the permanent status should remain undefined, and the ISGA should leave all options open for the future permanent status negotiations. Israel views the interim arrangements and the permanent status as being part of the same process, interrelated through a time-frame interlock.

B. Concept of the ISGA: Overall, the Israeli concept will enable the Palestinians to administer their own affairs, through their own elected body, while Israel will administer the affairs of the Israelis and will have responsibility for residual powers such as security and foreign relations. Certain specific domains, which affect both populations or prejudice permanent status, will be subject to cooperation and coordination between Israel and the Palestinians.

The main features of the ISGA are as follows:

1. Jurisdiction - Israel suggests a "mixed-model" for Palestinian jurisdiction, which combines jurisdiction through executive-functional powers and responsibilities, together with jurisdiction in infrastructure aspects (such as land and water) within the territories under Israeli military administration.
2. Structure - The executive powers and responsibilities of the Palestinians will be discharged by a freely elected, administrative - functional body, whose size will be determined in accordance with its functions. The name of this body will be finalized once agreement is reached on the ISGA concept.
3. Legal System (The Judicial Branch of the ISGA) - The ISGA envisions an expansion of the authority of Palestinian courts, transferring to them all non-security related matters concerning the Palestinian population. In those areas not covered by Palestinian courts, there will be Israeli courts with jurisdiction over the Israelis, and Israeli military courts with jurisdiction over both Israelis and Palestinians solely in security matters.
4. Authorities, Powers and Responsibilities - The Palestinian ISGA body will have both general powers and specific functional domains, as follows:

General Powers:

- (a) Regulations and Bylaws - The power to promulgate regulations and bylaws, and an agreed consultation mechanism for special legislative needs.
- (b) Policy Planning and Decision Making - Policy planning within the functional domains and the infrastructure aspects, and decisions relating to the operation of these domains (such as budgets, services, allocations, supervision, etc.)

Functional Domains:

- (a) Legal Domain - Independent courts of law (see above) and the creation of an office for the Administration of Justice.
- (b) Administrative Domain - The establishment of an office for the Administration of Personnel Matters, to manage the functions of the various organs of the elected body and their administrative matters.
- (c) Economic Related Domains - Organs dealing with Finance, Budget and Taxation, Industry and Commerce, Agriculture, and Tourism, established in an agreed framework which would enable each side's economy to operate without harming the other.
- (d) Infrastructure Related Domains - The management of the infrastructural aspects of the ISGA, through Palestinian organs dealing with Environment, Local Transportation and Communication (road maintenance, licensing, etc.), and Municipal Affairs (zoning, water supply, bylaws, etc.).
- (e) Services Related Domains - Services provided to the Palestinian population, in the fields of Education and Culture, Health, Labor and Employment, Local Police, Religious Affairs, and Social Welfare.

C. Land: While permanent arrangements regarding the land will only be decided in the permanent status negotiations, the following principles will apply to the management of the land during the ISGA period:

- Land situated in, or allocated to localities populated by Palestinians will be administered by the Palestinian organs.
- Land situated in, or allocated to localities populated by Israelis, or under Israeli security uses will be administered by Israeli organs.
- Other lands will be administrated jointly by Israel and the Palestinians in accordance with agreed arrangements.

D. Modalities for Establishing the Palestinian Organ: As soon as agreement is reached on the basic concept of the ISGA, the modalities regarding the election of the Palestinian body may be negotiated. Israel envisions a body elected by the Palestinians of the territories from among the Palestinians of the territories, in free elections based upon the preservation of rights of free assembly, free expression, secret ballot, and appropriate measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Following the elections, the relevant authorities, powers and responsibilities will be transferred to the Palestinian body in accordance with the ISGA agreement. Israel will provide relevant information and public records, as appropriate, in the context of the negotiations and the functions of the ISGA body.

E. Peaceful Coexistence - Coordination and Cooperation: One of the main purposes of the ISGA is to provide a period of peaceful coexistence and lowered friction between the sides, in order to establish a strong basis for fruitful negotiations on the permanent status. To this end, areas of friction and conflict during the ISGA period should be minimized through an agreed mechanism for cooperation and coordination between Israel and the Palestinian body. This cooperation and coordination is not meant to derogate in any way from the authorities, powers and responsibilities transferred to the Palestinians. The participation and support of Jordan in the ISGA is an essential feature, due to the traditional and existing connections between Jordan and the Palestinians. In addition, mutually agreed-upon joint monitoring processes, liaison and dispute resolution mechanisms are also necessary elements in the implementation of the ISGA agreement. Israel proposes the establishment of a high liaison coordination committee, in order to fulfill this essential function. This liaison is by no means intended to hamper the operation of the Palestinian body or to act as a substitute for it.



ISRAELI CABINET, DECLARATION ON THE REMOVAL OF HAMAS ACTIVISTS AND INCLUSION OF THREE ORGANIZATIONS AS TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS, JERUSALEM, 16 DECEMBER 1992

[The cabinet decided several measures following the killing of an Israeli soldier, Sgt. Nissim Toladano, incl. the deportation to Lebanon of 415 suspected Hamas activists and the inclusion of three organizations as terrorist under the 1948 Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance.]

IDF commanders in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip on 16 December signed orders according to which it will be possible to remove from these areas, for a short period of time that would not extend beyond two years, members of terrorist organizations whose actions endanger the lives of people, or who incite to such actions. By the power of these orders, anyone against whom a temporary removal order has been issued can be immediately removed. It was also determined that committees of appeals will be established, headed by military judges, who by virtue of their duties will be able to discuss and decide the appeals submitted to them against the temporary removal orders. As opposed to the current legal situation, these committees will be empowered with full authority to cancel the temporary removal order or reduce the specified period without the necessity of its decisions receiving approval.

The committees will be able to discuss the appeals submitted to them within 60 days from the day the removal order is issued, without the presence of the removed [person], who will be entitled to be represented at the committee by an attorney or family member. The committees of appeals will be authorized to conduct the discussions behind closed doors, if they deem it appropriate on the grounds of regional security. These orders were legislated as emergency orders, in light of the severe events occurring in the areas, which endanger public safety, of Jews and Arabs alike, and which seriously harm the security of these areas.

At the same time, IDF commanders in these areas have issued temporary removal orders against hundreds of residents of these areas, members of the terrorist organizations the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, whom following thorough examination, decisive security reasoning determined that their removal is imperative.

This measure of temporary removal for a limited period of time on an individual basis is consistent with the instructions of international law and the Israeli law.

Declaration According to Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance, 1948

By force of its authority according to clause 8 of the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance of 1948, and in addition to the declaration announced in the file of publications of 1986, page 1,436, the cabinet declares that the following groups are terrorist organizations:

- Hamas [Harakat Mukuma Islamiya]
- Hizballah
- Islamic Jihad (also known by names or denominations such as Al-Jihad al-Islami, Al-Jihad al-Islami al-Palestini, Sariyat Al-Jihad al-Islami).

This declaration is binding upon the terrorist organizations detailed here, also in the event that they are called by any additional names, denominations or initials or translations to any other language, whether permanently or from time to time, and also upon its factions and extensions.



**UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 799 ON THE RETURN OF EXPELLEES,
NEW YORK, 18 DECEMBER 1992**

The Security Council,

Recalling the obligations of Member States under the United Nations Charter,

Reaffirming its resolutions 607 (1988), 636 (1989), 641 (1989) 681 (1990), 694 (1991) and 726 (1992),

Having learned with deep concern that Israel, the occupying Power, in contravention of its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, deported to Lebanon on 17 December 1992, hundreds of Palestinian civilians from the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

1. *Strongly* condemns the action taken by Israel, the occupying Power, to deport hundreds of Palestinian civilians, and expresses its firm opposition to any such deportation by Israel;
2. *Reaffirms* the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 to all the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and affirms that deportation of civilians constitutes a contravention of its obligations under the Convention;
3. *Reaffirms* also the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon;
4. *Demands* that Israel, the occupying Power, ensure the safe and immediate return to the occupied territories of all those deported;
5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to consider dispatching a representative to the area to follow up with the Israeli government with regard to this serious situation and to report to the Security Council;
6. *Decides* to keep the matter actively under review.



**ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN, STATEMENT ON THE EXPULSION OF
HAMAS ACTIVISTS, NETANYA, 20 DECEMBER 1992 [EXCERPTS]**

As prime minister I experienced many, perhaps too many wars. I also saw the painful price of wars. Also on the other side. I saw the ugly faces of the war: of violence, terrorism and all matters related to the attempt of attaining political goals through means of violence, terrorism and wars. I wish, I intend, to reach peace - but a peace that will provide security.

Our policy stands on two pillars. The direction towards peace with the understanding that peace must be achieved with those who are our enemies today. With friends, there is no need [to make] peace.

Peace must be made with those who are our enemies today, with the aim to cease hostility, violence, terrorism and wars - and build together a structure of peace, and for that reason [peace] must be made from a position of willingness to compromise - mutual compromise.

We are marching towards the direction of peace in two ways: one is the peace negotiations; however - in order to march towards peace we need a second way: the security-military, and other, activities against those who attempt to impair the security of the state and the security of its citizens, and certainly against those who, because of their radical-fanatic Muslim insanity, attempt to kill Israelis, Jews and non-Jews alike, kill Palestinians who oppose their way - and above all - through these activities kill the chance for peace.

Today, the radical-fundamentalist Islam constitutes a threat to moderate Arab regimes such as: Egypt, Jordan and other countries. Not only to us. The connection of the Palestinian radical-fundamentalist organizations - Hamas and the Islamic Jihad - with Iran, as well as its support and willingness to serve its goals, are of no benefit to the Palestinians in the territories or the Palestinians in general. They are part of the system: a megalomaniac system headed by Iran which leads and sends arms of terrorism against Islam from within; against Christians and Jews and certainly against the State of Israel. There are some in the Arab world who understand this and fight the radical Islam. I will not mention names of countries, you can learn about this later on the news.

The course of action implemented by Israel was against the Palestinian radical fundamentalist Islam, which performed almost all of the murders of Israelis, namely soldiers and civilians:

It was this organization which prepared the two car-bombs in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, the explosive placed next to Nir Mattityahu, the murder of the three soldiers, the soldier in the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, the kidnapping and the murder of Command Sergeant Major Toledano. And they did not wait to talk. Within two to six hours after the expiration of the first ultimatum they killed Toledano in cold blood, by strangulation and stabbings.

Thus, as opposed to what was published in the press: the 415 Hamas activists are not in no man's land; they are five kilometers north, at the tip of the security zone. They are located one kilometer away from the Lebanese army outpost in the area under its control: the Lebanese army is next to them.

The tents' were set up by the Red Cross or the Lebanese Red Crescent. They are placed in an area where [people] live and cultivate Lebanese lands, which are not inside the security zone. They set up this camp as part of the propaganda campaign to blur their real identity, because, who is the Hamas?, who is the Islamic Jihad?, what is the intention behind the criminal acts of the Islamic-fundamentalist branch among the Palestinians? - and not only there. And the Hizballah in Lebanon? And the Islamic-fundamentalist factor? - that everything they wanted I I years ago was to murder the first Arab leader who dared to reach peace with Israel - President Sadat. They murdered him because he had a different Egyptian-Muslim world perception, and that is - to sign a peace treaty with the State of Israel. No negotiations can be conducted with them.

It would have been better had Palestinian leaders stood up and denounced those belonging to the fundamentalist Islam, instead of courting them.

They are the enemies of peace, the enemies of the relatively-developed and moderate Arab countries. Enemies of all advancement in the Middle East.

The Arab world - the world in general - will pay, if the cancer of the radical fundamentalist Islam is not halted at the house-of-study of Khomeini and his followers in Iran. (...)

We should remember this - and I will fight as long as the decision lies in the hands of the Government, without hurting neither the peoples friendly to Israel nor the United Nations; with all due respect, the Hamas activists who incite or aid in these terrible criminal activities will remain in Lebanon.

We do not seek confrontations with any of our friends - and neither with the international institutions - nonetheless, our decision is that of the Government of Israel. We did not implement the expulsion with the characteristics of the past; we determined a temporary removal of up to two years. The removed persons were given the possibility to submit, either through a family relative or attorney, an appeal to the military committee headed by military judges which, in the capacity of committee, will not only issue a recommendation, but is also authorized to make decisions.

It should be hoped that also in the future, the Supreme Court, in its capacity as the High Court of Justice, will continue to enact verdicts which will support the decisions of the Government when appealed or demanded, and present its verdict within thirty days - as only the Court is authorized to determine the limitations of the Government: not others. Not from outside, as nations or international bodies. This is our decision.



ISRAELI HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, DECISION ON THE EXPULSION OF HAMAS MEMBERS, JERUSALEM, 22 DECEMBER 1992

[Lawyers representing Hamas expellees appealed to the High Court to issue an interim order calling on the govt. to care for the deportees but the court saw no reason to intervene as it concluded that those expelled were in an area under Lebanese control, and not in no man's land or a buffer zone.]

1. The petitioners again appealed to the Supreme Court with a plea for an interim order. This order, according to the plea, must relate to the continuing obligation of the State of Israel to continue to care for the lives and existence of the petitioners who were expelled from Israel by the power of the expulsion orders which are the subject of these petitions, against which this court issued an interim order.
2. According to the claim of the learned representatives of the petitioners, the deportees are staying at this time in a sort of buffer zone extending from the security zone in Lebanon, which is under control of the SLA and the IDF, to that part of Lebanon under the control of the Lebanese government and its authorities, including its army. In other words, since the deportees did not enter territory under Lebanese sovereignty and its effective control, the expulsion was neither completed nor realized, and in addition, the Lebanese publicly announced that they will not permit the deportees to move north via the passes controlled by its forces.
In light of the fact that the deportees are staying in an area which they claim is not under the effective control of Lebanon, they are expected to suffer from shortages, and even danger to their lives and health, unless the duty to ensure their lives and security is upheld in all senses of these concepts. According to the claim under consideration, this duty is still pending on the State of Israel. The petition is, that since the deportees were thrown into a situation whereby they were not allowed to enter Lebanon, they must immediately be returned to Israel, or alternatively, measures must be implemented to secure their existence in a protected and safe place until the petition is completely clarified.
3. The state dissents with the factual description presented thereto by the learned representatives of the petitioners. The claim of the state is that the deportees left the area under control of the SLA and IDF at a passage point known as the "Zumriya" pass and entered Lebanese territory. In this respect, the Supreme Court was informed that after the IDF escort left the deportees at the aforementioned passage point (which also serves the residents of Lebanon requesting to travel from the security zone to other parts of Lebanon), they got on trucks driven by Lebanese drivers, which were placed at their disposal, and travelled north until the point known as Beit Nofal, where a Lebanese army checkpoint is stationed. They were not allowed to go past this checkpoint, and they returned to the Zumriya pass, and when they were refused entry back into the security zone, they again returned to Beit Nofal. It is not known whether the site where they settled was chosen by the deportees themselves or by a Lebanese element.
Regarding the status of the area, this area is not under the control of the IDF, because all of the area north of the security zone is Lebanese territory and is under the authority of its government.

The Lebanese army is free to move there as it wishes, although it is somewhat restricted, like in many other places in Lebanon. The IDF has no status there. It does not enter there except if the government decides on a military action north of the security zone directed against terrorists. In principle, this area must be regarded as Lebanese territory. Placing a Lebanese army roadblock in Beit Nofal does not denote the boundary of Lebanese control, but is rather an action with military intelligence purposes, allowing the Lebanese army to observe movement to and - from the security zone. The roadblock was placed there owing to tactical reasons - it is not even manned permanently, and is situated where it cannot be seen from inside the security zone.

Since the beginning of the deliberation on the requests, another incident took place on December 21, 1992: The deportees marched towards the Zumriya pass, warning shots were fired, and the deportees claim, as reported in the international media, that three of them were injured.

We have listened to the statements of Chief-of-Staff Lieutenant-General Ehud Barak. He states that warning shots were fired in order to halt the march of the deportees. If they remain in the camp that they have erected, then by his assessment, they are in no danger.

The IDF has no intention of allowing their return, and the IDF and SLA forces in the area intend to thwart any intention of this kind.

4. In light of the data presented to us, we have reached the following conclusion:

- a. The deportees are now in an area under Lebanese control, and the fact that they are not permitted to pass north of the Beit Nofal roadblock, does not detract from this fact.
- b. Blocking the Beit Nofal passage does not indicate that the area South of the said roadblock and north of the Zumriya pass, is a no man's land, or a buffer zone.

Under these circumstances and in light of the facts presented to us, we see no reason for our intervention. In any case, we saw no reason to issue an order as requested, and the pleas are rejected.



UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RESOLUTION 47/172 REGARDING THE IMPACT OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS ON THE TERRITORIES, NEW YORK, 22 DECEMBER 1992

The General Assembly,

Taking note of Economic and Social Council resolution 1992/ 57 of 31 July 1992,

Recalling its resolution 46/199 of 20 December 1991,

Guided by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, affirming the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and recalling Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 and 497 (1981) of 17 December 1981,

Recalling also Security Council resolution 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980 and other resolutions affirming the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967,

Expressing its concern at the establishment by Israel, the occupying Power, of settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the settlements of new immigrants therein,

Welcoming the Middle East peace process started at Madrid on 30 October 1991 and recognizing that a complete freeze of settlement activity would significantly enhance the prospects for progress in this process,

1. *Takes note* of the report of the Secretary-General;
2. *Deplores* the establishment of settlements by Israel in the Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, and regards the settlements as illegal and an obstacle to peace;
3. *Recognizes* the economic and social repercussions of the Israeli settlements on the Palestinian people in the Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, occupied by Israel since 1967, and on the Arab population of the Syrian Golan;

4. *Strongly deplors* Israel's practices in the occupied Palestinian territory and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, in particular its confiscation of land, its appropriation of water resources, its depletion of other economic resources and its displacement and deportation of the population of those territories;
5. *Reaffirms* the inalienable right of the Palestinian people and the population of the Syrian Golan to their natural and all other economic resources, and regards any infringement thereof as being without any legal validity;
6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, through the Economic and Social Council, a report on the progress made in the implementation of the present resolution.



**FAISAL HUSSEINI, MEMORANDUM TO US SECRETARY OF STATE
WARREN CHRISTOPHER, JERUSALEM, 3 FEBRUARY 1993**

Subject: Deportation

In reference to your letter of 2 February, conveyed to us through the consul general in Jerusalem, and based on the assessment and instructions of the PLO, we would like to raise the following observations,

1. Although we value your efforts in the endeavor to achieve progress on the deportee issue, we remain convinced that the only just solution lies in making Israel comply full with Security Council Resolution 799 and not in bilateral deals between the United States and Israel.
2. We were neither consulted nor informed of the contents of the intensive talks with Israeli Prime Minister Rabin. This is very strange as this is matter of great importance to the Palestinians.
3. Following our repeated warning about the results of the continuing Israeli policy of human rights violations in the occupied territories and its destructive effect on the negotiations, we consider the collective deportation of more than 400 Palestinians, implemented on 17 December 1992, a qualitative escalation of this policy. We are convinced that this escalation and its fatal effect on the peace process are a logical outcome of Israel's deliberate violation of human rights and of the lack of active intervention by the co-sponsors of the peace process. We stress here that this tragic situation is another indication of a basic flaw in the peace process - namely, not holding Israel accountable and the absence of protection for the Palestinians.
4. It is essential that this issue be addressed in a way related to its essence, meaning the illegality of deportation itself as a means of collective punishment and as a grave violation of the Geneva Convention and the consequent and necessary conditions of canceling the recent deportation decisions and making Israel stop practicing this policy.
5. The US-Israeli agreement is an attempt to organize the deportation rather than cancel it, while we believe the issue is not one of numbers of logistics. A fundamental issue is at stake: the implementation of the fourth Geneva Convention. The deportation issue is the real test of Israel's attitude towards international human rights laws and the binding international conventions.
6. Moreover, this issue puts something else to the test as well: Israel's commitment of Security Council resolutions and the will of the international community. We wish to establish a positive precedent that obliges Israel to join the United Nations community as an equal party and not as a state above the law receiving preferential treatment. The credibility of the United States and the United Nations, as well as the future of the peace process, hinges on putting an end to double standards and dual policies.
7. In this context, the US-Israeli agreement is a circumvention of and is incompatible with resolution 799. The main aim of this agreement is to absolve Israel and the United States of the consequences of Israel's intransigence towards UN resolutions. We feel that such political settlements might undermine the legal and international status of the parties concerned when the victim continues to be punished.
8. By resorting to the Security Council, we are endeavoring to uphold the moral and legal aspects, in addition in finding a practical and acceptable solution to the current crisis in the implementation of resolution 799. We do not perceive sanctions as an aim but as a means of security the imple-

mentation of the resolution. If Israel announces its commitment to a final date for implementing resolution 799, our demands will have been met.

9. We affirm that resolutions 242 and 338 are the basis of the entire peace process. The way in which resolution 799 has been addressed raises serious questions: What guarantees are there that when the time comes to implement the two resolutions, we will not face another US-Israeli agreement exempting Israel from their implementation?
10. We would like to stress that we refuse to support or be part of any action that seeks to undermine our democratic right to exercise political pluralism or that tries to level repressive measures against an individual or a selected group on a discriminatory basis because of their political views and ideas. We cannot accept any justification for depriving any group or person of basic national and human rights.
11. Based on the above, we would like to point out that the Israeli deportation decision continues to have a negative effect on the chances of peace in the region. Consequently, Israel continues to bear the full responsibility for the non-resumption of the multilateral and bilateral negotiations. While reaffirming our commitment to the peace process, we regret that in light of the continued Israeli violation of international law and Palestinian human rights, we are unable to participate in the upcoming rounds of the bilateral and multilateral negotiations. A just solution of the deportation issue is based on implementation of resolution 799 and is the pre-requisite for the resumption of all negotiations.
12. In conclusion, and in reference to the last clause in your letter, I would like to point out that I and my colleagues discussed this issue with the US side in an attempt to reach a just solution compatible with the aforementioned principles. We did not provide “any assistance or guidance so that the deportee issue would reach the outcome that it has reached.” This outcome was a complete surprise to us. We still see it as being inconsistent with our rights and with the principles, requirements, and goals of the peace process.
13. We remain absolutely convinced that the stable and durable solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a genuine peace based on justice and responses stem from this commitment and are aimed toward this goal.



**US PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON, LETTER TO FAISAL HUSSEINI,
WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, DC, 17 FEBRUARY 1993**

Dear Mr. Hussein:

As Secretary Christopher undertakes this mission to the Middle East, I want to reiterate to you my personal commitment to work for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East based on US Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. I firmly believe the process of direct negotiations begun in Madrid remains the right way to achieve this objective.

Secretary Christopher’s missions, his first trip abroad as Secretary of State, is clear evidence of the priority I attach to dealing with the problems of the Middle East. I have asked him to solicit your views on how we can best help you make progress in the negotiations. We have taken a first step, but it is your commitment to the process and your willingness to make the hard decisions for peace that are critical for success. The United States is prepared to be a full partner in this process provided the parties themselves are ready to engage seriously in the negotiations. An early resumption of the negotiations is essential not only for achieving progress but also to enable us to play this role.

I fully recognize that these negotiations cannot be an end in themselves. To be sustainable, they must produce results that resolve differences, reduce tensions, end violence and address the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Enormous efforts have been made to overcome the critical procedural questions. If you are now ready to engage in serious negotiations, I am ready to direct the energies of my administration to working with you to produce substantive results. No one has more to gain from achieving real, tangible results than the Palestinian; and no one has more to lose from the absence of such results.

Our challenge is to make 1993 a year of breakthroughs, not a year of missed opportunity. Working together, I believe we can create a new reality between Israel and the Palestinians based on fairness and mutual respect that enables your people to achieve their legitimate political rights.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



**US SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER, LETTER TO
FAISAL HUSSEINI, WASHINGTON, DC, 25 FEBRUARY 1993**

Dear Mr. Hussein:

I have asked Molly Williamson to deliver to you the attached letter from President Clinton. I found my discussion in Jerusalem with you and your colleagues to be very useful. They persuaded me of your interest in returning to the negotiations with the aim of achieving real peace and reconciliation.

In response to the question you posed in both of our formal meetings, I can reaffirm the letter of Assurance sent to the Palestinians, which reflect our commitment to a comprehensive settlement based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, including the principle of land for peace. Let me also repeat that the United States continues to believe that deportations are in contravention of the requirements of the Fourth Geneva Convention. I can also reaffirm the commitment of the United States to the Letter of Invitation which incorporated the terms of reference agreed upon for the peace process launched by the Madrid Conference.

Sincerely,

Warren Christopher



**FAISAL HUSSEINI, LETTER TO US SECRETARY OF STATE
WARREN CHRISTOPHER, JERUSALEM, 28 FEBRUARY 1993**

Dear Secretary Christopher:

Please accept my sincere appreciation of the two letters, yours and President Clinton's, which I received Thursday morning, February 25, 1993. I also would like to acknowledge the atmosphere of confidence and trust which characterized our discussions, whether in person or on the phone: I assure you that I will continue all efforts to maintain and enhance this atmosphere as well as our joint endeavors in a spirit of cooperation and friendship to ensure the success of the peace process.

It is in this spirit that I write you to share with you my understanding of developments so far and where matters stand to date in attempting to resolve outstanding issues and to remove obstacles in order to enable the Palestinian side to participate in the next round of negotiations.

1. Prior to the 2:30 p.m. meeting in Wednesday, February 23, you suggested four steps which the Israelis might be prepared to take in order to settle the deportation issue:
 - To speed up the review process and return a larger number of deportees.
 - To return a limited number of Palestinians deported before 1983 (around 25).
 - Real steps to redress human rights.
 - A declaration by the Israeli government that it is taking these steps which are consistent with the principle of 799, that it has no intention to resort to deportation so long as the peace process is ongoing, and unless the security of the state is endangered.

I responded by explaining why these suggestions were inadequate and therefore incapable of solving the problem. I expressed my need to call the leadership to relay this matter and receive proposals from them.

2. At the end of the larger meeting on Wednesday we discussed the 6 points which I had presented in draft form as follows:

1. Illegality of deportation - US
2. Binding commitment that Israel will not resort to deportation in the future - Israel.
3. In compliance with 799 the Israelis undertake: steps-accelerated, agreed upon.
4. Agreed upon list of deportees since 1967 to be returned in sizable #s.
5. Concrete, broad, effective human rights measures - to be agreed upon.
6. Negotiations - written reaffirmation 242 land for peace - JERUSALEM.

You checked items #1 and #6 as relevant to the US and as approved; the rest of the items were needed from the Israelis. You checked #4 and #5 as being attainable. Then you checked #3 while expressing potential difficulty with the word “compliance.” I stated that if this word presents a problem and you want to suggest alternatives, then I cannot deal with it alone; I need Hanan Ashrawi with me. Item #2 remained unchecked because you believed it would not be acceptable to the Israelis as it stood, and indicated that a conditional and/or exceptions may need to be added - i.e. in the case of state security requirements. I stressed the principle of “binding commitment” as our requirement, but that whatever Rabin needs for his constituency he can say outside this agreement. Anything stated within the agreement must not contradict the substance of the points, particularly the “binding commitment.”

The details of implementing #4 and #5 will be worked out with the Israelis through discreet channels, but not during negotiations. They must be worked out before.

3. During our telephone conversation Wednesday night you assured me, saying “we can meet your points, provided we can move tonight,” and added that “in addition to the statement by the Israelis” you will provide us with a “high level letter” which will “reassure” us about the US position and “full partnership.” I understood from you that positively to the invitation for the next round.

Before relaying this to our leadership, Hanan Ashrawi called Molly Williamson and explicitly requested confirmation “to make sure there is no misunderstanding. She asked to check with you directly, but Ms. Williamson assured here that all six items were approved (2 from the US and 4 from the Israelis) and that there was not need to talk to the Secretary again. Hanan then told Ms. Williamson that the details need to be worked out, and a follow-up meeting is needed the same night to conclude the matter. She also promised to get the leadership’s response that night.

4. Later on the same night, Hanan called Ms. Williamson and read her a translation of a memo from President Arafat to me, as follows:

“Kindly relay the following message to Secretary Christopher: We appreciate the efforts of HE Mr. Christopher and we welcome and express our satisfaction with the 6 points being discussed and with the points of the special letter which will be sent by the American Administration. We kindly request HE Mr. Secretary to designate a member of the American team [to remain] to continue with the efforts and to discuss the details relevant to these points in Jerusalem. The Executive Committee will remain in constant session [to pursue the subject].”

Hanan also relayed to Ms. Williamson that this was an “agreement in principle” by the PLO, and that final agreement is pending the conclusion of discussions on the details. She also requested an immediate meeting to conclude discussions that night. Ms. Williamson replied that she will call Hanan and myself before 7:30 am Thursday and if a meeting is needed it can be arranged.

5. On Thursday, Feb. 25, I was pleased to receive your phone call in which you expressed your satisfaction with the leadership’s message and asked for assurances that this continues to be our official position and that we are committed to the agreement in principle on the six points. I assured you that his was the case. You informed me that the Israelis have some statements on item #2 but that they will not release it until you are confident that the Palestinians will accept the invitation to attend the next round of negotiations. You then informed me that Ms. Williamson will deliver President Clinton’s and your letter that same morning. I inquired about the Israeli statement and asked how we can see it in its finished form, and you assured me that Ms. Williamson will follow up with us, and urged us to respond quickly to facilitate your public announcements.

6. Hanan Ashrawi called Ms. Williamson and raised the issue of statements by an "anonymous high ranking US official" on the "terrorist tendencies" of the PLO and the alleged conversation on that subject during the first meeting. Hanan expressed our intense displeasure and alarm, and Ms. Williamson assured her of the official US position and that she will take the matter up with the appropriate people.
7. Ms. Williamson brought me the two letters at 10:00 am and confirmed that they cover items #1 and #6 in fulfilling the US commitment. She asked that the Palestinian side "commit publicly on record that they will go to the next round" so that the Israelis will make their statement on the four points. then she indicated that there is "difficulty in the language in number 2" and that more work needs to be done to get all four points. I reminded Ms. Williamson that both she and the Secretary had assured us that we had all four points last night. She linked it to our public agreement and added that the Secretary "thought he could close a deal last night". I began to feel alarmed that the Israeli side either will not conform to the agreement on the 4 points or will modify them drastically so as to lose their basic substance. I asked her to follow up with Hanan.
8. An urgent meeting was arranged Thursday noon between Ms. Williamson and Hanan and was attended by some members of the delegation including Haider Abdul Shafi for some time as well as Ghassan Al-Khateeb and Nathmi Ju'beh. The issue of Jerusalem was raised as missing from the two letters, and Hanan expressed concern that this might be seen as a change in US policy. Ms. Williamson referred to the LOA and the Secretary's reference to Jerusalem in our meetings. She asked if we were rejecting the letter because of the lack of reference to Jerusalem. Hanan said we will accept the letters, and that we acknowledge the references in the LOA and meetings, but that the issue is not closed, and that we need a written reaffirmation on the US position on Jerusalem in the near future if the matter is to be satisfactorily concluded.

Ms. Williamson also indicated that we will not be able to see the text of the Israeli statement but still insisted that we issue our response. We said we could not make any commitments unless we are assured about the exact text of the statement. Ms. Williamson stated flatly that we cannot negotiate or dictate the Israeli statement, nor can we see the text, and that the Israelis will have their own wording. She particularly mentioned "in consonance" rather than "in compliance" in #3 and raised questions about #2. Ms. Williamson also stated that had we agreed last night we could have had all four points. It became clear to us that there were serious problems, and that more work needed to be done. We explained that our agreement in principle still stand, but only on the basis of meeting all six points.

9. In a subsequent meeting Thursday evening, Ms. Williamson expressed intense dissatisfaction with the previous meeting, as well as displeasure with some official PLO statements on the six points. It became clear that there were problems with #2 and that the word "compliance" will be replaced with "consonance" in the Israeli statement. Ms. Williamson also explained that the Israeli statement cannot be "triggered" until the US is assured that we have agreed to attend the next round, and added that she was "authorized to discuss timing and value" of the statements "but not the text". I explained that without seeing the text we cannot give an answer.

The above represents my understanding of the developments on the issue to date. Please let me know if you have the same perceptions. I would greatly appreciate your comments and remarks.

At this point, matters seem to be at a standstill with a clear need for positive intervention. Our agreement in principle was based on your confirmation that the six points were met. It appears now that the Israeli side is either carrying out serious modifications or has gone back on the commitment it had made to you. Our public opinion has been shaken by the painful measures taken by the Israeli government, and we have the direct responsibility of assuring our constituency and maintaining their support for the peace process. This cannot be done without the clear commitments required from the Israelis in the four items discussed above.

Of paramount importance to the legitimacy of the talks, the credibility of the cosponsors, and the success of the outcome is the central issue of Jerusalem. Israel's illegal unilateral annexation of the city is entirely unacceptable, and the US position on the city must be clearly reiterated. Negotiations cannot

proceed if Israel continues its attempts at excluding Jerusalem from the talks and creating facts which would prejudice and pre-empt the final outcome.

I also feel that high level American-Palestinian meetings are required as a follow up to our talks, particularly on the issues pertaining to the substance of negotiations. I am confident that a great deal can be accomplished beforehand to facilitate the actual negotiations and to generate real momentum.

Please accept my warmest regards, and I look forward to working with you to create greater understanding and to being about a just peace I the region.

Sincerely,

Faisal Husseini
Head of the Palestinian Team to the Middle East Peace Conference



**PLO DIRECTORATE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, DRAFT INTERNAL MEMO
BASED ON THE TRACK-II DISCUSSIONS AT THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS
AND SCIENCES DURING DECEMBER 1992-MARCH 1993, TUNIS, MARCH 1993**

[The American Academy for Arts and Sciences in Chicago hosted track-II talks aimed at reaching a better mutual understanding on security concerns and measures in relation to Israeli withdrawals from Palestinian territory. The meetings' main findings were published in "Israeli-Palestinian Security: Issues in the Permanent Status Negotiation." Ed. by Boutwell, J. and E. Mendelsohn et al., Cambridge, Mass.: AAAS, 1995.]

WITHDRAWAL FROM GAZA "BY AGREEMENT"¹

FIRST: FACTORS AFFECTING THE ISRAELI SIDE (FROM ISRAELI PERSPECTIVE):

1. Sovereignty: Acknowledging the relinquishment of annexation (Gaza) but no acknowledgement of Palestinian sovereignty
2. Security: prevention of terrorist activities based in Gaza aimed at Israel
3. Political and security stability
4. Economic stability
5. Refugees and displaced persons: A permanent solution to the problem (condition) of the refugees, the displaced persons of 1967 and a resolution of the situation of the Gazans living outside Gaza.
6. Settlements: What effect a resolution of the settlers issue in Gaza may have as a precedent regarding the future of settlers in the rest of the occupied territories
7. The future of economic relations (Israeli-Gazan) in particular the movement of Gazan workers
8. The effect of a withdrawal from Gaza on the Israeli domestic scene
9. The effect of a withdrawal from Gaza on the escalation of violence (*intifada*) in the rest of the occupied territories
10. The question of 'linkage' between the withdrawal from Gaza and the future of negotiations over Jerusalem and the West Bank
11. The party that will take over (including possible third parties) and the nature of the structure of the Palestinian authority.

SECOND: FACTORS AFFECTING PALESTINIAN SIDE:

1. The Principle of 'linkage': No agreement on "Gaza first" can be a substitute for an agreement on the interim phase in the rest of the occupied territories.
2. Full Israeli military (and security) and settlement withdrawal [from Gaza]
3. The mechanism for a transfer of authority and for defining the role of third parties

¹ Words between brackets denote suggested alternative formulations.

4. The nature of Palestinian governing authority and its powers
5. Palestinian security preparedness
6. Economic stability and external support; the external economic environment (relations with Israel-Egypt-the West Bank)
7. The effects and repercussions of an agreement on Gaza on the Palestinian internal scene
 - a. Relations between Gaza and the West Bank
 - b. Relations between the Palestinian factions (including Fateh-Hamas)
 - c. Effect on the Palestinian political scene in the Diaspora
8. The effect of the agreement on the Arab-Israeli negotiating situation
 - a. The Syrian-Israeli track
 - b. The Jordanian-Israeli track
9. The effect of any agreement on refugees-displaced people on the issue of "refugees-displaced people" in general
10. Effect of agreement on Palestinian-Arab relations, in particular: Jordan-Syria-Egypt.



US-RUSSIAN INVITATIONS TO THE RESUMPTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS, 10 MARCH 1993

The United States and Russia, as co-sponsors of the Middle East peace process, have extended invitations to Israel, Jordan, Syria, the Palestinians, and Lebanon to resume bilateral negotiations in Washington on Tuesday, April 20 [1993]. This ninth round of negotiations will continue until Thursday, May 6.

In conveying this invitation to the parties, the co-sponsors have re-emphasized their commitment and determination to achieve substantive progress toward the common objective of a comprehensive peace settlement based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The co-sponsors have conveyed to the parties their intention to work with the parties actively to promote substantive progress in the negotiations.

The co-sponsors have also notified host countries for the next round of multilateral working groups that the working groups have been rescheduled. The co-sponsors have proposed that the Water Working Group convene in Geneva, April 27-29; that the Economic Development Working Group convene in Rome, May 4-5; that the Refugee Working Group convene in Oslo, May 11-13; that the Arms Control and Regional Security Working Group convene in Washington, May 17-20; and that the Environment Working Group convene in Tokyo, May 24-25.

With the resumption of both bilateral and multilateral negotiations, the cosponsors join the parties in expressing their conviction that 1993 should be a year of substantive progress toward peace and reconciliation.



ISRAELI CABINET, STATEMENT ON THE CLOSURE OF THE TERRITORIES, JERUSALEM, 14 MARCH 1993

[After a rise in Palestinian attacks on Israelis, the Israeli govt. imposed severe restrictions on the entry of Palestinians from the territories into Israel and Jerusalem.]

1. The cabinet, at its weekly meeting, today (Sunday), 14.3.93, sitting as the Ministerial Committee for National Security Affairs, was briefed on ongoing security matters - primarily on the matter of increased terror against civilians and soldiers - and adopted the following decision:
 - A. The cabinet sends its condolences to the bereaved families of the victims of criminal terror, and wishes a speedy recovery to the injured.

- B. The cabinet will take all necessary legal measures - with full force - against the degenerate murderers who are assaulting innocent civilians, and against those who plan terrorist [acts]. The cabinet has instructed security elements to take the required operative measures, among them [being] the intensification of supervision over those departing the Gaza Strip for the territory of the State of Israel.
- C. Terror, which is currently directing all its efforts toward attacking civilians and frustrating the drive for peace, will not dictate Israeli policy. The people of Israel know to stand firm - in their spirit, and in their devotion to the struggle against the terrorists and those who execute terror [acts]. The cabinet calls on the public to respect the law and the instructions of the security forces, with regard to the non-entry of restricted areas.
- D. The cabinet has recorded the proposal of the police minister on the strengthening of the Israel police and the Border Police, and has imposed the task of discussing [the above proposal] and decided thereon - as soon as possible - upon the Ministerial Committee for National Security Affairs.
- E. The cabinet will, during the coming week, act toward replacing 1,000 agricultural laborers from the territories with Israeli workers, by increasing their wages and seeing to their transportation.
- F. The cabinet calls on the public to maintain composure, awareness and self-control, and requests that citizens volunteer for the civil guard of the Israel Police and thereby contribute to increasing internal security.



PALESTINIAN SPOKESPERSON HANAN ASHRAWI, OPENING STATEMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, NEWS CONFERENCE, WASHINGTON, DC, 6 MAY 1993

Good afternoon. During the meeting yesterday evening, the Arab coordination meeting, there was a decision taken by all the Arab parties involved to accept the American request to extend this session for a third week, and therefore, you will be seeing us in Washington through next week. And we hope that next week will afford all parties the chance to see some progress and some positive developments, and therefore we're willing to give this round the extension requested.

The second week of negotiations so far continues to be serious and discussions are substantive and businesslike, and I'm afraid we cannot assess these talks on a daily basis. I think we have to look at them in a more comprehensive way because, as you know, there are ups and downs. The fact that there are basic disagreements necessitates a negotiating process. If we are in agreement, then we wouldn't have to negotiate. And precisely because the issues on the table are central issues and they form the core of the substance at hand, this forms a very difficult phase. Right now we are busy delineating areas of basic disagreement or discussion as well as the different approaches in order to untangle the problems or the knots in negotiations.

But I would like to stress that the human context of negotiations to us continues to be primary, and this has witnessed a major setback. It is unconscionable that as we speak, there are Palestinians who are being killed. In the 48 hours, we have had 10 Palestinians killed, and in April alone, we have had over 700 Palestinians wounded. The atmosphere is very visibly deteriorating. And the promises of positive steps that we began to see last week, the return of some deportees have not been followed up with further steps that have to be taken on the ground in order to demonstrate actually that Israel is committed to the requirements and the imperatives of this peace process.

And as we always say, the real intentions of Israeli attitudes are always judged by actions on the ground more than just by public statements and declarations. And therefore we do need swift and concrete steps, and there are basic, pressing issues, like the speeding up of the return of the 400 exiles in Majis Hur (phonetic), the release of Palestinian prisoners in categories, and the reopening or the ending of the state of siege, the closure of the occupied territories and particularly Jerusalem.

If the initial steps have validity, they must be sustained, they must provide a sustained atmosphere in the occupied territories that Israel is committed and does mean business and is not just involved in cosmetic moves. Remember in the first briefing we talked about cosmetic changes. What we need are

serious changes that would confirm that Israel does adhere to the requirements of the peace process and does respect human rights in the occupied territories. And we have based the expectations on the basis of statements and promises, and these expectations must be fulfilled. Otherwise there will be a tremendous letdown. And we do need to see progress in the human rights working group. This afternoon there will be a meeting of the human rights working group. We hope that they will address these issues in concrete steps, and that way the credibility of the peace process will be sustained or preserved.

The working group on land continues to discuss, again, issues of substance. The Israeli presentation during this week concentrated on the current areas of powers and responsibilities practiced by the Israelis, whether in registration or administration of land, categories and zoning, planning and special sites. The Palestinian presentation this morning centered on the following terms of reference - territorial jurisdiction, transfer of powers and responsibilities to the organs of the Palestinian interim self-government in an institutional way, and the third aspect, the availability of relevant maps and data. We are pursuing the Israeli discussion on the integrity of the land or the fact that the land will be treated as an integral whole, and we are seeing how that can be - probing to see how that can be translated into functional steps dealing, or into concrete positions and negotiations and not just a statement that should be sustained in both the interim and permanent phase.

The discussions on water also were two presentations, an Israeli presentation and a Palestinian one. Ours focused on the water rights or the denial of water rights, on the mis-distribution - maldistribution of water, on the profligate use of water by the settlers, on, again, institutional control, the fact that we have no control over our water, and finally access to information pertaining to water.

Israel concentrated on resource management and use and the database. The working group on concept continued discussions on the terms of reference, the goals and objectives of the peace process, the linkage between interim and permanent status, and permanent status being the full implementation of 242, 338, and anything in interim must not be prejudicial to this implementation in permanent status.

There was also extensive discussion on legislation and on elections under international supervision. Legislation, two areas raised by the Israelis were areas of (unintelligible) of legislation - I don't know whether this is the right term, but that's the term used, and the second is the process of mutual confirmation. These were Israeli presentations. But the Palestinian presentation continues to be the right to primary as well as secondary legislation, and that legislation must be then treated as a whole and not fragmented into spheres or subject to Israeli veto. Again, this is another area that is being pursued.

In terms of elections, we're discussing international supervision as well as eligibility for elections, to vote and to run. There was also a discussion on the possibility of a declaration of principles or discussions of possible drafts. Still there is no conclusion on that, but we said if there is progress, then that will be considered by the Palestinians. But I just want to make it clear that at this phase, things are difficult, there are still serious gaps. Things are difficult because we are getting into the core of the issues, into the real serious substance. What is needed is continued persistence, determination, willingness to take these issues seriously. The negotiations, as I said, are not easy. The topics are critical and central, and we shall continue to take them seriously and push for progress, although we haven't seen any breakthroughs. I would stay away from terms such as pessimism and optimism. As usual, I would say things are serious, though difficult.

Although in our land we have seen epiphanies before, but I don't think you will see epiphanies in this peace process. It is a cumulative, incremental process that takes tremendous hard work and attention to details, and work that cannot be daily discussed with the media. Let's say that the nitty-gritty, the real substance is that which goes on in the negotiating room, the areas we can discuss, but we do not expect miraculous progress.

It's important that the attitudes determining negotiations continue to be attitudes of responsibility and seriousness, whether in the negotiating room or outside the negotiating room, particularly in Israeli behavior on the ground.



**PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR
A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, TUNIS, 9 MAY 1993**

PREAMBLE:

The Palestinians and Israeli side agree on the following principles in order to facilitate the progress of the negotiations and peace process. It is the understanding of both sides that these principles, while constituting agreed upon bases for their negotiations, govern the whole process until the achievement of the detailed and final agreement.

1. The objective of the peace process is to reach a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace settlement through direct negotiations based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, the principle of land for peace and in compliance with international legality. The negotiations between the Palestinian and Israeli sides will be conducted in two phases, which are interlocked as an integral whole to fully implement the aforementioned resolutions, principle, and legality.
It is the understanding of both sides that nothing should be done in the interim period that may preempt or prejudice the outcome of the final-status negotiations. The agreement reached will achieve the full implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.
2. A Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority (hereinafter PISGA) will be established through free, general, and direct elections, under agreed appropriate international supervision.
All Palestinians who on June 4 (1967) were listed on the relevant population registers in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, as well as descendants, will participate in the election.
3. The PISGA will assume legislative, executive, and judicial powers.
4. All powers presently exercised by the Israeli military government and its civil administration should be transferred orderly and peacefully to the PISGA upon its election and inauguration. For this to be freely exercised, the Israeli armed forces shall start their withdrawal which shall be completed according to the agreed-upon schedule and time limit, under agreed international supervision.
5. The objective of security arrangements is to achieve regional stability and respond to mutual needs, as well as to create conditions of real peace.
6. The authority of PISGA will extend to all the Palestinian territory occupied since June 1967 which is an integral whole and constitutes a single territorial unit under one system of law.
7. The PISGA and the government of Israel will conclude agreements on cooperation and coordination in specific areas of common concern. These agreements will take into account the security needs of both parties and their mutual benefit.
8. A joint committee will be established between the PISGA and the Israeli government, to consider matters of common concern and to settle disputes that may arise between them.
9. Disputes which cannot be settled by agreement between the PISGA and the government of Israel will be submitted to an Arbitration Commission to be established from representatives of the United States, the Russian Federation, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and the United Nations, as well as representatives of the Palestinian and Israeli sides.
10. No later than October 1994, negotiations will commence to determine the permanent status (of the Occupied Territories) and to enable the Palestinian people to freely exercise their legitimate rights.



**ARAB PARTIES TO THE PEACE PROCESS, STATEMENT REGARDING THE LATEST
ROUND OF BILATERAL TALKS, COORDINATION MEETING, AMMAN, 7 JUNE 1993**

At the invitation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Foreign Ministers of the Arab States participating in the bilateral peace talks - the Syrian Arab Republic, Palestine, the Republic of Lebanon [the Lebanese Republic], and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan - held a meeting in Amman on 6 June 1993. The Foreign Minister of the [Arab] Republic of Egypt also took part in the meeting, which is part of ongoing coordination and consultation among the ministers. Several heads and members of the Arab delegations to the bilateral peace talks also took part in the meeting.

The meeting mainly addressed the ninth round of the bilateral negotiations, held from 30 April to 13 May 1993, in light of intensive contacts and consultations with the co-sponsors of the conference, in order to eliminate the obstacles that obstructed the convening of the round as a result of the failure to make real progress in the previous rounds and Israel's noncompliance with [(Security Council)] resolution 799 [(1992)], which stipulates the immediate return of the deportees.

The Ministers noted that despite the assurances given prior to the start of the ninth round, Israel did not abide by its overall commitments to the United States. This casts further doubts on the extent of Israel's seriousness and obliges the co-sponsors of the conference to ensure that all parties adhere to the bases of the peace process.

While welcoming the United States' announcement about its plan to assume the role of a full partner in the peace process - which could have constituted progress in the United States contribution had the outcome of the previous round risen to the aspirations accompanying the announcement of the convening of the round - the ministers reaffirmed that the United States should undertake a full-partner role to ensure the implementation of the bases, principles, and decisions on which the peace process depends, in line with the principles of international justice and legitimacy.

The Ministers denounced the Israeli policy of repression against the Palestinian people and Arab citizens in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, noting in particular the siege of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the isolation of Holy Jerusalem, the rise in the number of innocent civilian victims, and the continued building of settlements and demolition of homes.

The Ministers warned of the serious consequences of such practices on the future of the peace process and the situation in the region in general. They held Israel fully responsible for all consequences, calling on the co-sponsors of the peace process to make Israel immediately stop all its human rights violations in the occupied Arab territories and urge it to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

The Ministers also denounced the continued Israeli attacks on Lebanese territory, noting this would only increase tension in the region.

In light of this, the Ministers agreed on the following:

1. To reaffirm abidance by solidarity and coordination among the Arab parties participating in the peace process and their commitment to the attainment of comprehensive and just peace in accordance with the bases of this process and its terms of reference represented by the principle of the return of land in exchange for peace; the full implementation of United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 [(1967)] and 338 [(1973)], including Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories that were occupied in 1967, foremost the city of Jerusalem; the recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate political and national rights on their national soil; United Nations Security Council resolution 425 [(1978)] on Israel's withdrawal from the Lebanese territories to the internationally acknowledged Lebanese borders without any preconditions; and the reaffirmation of the commitment to a comprehensive solution on all fronts and for all parties.
2. To denounce all the Israeli practices, violations, and attacks in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, which are a blatant violation of international law and the bases of the peace process and its terms of reference and actually endanger the chances of success of this process. The continuation of these violations and practices will undermine the entire process, for which Israel will be held responsible before the international community.
3. To warn against the consequences of Israel's continued avoidance of discussion of basic issues and matters in accordance with the bases and terms of reference of the negotiations and its adoption of methods of procrastination and prevarication through its emphasis on marginal issues.
4. To call on the United States to exercise the role of a full partner and effectively and objectively develop this role in a manner that will secure full and faithful abidance by the bases and principles

- of the peace process, particularly the principle of land in exchange for peace, and the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 [(1967)], 338 [(1973)], and 425 [(1978)] in a manner that prevents prevarication or procrastination in implementing these resolutions.
5. To call on the co-sponsors of the conference and the international community to compel Israel to take the immediate necessary steps and measures to provide the suitable atmosphere for the success of the current negotiations. These are headed by the following:
 - Ending the siege imposed on the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, including the closure of Holy Jerusalem.
 - Ending the fait accompli policy being pursued by the Israeli Government.
 - Respecting human rights in these territories through the implementation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.
 - Implementing United Nations resolution 799 [(1992)].
 - Ending the continued Israeli violations of Lebanon's sovereignty and its territorial integrity.
 6. To work for attaining and bolstering Arab solidarity, given that this is the appropriate framework to defend the legitimate Arab rights, protect the future of the individual in the Arab homeland, and guarantee the success of the current process of negotiations and have it attain its goals.
 7. Proceeding from their serious commitment to the peace process and out of their desire to give a further opportunity for the efforts being made to help this process attain its aspired goal, represented by the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace that puts an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of complete withdrawal for complete peace and in reference to the invitation by the co-sponsors of the conference to all parties to participate in the 10th round, the ministers have agreed to intensify contacts with the co-sponsors of the peace process during the remaining time before the beginning of that round, with the aim of securing the co-sponsors' serious intervention to achieve substantial progress in the negotiations.
 8. The ministers agreed to hold the next coordination meeting in Beirut."



PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, "TEN POINTS" PRESENTED TO THE US FOLLOWING THE 9TH ROUND OF BILATERAL TALKS, WASHINGTON, DC, JUNE 1993

[The following is the text as reported in Al-Dustur on 13 June 1993:]

- A. As you may recall, our discussions before the ninth round focused on substantive issues requiring urgent and effective intervention. We were reassured about your commitment to solving the issues, which constituted serious obstacles to the peace process. These assurances included the lifting of the economic siege imposed on the Palestinian people and their leadership, and addressing the issues of human rights, the closure of Jerusalem and the rest of the occupied territories, detainees, demolition of houses, and the use of live ammunition against the citizens. Moreover, we were promised a more serious Israeli policy toward the substance of the negotiations in a manner conforming with the terms of reference of the peace process as well as its principles and aims. The United States has also pledged to play an effective and constructive role as a full unbiased partner.
- B. Accordingly, the Palestinian leadership, and President Arafat in particular, made the brave and difficult decision to participate [in the talks] despite the painful and difficult circumstances. Having honoured its obligations, the Palestinian leadership expected the United States to reciprocate by implementing certain steps on the above-mentioned issues in order to emphasize its credibility and role.
- C. The ninth round, which we viewed as a test of commitments and promises for the start of a new qualitative stage in negotiations, was a source of intense disappointment. We took the initiative out of good faith to work by the proposal of a joint declaration of principles and the proposal to form working groups. President Arafat has also convinced the Arab parties to extend the negotiations by one week. Nevertheless, we witnessed an escalation in the Israeli repressive measures, something which made a mockery of the entire human rights issue. Even according to Israeli estimates, the month of May 1993 was the bloodiest since the start of negotiations.

D. In the meantime, promises of a United States role have not materialized although we continued to remind the United States State Department officials of the seriousness of the situation and the need to lift the economic blockade, rescue the institutions, and release the Palestinian funds, reiterating that the situation tolerates no delay. We have constantly stressed the need to lift the siege imposed on Jerusalem and address human rights issues.

Despite your assurances, the economic siege is continuing. We have not received an expected list of human rights measures. Nothing has been realized except the return of 30 deportees. The processions celebrating their return followed the funeral processions of those who had been killed. Portraying the United States' position as lacking influence is both unrealistic and unreasonable. The United States' credibility and its readiness to work with a sincere intention to fulfil its commitments are now at stake.

E. The United States' role and the tripartite meeting. The promised United States' role of a full partner was a source of disappointment. The United States' paper demonstrates bias toward Israel in both language and substance and violates the terms of reference and the United States policy itself. The lack of fair dealing was a source of warning to us that the full partner was taking pro-Israeli stands. This also appeared in the issue concerning the information committee on settlements.

F. We do not understand the continued suspension of the United States-Palestinian dialogue. It was the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] that selected and appointed the delegation, gave it the necessary legitimacy to carry out its tasks, and maintained the Palestinian participation in the talks in the face of enormous difficulties. The PLO is making decisions, drawing up policies, and covering the expenses of the delegation. The United States has dealt with these facts indirectly. It is time to begin direct and fair dealing to tackle the problem, which has had a detrimental effect on the peace process and United States-Palestinian relations.

The United States, as a sponsor and full partner, deals with all the partners in the negotiations except the Palestinian partner. This is unfair, impractical and unconstructive. It is necessary to receive a positive answer from you on the resumption of dialogue in order to serve the peace process.

G. We hold the United States' role on the practical and substantive levels to be based along the broad lines of the United States policy and in line with the terms of reference of the peace process. In this context, in preparation for the Washington visit and talks, and in the interest of the peace process, we would like to direct the following questions for urgent study and response:

1. Since you have repeatedly asserted that the overall peace process is based on [(Security Council)] resolutions 242 [(1967)] and 338 [(1973)] and the land-for-peace principle, is there a need to ask if this is applied to the negotiations and their results? Is the implementation of these resolutions not the aim of this process as a means of realizing a just, durable, and comprehensive peace?
2. Since the allusion in [Security Council] resolution [the Security Council] 242 [(1967)] is to the territories Israel occupied in 1967, is there any need to ask if these territories are really occupied and, consequently, governed by the principle of withdrawal and the Fourth Geneva Convention?
3. Since the term 'occupied territories', as used by the United States, means the West Bank, including Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, is there any reason to dismember and violate the unity of these territories?
4. Since the United States does not recognize Israel's annexation of Jerusalem, the expansion of the city's municipal area, or any other unilateral measures to change the status of the city, is it not essential that the United States should prevent Israel from implementing such measures, especially the settlements inside and around Jerusalem, imposing a siege on and isolating the city as a means of imposing annexation by a *fait accompli*?
5. The United States believes that the Palestinian side has the right to raise any issue, particularly the issue of Jerusalem, at the negotiating table. It also regards Jerusalem as part of the occupied territories. Does the United States still support incorporating the issue of Jerusalem into the transitional phase negotiations, taking into account that the fate of all Jerusalem will be determined in the final phase negotiations? Should East Jerusalem not be part of the transitional self-rule arrangements?
6. The transitional phase negotiations aim to end occupation and carry out an organized peaceful transfer of power from Israel to the Palestinians. Does this not mean establishing a real self-rule authority with legislative, executive and judicial powers, and not only specific executive tasks?

7. The transitional phase is a temporary phase required to remove doubts and mistrust and lay the bases for the final phase negotiations in the occupied territories. Does this not constitute a linkage in the substance - in addition to the linkage in timing - which will rule out any moves or agreements that may infringe on the final phase? Is not the transitional phase - as an adaptive phase - clearly a preparation for the permanent situation?
 8. As the transitional phase should not infringe on the permanent situation, does this not mean that all options should remain open, provided that they do not conflict with [Security Council] resolutions 242 [(1967)] and 338 [(1973)] and the land-for-peace principle?
 9. As the settlement activities are not only illegal - according to international and human laws - but also an obstacle to peace and a unilateral action violating the terms of reference of the peace process, how can the United States accept such actions and allow Israel to continue this crime, while knowing that this poses a threat to the entire peace process?
 10. The United States' position still says that the peace process should recognize the Palestinian people's legitimate political rights. What is the United States' definition of these rights?
- H. We would like to reiterate our commitment to the peace process as a real means of resolving conflicts and realizing a just, comprehensive and lasting peace, as well as achieving stability in our region. We also wish to continue the peace process and render it a success by securing respect for its terms of reference and safeguarding its credibility. As part of this commitment, we are considering your invitation to hold talks in Washington. Consequently, we are raising these issues, so that they may receive your consideration and response."



**US DRAFT OF AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN JOINT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES,
WASHINGTON, DC, 30 JUNE 1993**

The Palestinian and Israeli sides reaffirm their commitment to the peace process launched at Madrid. They seek to negotiate their differences and create a peaceful and just future in which Israel and Palestinians will live side by side, in peace, for generations to come. Toward this end, the two sides will negotiate a Declaration of Principles to guide the negotiations on interim self-government arrangements. The following principles and/or areas of emerging agreement could be included in the completed Declaration of Principles, subject to agreement on the full Declaration.

THE GOAL OF THE NEGOTIATIONS:

The two sides agree that the objective of the peace process is to reach a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement achieved through direct negotiations based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The negotiations between the Israeli and Palestinian sides will be conducted per the Madrid letter of invitation, in two phases: the first phase of the negotiations is directed toward reaching agreement on Palestinian interim self-government arrangements for a period of five years; and the second phase of the negotiations beginning the third year of the period of interim self-government arrangements, will be directed toward reaching agreement on permanent status. The two sides concur that the agreement reached between them on permanent status will constitute the implementation of Resolutions 242 and 338 in all their aspects.

The two sides agree that the negotiating process is one and that its two phases are interlocked. They further agree that neither the negotiations nor the agreements reached for the interim period nor anything done in the interim period will be deemed to preempt or prejudice the outcome of permanent status negotiations. Furthermore, both sides will make their best efforts to avoid actions during the interim period that undermine the environment for the negotiations. The two sides agree that all options for permanent status within the framework of the agreed basis of the negotiations-UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 - will remain open. Once negotiations on permanent status begin, each side can raise whatever issue it wants, including the question of Jerusalem.

THE NATURE OF THE PALESTINIAN ELECTED AUTHORITY:

The two sides agree that a Palestinian elected interim self-government authority (whose name will be agreed) will be established through fair, free, general and direct elections. These elections will be held under agreed supervision and with international observers and monitors. Negotiations will take place concerning the modalities and timetable for elections. Once election modalities are agreed upon by the two sides, East Jerusalem Palestinians will vote in the elections.

The Palestinian elected authority will have the necessary powers and responsibilities to carry out the authorities transferred to it under the agreement. It will assume executive authority. It will have legislative authority in the areas of responsibility transferred to it, subject to the agreement to be negotiated. There will be independent judicial organs. Legislation in force will be reviewed as appropriate.

The two sides agree that one of the key goals of the interim period is the transfer of authority to Palestinians. Powers and responsibilities of the Israeli civilian administration will be transferred to the Palestinians as agreed. This process will bring about a fundamental change in the existing situation on the ground and in the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians. An important outcome of this phase will be the empowerment of Palestinians through the establishment of interim self-government arrangements which will give the Palestinians real control over decisions that affect their lives and fate. It should also put an end to the confrontation between Israel and Palestinians and create a new relationship between them of mutual respect, tolerance, peace and reconciliation, in which both sides eschew violence.

SECURITY:

The Israeli and Palestinian sides agree that the security of both sides must be respected and enhanced as a result of the negotiations process. The objective of security arrangements during the interim period is to respond to mutual needs, as well as to create the conditions for real peace. Recognizing Israel's responsibility for its nationals and for overall security of the territories (Hague Regulations of 1907), and recognizing the interim self-government's responsibility concerning Palestinians during the interim period per the agreement to be negotiated, there will be arrangements and mechanisms, particularly related to security such as police functions, that will enhance mutual security and address the needs of both sides.

JURISDICTION:

The two sides agree that discussion of the issue of jurisdiction as it relates to the interim period starts from the premise that issues related to permanent status are outside the scope of the interim status negotiations. Thus, the inclusion or exclusion of specific spheres of authority, geographic areas, or categories of persons within the jurisdiction of the interim self-government will not prejudice the positions or claims of either party and will not constitute a basis for asserting, supporting or denying any party's claim to territorial sovereignty in the permanent status negotiations. As such, the issue of jurisdiction over the territories will only be resolved as an outcome of the permanent status negotiations.

For the interim period, the interim self-government authority will as appropriate exercise its authority, i.e., jurisdiction, in the territories, to the extent necessary to fulfill its responsibilities and as agreed between the Israeli and Palestinian sides.

LAND:

The two sides have agreed that the territories are viewed as a single territorial unit. They agree that issues related to sovereignty will be negotiated during talks on permanent status and that negotiations on the land issue during the interim period will take place without prejudice to territorial integrity; that is the territories will be treated as a whole even while the two sides negotiate the difficult issues of land ownership, registration, planning, zoning, usage and management.

COOPERATION AND COORDINATION:

The two sides will conclude agreements and establish agreed arrangements for cooperation and coordination in specific areas of mutual and common concern. The areas of cooperation and coordination

will take into account the mutual needs of both sides. The two sides will also establish a joint committee to consider and deal with matters of common concern and to resolve outstanding problems that may arise between them.

IMPLEMENTING MECHANISM:

The Palestinian and Israeli sides seek early completion of the Declaration of Principles and a full agreement on interim self-government and early empowerment. Toward that end, the two sides will discuss a timetable and mechanisms for elections in the territories. They will also discuss early empowerment, i.e., the early exercise of power by Palestinians, which will change the situation on the ground and the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians. Such early empowerment could cover such issues as economic development, training for a local police force, health, education, welfare, tourism, and labor, and budgetary authority in all of these areas.



**FAISAL HUSSEINI, MEMORANDUM TO SPECIAL US MIDDLE EAST
COORDINATOR DENNIS ROSS, JERUSALEM, 1 JULY 1993**

Re: The US Draft of 30 June 1993

We have read carefully the draft that you gave us on 30 June 1993 as a set of “principles and/or areas of emerging agreement.” While we reaffirm our commitment to the peace process, and precisely because we are concerned for the future of this process, we find it impossible to consider the draft as a suitable basis for future negotiations over a Declaration of Principles. We would like to convey to you the main reasons underlying our position by focusing here solely on the two issues that, you must know, are of utmost concern to us: the territorial jurisdiction of the Palestinian authority during the interim period, and the question of Jerusalem, without prejudice to our concerns regarding other points included in or related to the draft, and in particular issues of international law, early empowerment, and timetable.

On territorial jurisdiction:

1. The draft states that any party has the right to claim territorial sovereignty in the permanent status negotiations. By putting Israel on an equal footing with us over such a vital issue, the draft is even less acceptable than your 12 May document and contradicts the terms of reference embodied in UN Security Council Resolution 242, including the principle of territory for peace, that of the non-admissibility of acquiring territory for peace, that of the non-admissibility of acquiring territory by war, and that of putting an end to occupation. The draft invites us to commit ourselves not to prejudice Israel’s ability to annex territory and claim sovereignty for the final status. It is our belief that our right to sovereignty is not open for negotiation, neither now nor in the final status talks. The fact that the occupation has prevented us from exercising this right cannot be considered a stepping stone to its denial.
2. In fact, we even fear something worse than equal footing on the issue of territorial sovereignty. By referring to “Israel and Palestinians” in the preamble, the draft does not foresee, “for generations to come,” i.e. for permanent status, any territoriality for the Palestinian people.
3. The text makes reference to the territorial base of the Palestinian authority only as “the territories.” It makes no reference to their location, to their extent, to the fact they are “Palestinian” territories, or to their status as “occupied” territories, except very indirectly by supporting the claim of Israel’s responsibility for overall security on the basis of the Hague Regulations. This would permit Israel to simultaneously benefit from the advantages of being the occupier, while avoiding the obligations and duties that stem from recognition of this status.
4. The draft allows the exclusion of geographic areas from the jurisdiction of the Palestinian authority, which contradicts the assertion (put surprisingly under the “land” paragraph) of the territories as “a single territorial unit.”
5. The issue of jurisdiction, and specifically of territorial jurisdiction, cannot be postponed until we reach the final status negotiations. The Palestinian authority will need to exercise its powers and

responsibilities over a defined territorial base. This has nothing to do with sovereignty. Since 1967, the Israeli Military Government has exercised territorial jurisdiction over the occupied Palestinian territories without enjoying sovereignty.

6. Instead of considering Israeli annexation of Jerusalem and Israeli settlement policy as prejudicial to the implementation of Resolution 242, and instead of considering Palestinian empowerment during the interim period, whether territorially, functionally or personally, a step towards the implementation of the Resolution, the draft implies that this empowerment could be reversed by an Israeli claim to sovereignty in the final status.
7. By making the jurisdiction of the Palestinian authority incomplete (whether territorially, functionally, or personally), the draft unreservedly adopts the Israeli mixed model presented in November-December 1992, and leads to the conclusion that none of the powers and responsibilities will be exercised by the Palestinian authority over the whole territory and that this territory will not be governed by one single legal system. This renders the concepts of territorial unity and territorial integrity meaningless.
8. The draft has omitted long-standing US policy principles (land for peace, the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people, the need to end occupation, Israeli withdrawal and the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention), and has avoided US formulations (naming the Palestinian territories as the West Bank and Gaza and as occupied and defining them in a way similar, for instance, to that accompanying US loan guarantees to Israel in September 1992). By omitting these principles and formulations, crystallized during the Carter administration and maintained by every Administration up until the present, including Secretary Christopher's public declarations, the principles upon which the peace process is based are negated and the process itself undermined. These omissions, juxtaposed with the paragraph on jurisdiction and land, mean that there is absolutely no national Palestinian priority over the occupied Palestinian territories, whether in the interim period or in the final status.

On Jerusalem:

In our extensive deliberations with you over the past three weeks, we have unambiguously voiced our position on Jerusalem, a position to which we understood you were sensitive. It is unfortunate that this is not reflected in the draft.

1. In your letter of assurances, you stated that you do not recognize Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem and you acknowledged how much importance we attach to the question of Jerusalem and our right to bring the issue to the table. The draft invites us to agree to much less than that and to wait until the permanent status negotiations before raising the question of Jerusalem. You will understand that this is totally unacceptable to us, it is all the more so in view of Israeli acts on the ground which are pre-determining both the interim arrangements and the final status, and in view of the repeated declarations by Israeli leaders about Jerusalem which run contrary to long-standing US policy, to the consensus of the international community and to UN resolutions for which the US has voted.
2. The second reference to Jerusalem in the draft concerns elections. The draft refers only to East Jerusalem Palestinian and thus denies any territorial dimension for the occupied city. It even reduces the issues of participation in elections to that of voting.
3. Under the paragraph on land, there is a reference to the occupied territories as a single territorial unit and to their territorial integrity. The way East Jerusalem is referred to in the draft implies unmistakably that East Jerusalem is not considered as part of this integral whole and that it is excluded from the territorial jurisdiction of the Palestinian authority during the interim period. This is totally contrary to our draft Declaration of Principles which has tried, as you acknowledged in our deliberations with you, to put the question of territorially convincing which protecting our interests.

Rather than bridging gaps or providing constructive alternative options, we regret that the formulations in your draft, for the reasons stated above, widen differences and create additional difficulties. The draft further indicates alarming changes in and the role of the co-sponsor. Thus, the draft cannot serve as a basis, a focal point, or even a starting point for discussion.



**FAISAL HUSSEINI, LETTER TO US SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER
REGARDING THE US DRAFT PROPOSAL, JERUSALEM, 1 JULY 1993**

Dear Secretary Christopher:

We have read carefully the US draft that was given to us on June 30, 1993 as a set of "principles and/or areas of emerging agreement." While we reaffirm our commitment to the peace process, and precisely because we are concerned for the future of this process, we find it impossible to consider this draft as a suitable basis for future negotiations over a Declaration of Principles.

Amongst out many concerns, the opening paragraph projects peace "for generations to come" between "Israeli and Palestinians," thus involving, in the permanent status, only a part of our people and with no territorial base. By stating that any party has the right to claim territorial sovereignty in the permanent status negotiations, the draft contradicts the terms of reference embodied in UNSCR 242, including the principles of territory for peace, of the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by war, and of putting an end to occupation. The draft omits these and other long-standing US policy principles, such as the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people, the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention and Israeli withdrawal.

And instead of considering Israeli annexation of Jerusalem and Israeli settlement activity as acts prejudicial to the implementation of Resolution 242, and instead of considering Palestinian empowerment during the interim period, whether territorially, functionally or personally, as a step towards the implementation of the resolution, the draft implies that this empowerment could be reversed by Israel's claim to sovereignty in the final status. The fact that occupation has prevented us from exercising our indisputable right to sovereignty cannot be considered as a stepping stone to its denial.

These omissions, juxtaposed with the denial of territorial jurisdiction and the exclusion of geographic areas and categories of persons from the Palestinian authority in the interim period, mean that there is absolutely no Palestinian national priority over the occupied Palestinian territories, whether in the interim period or in the final status, negate the principles upon which the peace process is based and undermine the process itself.

As for Jerusalem, the US has, in the letter of assurances to us, stated that it does not recognize Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem and has acknowledged how much importance we attach to the question of Jerusalem and our right to bring the issue to the table. The draft invites us to agree to much less than that and to wait until the permanent status negotiations before raising the question of Jerusalem. You will understand that this is totally unacceptable to us, all the more so in view of Israeli acts on the ground which are predetermining both the interim arrangements and the final status, and the repeated declarations by Israeli leaders concerning Jerusalem which run contrary to long-standing US policy.

We hope that you understand why we cannot be in a situation where we are expected to consider the US draft as a productive starting point for future negotiations. We would nonetheless like to reiterate our commitment to work with you and to negotiate with the Israeli side on the path leading to interim self government arrangements and to comprehensive peace.

Sincerely,

Faisal Husseini
Head of the Palestinian Team to the Middle East Peace Process



**PLO/PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, DRAFT ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN
STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES, JERUSALEM, 5 AUGUST 1993**

The Palestinian and Israeli sides reaffirm their commitment to the peace process launched at Madrid. They seek to negotiate their differences and create a peaceful and just future in which Israelis and Palestinians will live side by side, in peace, for generations to come. Toward this end, the two sides will negotiate a Declaration of Principles to guide the negotiations on an interim self-government authority.

THE GOAL OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

The two sides agree that the objective of the peace process is to reach a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement achieved through direct negotiations based on United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace.

These negotiations between the Israeli and Palestinian sides will be conducted, per the Madrid letter of invitation, in two phases; the first phase of the negotiations is directed toward reaching agreement on a Palestinian interim self-government authority; and the second phase of the negotiations, starting not later than the beginning of the third year of the period of interim self-government arrangements, will be directed toward reaching agreement on permanent status. This agreement is to implement Resolutions 242 and 338 in all their aspects.

The two sides agree that the negotiating process is one and that its two phases are interlocked. They further agree that neither the negotiations nor the agreements reached for the interim period nor anything done in the interim period will preempt or prejudice the outcome of permanent status negotiations. Furthermore, both sides will make their best efforts to avoid actions before and during the interim period that undermine the environment for the negotiations. The two sides agree that all options for permanent status based on the provisions and principles of the agreed basis of the negotiations - United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 - will remain open. In negotiations each side can raise whatever issue it wants. The agenda for the permanent status negotiations will include the final status of Jerusalem.

THE NATURE OF THE PALESTINIAN ELECTED AUTHORITY

The two sides agree that a Palestinian elected interim self-government authority will be established through fair, free, general and direct elections. These elections will be held under agreed international supervision and with international observers and monitors. Negotiations will take place concerning the modalities and timetable for elections. Once election modalities are agreed upon by the two sides, the Palestinians of East Jerusalem will participate in the elections. The Palestinians of the West Bank including East Jerusalem and Gaza Strip as on June 4th, 1967 and their descendants have the right to participate in the elections.

The Palestinian elected authority will have the powers and responsibilities to carry out the authorities transferred to it under the agreement. It will assume executive authority. It will also assume legislative authority in the areas of responsibilities transferred to it, subject to the agreement to be negotiated. There will be independent judicial organs to be appointed by PISGA. Legislation in force in areas of responsibility not assumed by PISGA will be reviewed as appropriate.

The two sides agree that one of the key goals of the interim period is the transfer of authority to Palestinians. Powers and responsibilities of the Israeli civilian administration and other relevant Israeli organs will be transferred to the Palestinians as agreed. This process will bring about a fundamental change in the existing situation on the ground and in the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians. An important outcome of this phase will be the empowerment of the Palestinian people through the establishment of interim self-government authority which will give the Palestinians real control over decisions that affect their lives and fate. It should also pave the way to put an end to the confrontation between Israelis and Palestinians and create a new relationship between them of mutual respect, tolerance, peace and reconciliation, in which both sides eschew violence.

TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

The two sides agree that discussion of the issue of territorial jurisdiction as it relates to the interim period starts from the premise that issues relating to the exercise of sovereignty are outside the scope of the interim status negotiations. Consequently, nothing agreed regarding the issue of jurisdiction the interim status negotiations shall prejudice the outcome of the permanent status negotiations. Both negotiations, as provided for above, are designed to achieve the implementation of UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338, in all their aspects.

Thus, for the interim period, the Palestinian Interim Self-government Authority will exercise its territorial jurisdiction on the occupied Palestinian territories which were not under Israeli control on June 4, 1967 including Jerusalem.

The two sides have agreed that these territories are viewed as a single territorial unit, whose integrity will be preserved during the interim period, under one system of law.

GENERAL SECURITY

The Israeli and Palestinian sides agree that the security of both sides must be respected and enhanced as a result of the negotiating process. The objective of security arrangements during the interim period is to respond to the needs of both sides, as well as to create the conditions for real peace. The agreement will include appropriate security arrangements for assuring internal and external security and public order during the interim phase, taking into account the security concerns of both sides. The PISGA will establish appropriate security organs to maintain internal security and public order including a strong police force. The interface between internal and external security, particularly as related to bridges, border crossing ... etc., should be under the control of PISGA, unless otherwise stipulated by the agreement. The agreement will also take into account trilateral issues relating to border crossings and the movement of people and goods. Withdrawal of the Israeli forces shall begin during the interim phase according to an agreed timetable, with appropriate verification mechanisms. The Israeli army will withdraw from populated areas and redeploy in mutually agreed security locations.

COOPERATION AND COORDINATION

The two sides will conclude agreements and establish agreed arrangements for cooperation and coordination in specific areas of mutual and common concern. These areas of cooperation and coordination will take into account the mutual needs of both sides. The two sides will also establish a joint committee to consider and deal with matters of common concern and to resolve outstanding problems that may arise between them. Disputes which cannot be resolved or settled by agreement between the two sides will be submitted to international arbitration or an agreed standing committee.

IMPLEMENTING MECHANISMS

The Palestinian and Israeli sides seek early completion of the Declaration of Principles and a full agreement on interim self-government. Toward this end, the two sides will agree to a timetable and mechanisms for election of PISGA.

GAZA-JERICHO FIRST

“Gaza-Jericho first” as a form of disengagement would constitute a real breakthrough both in negotiations and on the ground. This first step would provide tangible and viable expression of the true transfer of full authority to the Palestinians with a concrete territorial base integrally linked to the rest of the occupied territories which remain an integral whole.



SECRET OSLO SIGNING CEREMONY: SPEECHES AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, OSLO, 20 AUGUST 1993 [EXCERPTS]

JOHAN JORGEN HOLST, FOREIGN MINISTER OF NORWAY

History is in the making. In the flow of history sometimes, we register turning points. Turning points must be created. You here tonight, it seems to me, have created a very important turning point. In order to create history, you have to have a sense of history. Making history means making possible that which is necessary. This is what you have done tonight. You have lived through years of confrontation, now you are entering an era of cooperation [...]

The Middle East has, to so many of us, seemed like a powder keg. Now I think it will turn into a laboratory for the creation for a viable, peaceful order. You have so many things going for you in the Middle East, and now I feel confident you will take charge into a zone of stability, cooperation, and openness. I know that it is impossible to capture by means of words what all this means. I think that we all sense that this not only is this important, but it is more important than most of the things that we have had the chance to experience ...

We are always there if you need our services. But the tasks is yours and the work has to be yours ...

AHMED QREI'A (ABU ALA'), HEAD OF THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION IN OSLO

I cried twice this week. The first time was when we talked by phone [the night before in Stockholm], and at 5:00 a.m. we finished everything. We were six persons: Abu Ammar [Arafat], Abu Mazen [Mahmoud Abbas], Yasser [Abd Rabbo], Abu Khaled [Muhsen Ibrahim], me, and Hassan [Asfour]. After we finished, really we cried. We congratulated each other. We said now we have to start the big battle for development, for construction, for cooperation. This is the new history [...]

Your Excellency, Mr. Peres, welcome. It is a great honor. I have keenly followed your declarations, statements, and writings that has confirmed to the all the Palestinian people your care to achieve just, permanent, and comprehensive peace. In the name of the Palestinian people and its leader Yasser Arafat, I would like to welcome you and congratulate you on your 70 birthday [...]

Today we have started a new journey towards a new future, in a world whose final form has not yet shaped and which is open to all sorts of change. The future that we look at won't materialize unless we both together overcome the fears of the past and learn from the past the lessons for our future. Cooperation and enmity don't coexist. Cooperation must be based equity, not domination. It is one of the key [elements] of trust. We should start the process of cooperation, in order to have trust. It is much better than military forces.

We have been parties to conflict. Now we are parties to peace ... We can say now that the battle of peace has started today. We are for it. It must be won by both of us.

URI SAVIR, HEAD OF THE ISRAELI DELEGATION IN OSLO

To the Palestinian delegation, let me say, if I may: We discovered you in Oslo, far away from the region whose future we are negotiating. We were introduced as enemies. We came with good will but yet with a few prejudices. We found men of truth, courage, and depth. Abu Ala', Hassan Asfour, Mohammed Kosh - you are the neighbors we wish to live with side by side.

Ministers, friends, this day is marked, hopefully, by man changing history. We owe this agreement to the leadership and courage of a few who dare to challenge the illusory comfort of political routine. You have challenged those who are paralyzed by the burden of the past or by the hypnosis of the present. You have indicated with open eyes new yet unknown directions as your sight is set on the good of men and women. Therefore, we can embark today on a new journey - hoping, working, and praying to put an end to suspicion, to violence, hate, fear, pain, [and] suffering. All this, over night, has become the common enemy of Israelis and Palestinian people alike.

It is indeed a new dawn for two peoples plagued by historical tragedies. The Jewish people suffered two millennia of exile and persecution to find a safe haven in its historical homeland, but encountered uninvited violent rejection. The Palestinian people, often caught tragically in the midst of a wider conflict, [were] never able to express the freedom they seek and deserve. The meeting of two tragic histories created the bitter conflict on a small land drenched by historical memory.

Today, all this can be - must be - over. A dark chapter in our common history is closed, shut in the face of those who hoped and even helped to perpetuate our conflict forever and failed. Today is the beginning of ...a future where legitimate Palestinian desires for self-government are compatible with Israeli interest in security. It is a test [...].

The needs and aspirations of our young oblige us to succeed. We Israelis have no desire to dominate the lives and fate of the Palestinians. With this agreement, we are not just fulfilling a political interest, but also a moral predicament for our people. We would like our meeting ground to become a moral high ground for peace, democracy, and economic prosperity.



**ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN, SPEECH BEFORE THE KNESSET,
JERUSALEM, 30 AUGUST 1993**

[Rabin addressed a special Kneset session to consider the agreement with the PLO.]

This meeting was slated to discuss other subjects, but I am glad it is possible to discuss a substantive issue instead. Discuss is not the suitable word here though. I came to brief you only, as the cabinet has not yet made a decision, and it would be improper for me to bring this forum details regarding the possibility of signing an agreement between us and the Palestinian delegation in the framework of the Washington negotiations on the establishment of the interim arrangements. Therefore, I will settle for general comments.

I will not engage in apologies with the Likud. We have a policy. We have tasks and commitments that made up our platform when we ran in the last Kneset elections. The main mission was to promote the making of peace. We did not create the format of the Madrid peace conference, nor its continuation as reflected in the talks with the Arab delegations in Washington. Still, we introduced real content into a format that stayed above water during the Likud days. We came with our positions, positions which are expressed in the Government's basic guidelines, as to how to advance toward peace with Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, and how to establish the interim arrangement, the autonomy, with the Palestinians in the territories. We undertook and are committed to doing this.

I have said more than once that the Madrid format is not ideal. But since the State of Israel is committed to this format, we will do our best in the framework of this format. We have said more than once that the key to a breakthrough lies in the negotiations with Syria or in the negotiations with the Palestinians. We want to reach peace with Jordan and we honour the King and his regime. Similarly, we want to reach peace with Lebanon and honour the Government ruling it. Still, it was clear to us that without making progress with Syria, it is doubtful whether we will be able to make progress with Lebanon. Also, without taking a significant step with regard to the Palestinians, it is doubtful whether Jordan would be willing to sign a peace accord with us. Therefore, we focused on these two fronts. I am telling you today that the horizons for peace are open. Progress has been made in the entire Arab arena with regard to readiness for peace. This does not mean that there are no obstacles or difficulties, but I am convinced that the horizons for peace are open. One should distinguish between the two fronts of negotiations, that with the Syrians and that with the Palestinians. With Syria, the negotiations revolve around the establishment of full peace, of signing a peace treaty. As for the Palestinians, reference is to the establishment of the interim arrangement.

The dialogue between us and the Syrians, whether direct or indirect - via the United States - made it clear to us that Syria is not prepared for full peace, nor according to our conditions yet, without receiving the price that an Israeli Government in the past determined as a precedent in return for peace, and I am referring to the peace with Egypt: namely, a comprehensive withdrawal and the uprooting of any Israeli presence in the area that will be evacuated. How did al-Assad put this in his talks with the Americans? He said: How am I different from the late Egyptian President al-Sadat? I did not say that we accepted his positions. Under the circumstances, after a dialogue with Palestinians who are not residents of the territories, we reached an

agreement. Naturally, the test of this agreement - and I believe this will come to pass - will lie in the signing of an accord that will be consolidated in Washington between the existing delegations. The signing of such an accord between the Palestinian delegation and us in Washington will turn into a significant fact: It will make possible the establishment of the interim arrangement.

What did we insist on? First, this agreement was struck between us and the Palestinians, not conditional on what we will achieve with Lebanon, Syria or Jordan. This is a bilateral agreement. Second, we insisted that Jerusalem would not be included in the framework for the interim arrangements, Jerusalem would not be included in any area where the powers of those who will administer the Palestinian issues in the territories will apply. Jerusalem remains under Israel's sovereignty and is Israel's unified capital. The settlements remain. There is no uprooting of settlements. We will not repeat this, neither in Judea and Samaria, nor in Gaza. Third, security, in everything that relates not only to settlements but also to Israelis wherever they may be in the area, is in Israel's hands. Security on the confrontation lines, on Israel's borders, on any crossing line, is in our hands: along the Jordan River, in the Jordan Valley -except for the Jericho area - if it is part of the area that is included in the interim arrangement agreement, and along the Egyptian border, including the terminals. Security in all these places is in our hands and under our responsibility. We are prepared to be party to establishing a reality whereby the internal Palestinian security will be in the Palestinians' hands. I said internal Palestinian security and let me re-emphasize - the security of Israelis, of settlements and Israelis both, is in our hands, with the extensive interpretation we will imbue it with. There is no commitment to the nature of the permanent solution.

Here and there, I believe, it is surely possible to make observations about one phrasing or another but one should understand the substance in general. One should understand the significance involved in the timing of the agreement, reached in a reality of a Khomeinist wave that is sweeping the Arab and Muslim world, including the Palestinians. The line dividing people in the Arab world today is who is and who is not in favour of negotiations for a peaceful solution, regardless of anything that took place in the past. It is about time not to live in the past, but rather in the present, and look forward to the future. Every move involves risks, but it is necessary to remember which agreements are reversible and which are not. Every agreement that concerns an arrangement with the Palestinians on the establishment of the transitional period - the interim arrangement, autonomy - is then subject to chance if it is violated significantly. The IDF [Israel Defence Forces] exists. It is part of the agreement, which could not be the case in an agreement with an Arab country, when a withdrawal is on the line.

Therefore, I believe that the right path and the right priority was chosen. Let me add that we also relied on Palestinians who are not residents of the territories. For a long while, I believed that only the Palestinians from among the residents of the territories might be able to be strong enough, might be able to pull enough weight, but after more than a year of negotiations I reached the conclusion that they were incapable of this. They did not reach Madrid at the time without a decision in Tunis, nor did they act without faxes and telephone calls from Tunis. This may not be pleasant, but it is a fact. Whoever wants to ignore facts, they are welcome to do so. But those who want to promote peace and the beginning of the solution cannot ignore this. Therefore, the dialogue was with Palestinians who are not necessarily residents of the territories, but the signing of the agreement will be between the delegations, in line with the Madrid conference format.

I do not want to take issue with anybody or anything today. I believe that the road is correct. I believe that the move is correct. It is not easy. Any change, any solution, also involves risk, but the time has come to take risks for the sake of peace, of a solution. I believe that the agreement will be signed and implemented. It will take time. We are talking about a declaration of principles, about minutes to the declaration of principles, as well as several addenda, all of which still require negotiations. To implement matters, we need to hold negotiations on the substance of the so-called autonomy or interim arrangement and on the composition and powers of the council which will administer it. I would say that this agreement is divided into two, as follows:

The first stage to be implemented is Gaza, with the settlements remaining there, as well as the IDF, in defence of the settlements. The IDF will withdraw from certain places, but will remain to safeguard the settlements and Israelis, as well as our borders. The first stage includes Jericho, provided that it serves as a seat for the body which will handle what the Americans call the early empowerment, the issue of self-administration. This is the condition for "Jericho First", and I prefer to have this arrangement there, farther away from Jerusalem, rather than in any place near Jerusalem.

I am an advocate of the Allon Plan. Anybody familiar with it knows that it stipulates that in the permanent arrangement too, Jericho would be connected to Jordan by means of a corridor. I have not deviated from my personal commitment to the principles of the Allon Plan. I am telling you, at this stage and in the future a partial withdrawal in Gaza is better than the evacuation of the Golan Heights. Therefore, we face a rare opportunity. True, from the strategic point of view, Syria poses a greater problem than the problem with the Palestinians. However, a solution of the latter means solving the crux of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Although it is not the only one, it is the main focus of the conflict. Hence, what was agreed on in Oslo and what will be presented and signed in Washington - I hope and believe it will be so - is a great step forward in promoting Israel towards peace with all our neighbouring countries, first and foremost with the Palestinians.

Observations will be made and criticism will be levelled. There will be talk about this or that clause and about this or that difficulty. Great moves cannot be done without difficulties and without taking reasonable risks. I will not go into any more details and I do not care what the Likud and the opposition say. We must tell the people: We promised to promote the making of peace. We said we would go for an interim arrangement with the Palestinians, without harming Jewish settlements and security and without making any commitment with regard to the permanent arrangement. Also, we said before the elections that we do not believe in Greater Israel. I do not believe in the right of the Israeli people over all Eretz Yisrael. I do not want, and I said as much time and again during the election campaign, to annex 1.8 to 2 million Palestinians and to turn the State of Israel into a bi-national state.

However, that is not the issue now. This is our long-term policy. The issue now is the implementation of an interim arrangement for a period of five years. We inherited it through the Camp David accords and the letter of invitation to the Madrid Conference.

And we are making progress toward the making of peace. We are not just talking about peace, but making it. Therefore, I think that what has been agreed is an achievement. I would like to congratulate [Foreign Minister] Shimon [Peres] for what he has done. We worked in cooperation. I think we are on the verge of a great opportunity. Moreover, I estimate that if the agreement is definitely signed and begins to be implemented, it will bring repercussions and will provide us with greater manoeuvring room in our contacts with the others. After all, our agreement with the Palestinians is not linked or contingent on any conditions with any other Arab partner. It is not like the peace treaty with Egypt, which was linked to the autonomy agreement. This agreement is not linked to Syria, Lebanon or Jordan and allows us manoeuvring room with them.

This is the way things are. Of course, there will be attempts to scare people off, as was the case when we pulled out of Lebanon. Similar attempts will be made now. Who will make them? Those who set the precedent whereby down to the last square centimetre must be evacuated, all Israeli presence must be uprooted, and Yamit must be demolished in exchange for peace. If there is hypocrisy in the world, the Likud personifies it today. It is hypocrisy incarnate when their people berate an agreement that does not entail the uprooting or harming of even one settlement and that does not yet cede even one square centimetre. Therein lies the difference.

This is how things stand at this point. I propose that all of us believe in our way and our commitment and talk less, seeing that I will not go into any more detail on specific clauses prior to the cabinet session.



**ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES, SPEECH BEFORE THE KNESSET,
JERUSALEM, 30 AUGUST 1993**

[Peres addressed a special Knesset session to consider the agreement with the PLO.]

Honourable Knesset, the following are our proposals regarding the territories: The removal of the military authorities and the Civil Administration. The Arab residents will elect an administrative council on their own. We will not intervene in their handling of daily affairs. The term of the administrative council will be for four years from the day of its election. Its residence will be in Bethlehem. On behalf of the agreement and peace, Israel is proposing that the problem of sovereignty in these territories remain open. A strong local police force will be set up and this force can also include Jordanian civilians. If any PLO sympathizer is elected to this administrative council, what will our attitude be? We will tell them then: If you behave properly, you will sit on this council. Who said so in the past? It was none other than Menahem Begin!

Let me say now that I was very impressed with David Levi's speech. It was truly a nice opposition speech. I am extending my compliments to him on this. He asked why the overjoyousness about the agreement. My friend David: we are now witnessing the beginning of the end of a 100-year conflict between us and the Palestinians and you are still living in the past. [Responding to repeated heckling by Likud Knesset Member (MK) Moshe Katzav] You are a young man who is not capable of seeing five steps ahead. [Responding to Likud MK Beni Begin] You are an intelligent person who lives in the past and is totally blind to today and tomorrow, blind and unwilling to hear and see. The world has changed completely. It is only you in the Likud who do not know about this. The conflict between the United States and Russia is over and Russian weapons do not flow in abundant quantities and for free to the Arabs. The Third World is over and the Arabs no longer enjoy the right of a disruptive majority around the world. You, the opposition, are only looking back. It is Iran rather than Israel that is currently seen as a danger by the Arab world, and hatred for Zionism has grown weaker due to greater and just hatred of fundamentalism. Still, you stick to your oppositionist refrain.

Let me answer you David Levi. What, in fact, is your question? Your question is why did we not strike an agreement on all of Judea and Samaria, instead of Jericho only? Why does this disturb you? Menahem Begin at the time did not propose Jericho, which - as Binyamin Netanyahu defined it - is only 15 minutes away from Jerusalem, but rather Bethlehem, which is only three minutes away from Jerusalem. Is Bethlehem kosher while Jericho is forbidden? [Peres takes issue with MK Beni Begin who keeps interrupting his speech] You have no idea what I am talking about. You are talking to yourself. I did not mislead anybody. What you, the opposition, want is an alliance of bluffs in the State of Israel. It is you who started the negotiations with the PLO and it is you now who are levelling accusations at us.

To go back to David Levi's truly nice opposition speech - I do not want to offend anybody, but it was David Levi who delivered today's remarkable opposition speech. MK David Levi very neatly accused us of three things: First, he said, why are you coming to terms with the PLO? As I have said before in reference to this point, the late Prime Minister Menahem Begin said that if the PLO behaves properly we will talk to them and we will not scrutinize them with a magnifying glass. However, I do not want to dwell on this issue.

I would like to tell MK David Levi that we were not the ones who removed our opposition to the PLO. It is the PLO that has been disbanding as a terror organization. We will not recognize the PLO unless it amends the Palestinian Covenant and renounces terror. There was once an organization called the FLN [Algeria's National Liberation Front] that engaged in terror. Then it renounced terror and became a political party. People who live in the past do not understand anything because they change nothing.

What is the situation in the field? There is a Palestinian coalition that wants to attain an arrangement and a minority organization, Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement]. MK Matza, I hallucinated that we would have a nuclear reactor, an aviation industry, and a strong IDF. What hallucinations did you have? Some nerve! You call me a hallucinator? It will do you no good, nobody will be intimidated by you!

The situation in the field is that there is an armed Hamas and a Palestinian coalition without a police force. We must protect the Palestinian majority from the armed Palestinian minority. Why? David says they cannot be trusted to fight Hamas. Tell me: Why did they fight in Jordan? Why did they have Black September? Why do they not have Hamas in Jordan or in Egypt? Do you want to retain the monopoly? Let the Arabs protect their own majority! You need not be the one who defends the Arab majority! You need not be the one who fights the armed Arab minority! Let them do that! It is their business, not yours!

Incidentally, the Likud claims it launched the peace process. I would like to make the following distinction: the late Menahem Begin made peace. Mr. Shamir, may he live long, made a parade that was not going anywhere. That was his goal. The Likud staged a parade in Madrid with ornaments, ceremonies and a table, but quietly told themselves: We are not moving from here. This is only a way station, but we are not moving from here. It is not for nothing that Mr. Shamir voted against Mr. Begin's peace; it was no mere coincidence.

The agreement we have reached is better in several aspects than the Camp David accords and the autonomy plan that the Likud accepted, and on fundamental issues at that. The Camp David accords speak about an arrangement to ensure internal and external security, but do not stipulate who will be in charge of it; our agreement stipulates that we will be in charge. The Camp David accords do not mention the source of authority. Our agreement states that we are the source of authority. The Camp David accords are vague as to whether the autonomy applies to people or to territory; our agreement stipulates three categories distinguishing between territory, people and issues.

As far as territory is concerned, the plan we propose does not include Jerusalem. The Likud's proposed autonomy applied to all the territory up to the Green Line, while our agreement does not include either Jerusalem, the settlements, security areas, highways or roads.

Secondly, our agreement speaks of personal autonomy which does not apply to Israelis, not just to settlers but to any Israeli in the area.

Our agreement makes a topical distinction, whereby the autonomy does not apply to the main issues of which we will be in charge. We have already spelled them out: We will be in charge of foreign affairs, security, the settlers and Israelis. These issues are clear and are better than all the vagueness, obscurity, evasiveness and double-talk that existed before.

I would like to make another point: There should be no doubt whatsoever that our proposal in no way refers to a Palestinian State. The following sentence in Hebrew, English and every other possible language is included in the preamble of the agreement: The objective of the negotiations is to establish an interim Palestinian self-government authority in the framework of the current peace.

My dear David Levi, you claim we have no strategy. Let me refer briefly to MK Netanyahu's tall tales about deception. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said before the elections that we favour a territorial compromise. We did not deceive or defraud anybody. We said we did not want to annex 2 million Arabs. These things were said, and based on them we won a majority.

Moreover, we do have a strategy, both a negative and a positive one. The negative strategy is not to turn the Middle East into the Balkans and to turn Israel into Yugoslavia, but to make the Middle East resemble Europe and to make Israel a Jewish State. This is a clear and unequivocal strategy. David, perhaps deep in your heart you understand it very well. Why do I say that every Likud member believes that deep in his heart? Because, between you and me, when all is said and done, you gave up the Transjordan for the same reasons, although it may be hard for you to admit as much. Is the land of the Transjordan less worthy than the Jordan Rift Valley or the Golan Heights? Do you take us for fools? You know as well as we do that there will be no Balkans or Yugoslavia, but a region that lives in peace, a land that lives in peace with itself and with moral values, a country that does not rule over any other nation.

Mr. Netanyahu, with all due respect and honesty, I would like to tell you: We were in the opposition when the Likud came up with the proposal to uproot settlements. Some of my party colleagues were adamant in their opposition to such a move. As head of the opposition, I said that although I did not like it we must accept it. We were in the opposition, but contrary to many of you, we supported Begin. You should have stood up today and fully supported our proposals. You said the public must not be deceived. Did you not tell the people that you were in favour of autonomy? So, why do you not support autonomy? We are not proposing to uproot settlements, Jerusalem is not included in the agreement. So, why do you not have the wisdom, honesty and courage to come out in support of autonomy? You are the one who is breaching a promise to the voters, not Rabin! Rabin is making good on his promises! You are the ones who are not! You are the ones who spoke about autonomy and are not prepared to fulfil it!

I heard you talk about Jericho. Is Bethlehem any better? If you say it is an interim arrangement, the whole nation must believe you. So, why is it any different when we say it is an interim arrangement? Do we speak a different language? Look, you were in America and you are still in a daze. You have just come back and, believe me, you have not got a clue what we are talking about.

I would like to make an interim proposal to MK Moshe Katzav: I will vow to oppose a Palestinian State and you will vow to support the autonomy. Why not? I would like to reach an understanding with you. After all, you favour autonomy, except you have forgotten. Only half a year ago, you were in favour of autonomy. What has happened to you? What got into your head?

Members of the Likud, look deep into your souls. You are making a historic mistake. You made a commitment to autonomy, but, as MK Netanyahu put it, you are deceiving and defrauding the voters, you are not fulfilling your promises. As for us, we are united and convinced.

One may argue with one organization or another. However, we are not negotiating with organizations. We are negotiating with a people, the Palestinian people recognized in the Camp David accords. The Palestinian people is the term used in those accords. We want to make a Middle East of peace, dignity and security.

Speaking of matters of security and seeing that the Prime Minister is not here, I would like to say that no other man has ever insisted on each and every minute detail pertaining to security as he has. We will be in charge of external and internal security. We will be in charge of the security of the State of Israel and the security of every Israeli, in all the territories.

This is a genuine proposal. We did not try to deceive either the Jews or the Palestinians. We want to live with them in peace. They are human beings just like us. We do not want to rule over them, scorn them or humiliate them. They are not four-legged creatures. They are not demons or animals. They are human beings just like us - Israel's faith is based upon such precepts - and we will live with them in peace.

I call on my Likud colleagues to reconsider their position. First read what we are talking about, do not speculate. You took a very serious gamble when you chose to argue about speculation rather than about a written paper. You have not even seen it yet. The paper has worth, behind which stands the Jewish people, the State of Israel and the IDF.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot fully detail the plan at this stage because the Israeli Government has not yet endorsed it. The Cabinet will meet today at 1900 [1600 GMT] to hold a debate. I hope it will approve the plan and we will be able to bring the good tidings to Israel's young generation that after 100 years of terror there will not be another 100 years of terror but the beginning of 100 years of dialogue and good neighbourliness. The entire nation will rally around the flag and the book of prayers, and all nations will march toward economic cooperation for the sake of the future of the entire region. I propose to refer all the motions to the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.



**PLO AND ISRAEL, EXCHANGED LETTERS OF MUTUAL RECOGNITION,
9 SEPTEMBER 1993**

1. LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT TO PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN

Mr. Prime Minister,

The signing of the Declaration of Principles marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. In firm conviction thereof, I would like to confirm the following PLO commitments:

- (a) The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.
- (b) The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.
- (c) The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.
- (d) The PLO considers that the signing of the Declaration of Principles constitutes a historic event, inaugurating a new epoch of peaceful coexistence, free from violence and all other acts which endanger peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators.

In view of the promise of a new era and the signing of the Declaration of Principles and based on Palestinian acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the PLO affirms that those articles of the Palestinian Covenant which deny Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments of this letter are now inoperative and no longer valid. Consequently, the PLO undertakes to submit to the Palestinian National Council for formal approval the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant.

Sincerely,

Yasser Arafat
Chairman, The Palestine Liberation Organization

2. LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT TO NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
JOHAN JORGEN HOLST

Dear Minister Holst,

I would like to confirm to you that, upon the signing of the Declaration of Principles, the PLO encourages and calls upon the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to take part in the steps leading to the normalization of life, rejecting violence and terrorism, contributing to peace and stability and participating actively in shaping reconstruction, economic development and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Yasser Arafat
Chairman, The Palestine Liberation Organization

3. LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN TO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT

Mr. Chairman,

In response to your letter of September 9, 1993, I wish to confirm to you that, in light of the PLO commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Yitzhak Rabin
Prime Minister of Israel



US PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON, STATEMENT REGARDING THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, WASHINGTON, DC, 10 SEPTEMBER 1993

Today marks a shining moment of hope for the people of the Middle East; indeed, of the entire world. The Israelis and the Palestinians have now agreed upon a declaration of principles on an interim self-government that opens the door to a comprehensive and lasting settlement.

This declaration represents a historic and honourable compromise between two peoples who have been locked in a bloody struggle for almost a century. Too many have suffered for too long. The agreement is a bold breakthrough. The Palestine Liberation Organization openly and unequivocally has renounced the use of violence and has pledged to live in peace with Israel. Israel, in turn, has announced its recognition of the PLO.

I want to express my congratulations and praise for the courage and the vision displayed by the Israeli and Palestinian leadership and for the crucially helpful role played by Norway.

For too long, the history of the Middle East has been defined in terms of violence and bloodshed. Today marks the dawning of a new era. Now there is an opportunity to define the future of the Middle East in terms of reconciliation and coexistence and the opportunities that children growing up there will have whether they are Israeli or Palestinian.

I want to express the full support of the United States for this dramatic and promising step. For more than a quarter of a century, our nation has been directly engaged in efforts to resolve the Middle East conflict. We have done so because it reflects our finest values and our deepest interests - our interests in a stable Middle East where Israelis and Arabs can live together in harmony and develop the potential of their region, which is tremendous. From Camp David to Madrid, to the signing ceremony that will take place at the White House on Monday, administration after administration has facilitated this difficult but essential quest.

From my first day in office, [United States] Secretary [of State Warren] Christopher and I have made this a priority. We are resolved to continue this process to achieve a comprehensive Arab-Israeli resolution.

In 1990, the United States suspended the United States-PLO dialogue, begun two years earlier, following an act of terrorism committed against Israel by a faction of the PLO. Yesterday Yasser Arafat wrote to Prime Minister Rabin, committing the PLO to accept Israel's right to exist in peace and security, to renounce terrorism, to take responsibility for the actions of its constituent groups, to discipline those elements who violate these new commitments, and to nullify key elements of the Palestinian covenant that denied Israel's right to exist. These PLO commitments justify a resumption of our dialogue.

As a result and in light of this week's events, I have decided to resume the dialogue and the contacts between the United States and the PLO.

The path ahead will not be easy. These new understandings, impressive though they are, will not erase the fears and suspicions of the past. But now the Israelis and the Palestinians have laid the foundations of hope. The United States will continue to be a full and an active partner in the negotiations that lie ahead, to ensure that this promise of progress is fully realized.

All the peoples of the Middle East deserve the blessings of peace. I pledge to join them, in our help and our support, to achieve that objective. I look forward to joining with Russia - our co-sponsor in the Middle East peace process - and with the people of the world in witnessing the historic signing on Monday.

I also want to say I am very grateful for the overwhelming support this agreement has generated among members of both parties in the United States Congress. I especially thank leaders in the Congress from both parties who have foreign policy responsibilities and who have come to meet with me this morning in the White House, many of whom have stayed on for this statement.

This is a time for bipartisan support for this agreement and, indeed, a bipartisan effort to reassert and define America's role in a very new world. We were talking today in our meeting about how this period is not unlike the late 1940s, a time in which America was the first nation to recognize Israel and in which we formed the United Nations and other international institutions in an attempt to work toward the world which everyone hoped would follow from World War II.

Once again, we must develop a strong philosophy and a practical set of institutions that can permit us to follow our values and our interests and to work for a more peaceful, a more humane and a more democratic world.

This is an enormous step toward that larger goal. And I think all Americans should be grateful for the opportunity that we have been presented to help to make this historic peace work.



**ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN, SPEECH AFTER RECEIVING PLO
CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT'S LETTER OF RECOGNITION, JERUSALEM, 10
SEPTEMBER 1993**

I have just received a letter from Chairman Arafat, in the name of the leadership of the PLO, in which he takes commitments to recognize Israel and its right to exist in peace and security, to solve the long conflict between the Palestinians and Israel through negotiations in a peaceful way. He takes [a] commitment to end terror and violence, to renounce it. He takes upon himself to look at the articles of the Palestinian [National] Covenant as inoperative and no longer valid. I see in this commitment, on the part of the PLO, a change - a dramatic change - that opens the road toward reconciliation and peace between the Palestinians and Israel. It is the first agreement since the creation of the State of Israel. I am fully aware of the difficulties that face the Palestinians and Israel in the solution of our problems.

I see a big step toward the achievement of these goals, knowing that there is still a long way to go - with obstacles on the road that we shall have to remove, and it is possible to remove them. I believe it starts a new era, an era in which we will do our best to achieve peace and security in Israel and, at the same time, give the Palestinians the right - in the context of agreement about the interim period - to run their affairs. I believe that there is a great opportunity, of changing not only the relations between the Palestinians and Israel, but to expand it to the solution of the conflict between Israel and other Arab countries, and other Arab peoples. It is an historic moment that, hopefully, will bring about an end to one hundred years of bloodshed and misery between the Palestinians and Jews, and Palestinians and Israel. I would like to thank you, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Norway, for your efforts, for your involvement in the achievement of these papers. I would like to thank you, Shimon [Peres], for your efforts to bring it about. As I said, it is only the beginning, but a tremendously important agreement.



**NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER JOHAN JORGEN HOLST, STATEMENT AT THE
SIGNING CEREMONY OF ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER RABIN'S LETTER TO PLO
CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT, JERUSALEM, 10 SEPTEMBER 1993**

Mr. Prime Minister:

Let me just very briefly state how pleased we have been and how humble I feel having had a chance to play a small role in this very important endeavour to bring peace to the embattled area of the Middle East. It has been a very long journey and some very dedicated people have worked very, very hard to produce the documents that settle the immediate matters that needed to be settled. We have had the privilege of working together with some fantastic Israelis and equally with some unique Palestinians in finding a solution to what increasingly came to be seen as common challenges, common problems. And when I

see the kind of spirit, the kind of cooperation that developed between the two groups of people who so ably and so tenaciously represented their different sides, I feel that the future is bright indeed. There is hope, and I think one has, as the Prime Minister said, entered a new era. We have gone beyond the stage where decisions could only be made by consensus. You have to break the consensus in order to make the necessary decisions and in order to provide a basis from which you can build a new consensus, and it seems to me that the importance of the documents that have now been initialled and signed is that we have created a new basis for building a common future in the Middle East.

One has put history behind us and we are looking towards the future, and the Declaration of Principles that has been agreed between the two sides, it seems to me, points towards a future that you will have to build together and by common endeavour rather than in common conflict. So my only task is to thank you very much for everything that you have done in accomplishing these very, very important results and for giving us a chance to serve in that very, very important endeavour.



PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, STATEMENT ON THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, TUNIS, 12 SEPTEMBER 1993

Here, O brothers, is the statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization:

O masses of our great struggling people, O daughters and sons of Palestine on the land of the homeland, in exiles and the Diaspora,

The Executive Committee of the PLO addresses you with the salutation of steadfastness and determination at this historic turning point through which our national cause is passing. Our people is anxious to welcome a new stage in its long struggle through the realization of the first tangible achievement on the land of its homeland. The tidings of this achievement would not have appeared without the dear sacrifices offered by the caravans of martyrs and *mujahidin* for generation after generation in defense of the unchallenged right of our people in self-determinations, the return, and independence.

The PLO has arrived at the first agreement in our contemporary history with Israel that ensures the recognition of the legitimate rights of our Palestinian people and the Palestinian Liberation Organization as its sole representative.

The significance of this agreement is represented by the fact that it stipulates the realization of a comprehensive solution on the bases of the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 242 and 338 and the withdrawal of the Israeli forces within a number of months from parts of our occupied homeland in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area; the redeployment of all Israeli forces in the other areas outside the populated areas in the cities, villages, and camps; the departure of military rule; and the dismantling of the Israeli civil administration to be replaced by the Palestinian authority and the elected Palestinian council, which will assume its duties over all of the Bank and Gaza after free and democratic elections under international supervision.

The Palestinian security forces, which will be formed from elements at home and abroad, will take over responsibilities for internal security in the entire Palestinian territory. The agreement will guarantee the control of our people over all its capabilities, affairs, and the return of those who have left since 1967, during the interim stage.

These positive elements, which have been realized despite the fact that they do not solve all the issues which constitute the basis of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, have been associated quite correctly with all our rights and demands and, above all, the issues of Holy Jerusalem, the refugees, the settlements, and the borders. It has been agreed to discuss them two years after the beginning of the interim stage.

The PLO affirms that reaching a final solution to the conflict remains linked to the realization of a just solution to these central issues. These issues are also a Palestinian, Arab, Islamic, Christian, and international responsibility - a matter that makes it all the more necessary they should be continually adhered to, that all forms of coordination and joint Arab and international action be ensured to realize them, and that a just, comprehensive, and final settlement of the conflict in our region is reached.

At a time when the PLO considers that the Palestinian-Israeli agreement on the declaration of principles constitutes an important step toward the solution of the conflict, the PLO proceeds in this stance on the basis of acceptance of the challenge of peace of giving a chance to the achievement of the just solution with all its aspects and dimensions, as contained in Resolutions 242 and 338, and the principle of returning all the occupied territories for peace and guaranteeing security for all. In this context, the implementation of the agreement with all its aspects and the precise respect of its timetable, and the shouldering of international efforts to provide all the political and economic elements so as to make it successful, will be the real criterion through which our people will decide on the seriousness of all the parties concerned and their adherence to their pledges and commitments.

The continuation of international supervision of the forthcoming stage in the negotiations and the steps for its implementation and the support for the process of establishing the infrastructure of the Palestinian authority are necessary elements for achieving the success of the agreement and for providing the atmosphere for real peace.

The PLO stresses that stopping all activities of settlements, particularly in Holy Jerusalem, constitutes a main element for ensuring the success of the transitional arrangements in addition to all the measures and steps liable to achieve for our people and all their sons their legitimate rights, including the release of prisoners, the return of deportees, the cessation of the isolation of Jerusalem, and the lifting of the siege on the remaining occupied territories.

The PLO considers that the success of the agreement and the guaranteeing of our rights in full accordance with the resolutions of international legitimacy depend on our people with all their capabilities and national efficiencies and on the use and employment of all its capabilities inside and outside the homeland. Our great people are entering a new stage in the struggle, which needs greater efforts and the contribution of every Palestinian with all his capabilities, to build our national Palestinian authority and ensure the victory of our just aims. Within this framework, the Organization reaffirms that the protection of our position and our national unity and the bolstering of the latter in all spheres will guarantee that our people will pass this turning point and move toward the final solution while the people are capable of protecting and adhering to its aims as well as to guaranteeing their realization. To this end the Organization regards that it is the duty of all to respect the bases of national and democratic action, and to be committed to a comprehensive national charter of honor, which contains an insistence on our national rights as stipulated by the resolutions of our national councils and the Palestinian peace initiatives, and on guaranteeing views and alternative views, and on always upholding rule by democratic means and respecting human rights and dignity, and on dependence on the role of the national establishments and to adhere to their resolutions and to observe all the democratic rules stipulated by the Palestinian Independence Declaration.

The PLO in these historic and fateful circumstances stresses its commitment to the comprehensive settlement at all Arab fronts and its refusal to separate settlements. If the progress happening at the Palestinian track is still within the framework of the transitional stage, this progress supports the continued efforts at the Arab tracks to attain an actual achievement to implement the international resolutions. The PLO calls for raising the coordination formula level and joint work among the five Arab states concerned with the peace process and working toward the convocation of an Arab summit to support the efforts of all the parties participating in the political process and providing an actual support for the success of the interim agreement at the Palestinian track.

Our Arab nation approaches a new decisive period, which requires the restoration of the Arab solidarity and the opening up of a new chapter in inter-Arab relations to safeguard interests and national rights and to secure the restoration of all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, in the forefront Holy Jerusalem.

The PLO stresses its eagerness to develop and strengthen Jordanian-Palestinian coordination and to ensure the integration of all efforts in all fields to attain the highest level of formulas and forms of relations between the two fraternal countries, stemming from the unity of goals and common fate, which have been stressed by the meetings of two leaderships - the Jordanian and the Palestinian - and which were organized and outlined through coordination committees and joint work.

The Palestinian Liberation Organizations, in this era of our just struggle, is continuing work in different fields to handle issues and challenges arising from this new stage.

The Organization calls on all creative powers and national capacities to pour all their efforts into setting up the first national authority on our nation's holy land. The Executive Committee will call on the Palestinian Central Council to convene as soon as possible with a wide and effective participation from all the forces and personalities within the nation and abroad to set down national responsibilities and to develop our people's contribution using all their forces and capabilities in the current national battle of destiny.

The PLO confirms that this great achievement and the new track that our national issue has entered was a result of the sacrifice of thousands of martyrs, detainees, and wounded, and the heroics of all the sons and daughters of our great people.

Our brave people will remain determined on their aims and rights until just and honorable peace is attained on the land of peace, on the land of Palestinian, the place of the Revelation [Islam] and the cradle of the divine messages.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: Yet we desired to be gracious to those that were abased in the land, and to make them leaders, and to make them inheritors, and to establish them in the land. [*Qur'anic verse*]

Glory and eternity be to our righteous martyrs and victory be for the aims of our great people.

Tunis, 12 September 1993

(Signed) The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization



**PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON INTERIM
SELF-GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY (DOP), WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON, DC, 13 SEPTEMBER 1993**

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS

The Government of the State of Israel and the PLO team (in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the Middle East Peace Conference) (the "Palestinian Delegation"), representing the Palestinian people, agree that it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, recognize their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security and achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process. Accordingly, the two sides agree to the following principles:

Article I: Aim of the Negotiation

The aim of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council, (the

"Council") for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

It is understood that the interim arrangements are an integral part of the whole peace process and that the negotiations on the permanent status will lead to the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

Article II: Framework for the Interim period

The agreed framework for the interim period is set forth in this Declaration of Principles.

Article III: Elections

1. In order that the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip may govern themselves according to democratic principles, direct, free and general political elections will be held for the Council under agreed supervision and international observation, while the Palestinian police will ensure public order.
2. An agreement will be concluded on the exact mode and conditions of the elections in accordance with the protocol attached as Annex I, with the goal of holding the elections not later than nine months after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles.
3. These elections will constitute a significant interim preparatory step toward the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements.

Article IV: Jurisdictions

Jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations. The two sides view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, whose integrity will be preserved during the interim period.

Article V: Transitional period and permanent status negotiations

1. The five-year transitional period will begin upon the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area.
2. Permanent status negotiations will commence as soon as possible, but not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period, between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian people representatives.
3. It is understood that these negotiations shall cover remaining issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest.
4. The two parties agree that the outcome of the permanent status negotiations should not be prejudiced or preempted by agreements reached for the interim period.

Article VI: Preparatory transfer of powers and responsibilities

1. Upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area, a transfer of authority from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the authorized Palestinians for this task, as detailed herein, will commence. This transfer of authority will be of preparatory nature until the inauguration of the Council.
2. Immediately after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, with the view to promoting economic development in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, authority will be transferred to the Palestinians on the following spheres: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, and tourism. The Palestinian side will commence in building the Palestinian police force, as agreed upon. Pending the inauguration of the Council, the two parties may negotiate the transfer of additional powers and responsibilities, as agreed upon.

Article VII: Interim Agreement

1. The Israeli and Palestinian delegations will negotiate and agreement on the interim period (the "Interim Agreement").
2. The Interim Agreement shall specify, among other things, the structure of the Council, the number of its members, and the transfer of powers and responsibilities from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Council. The Interim Agreement shall also specify the

Council's executive authority, legislative authority in accordance with Article IX below, and the independent Palestinian judicial organs.

3. The Interim Agreement shall include arrangements, to be implemented upon the inauguration of the Council, for the assumption by the Council of all of the powers and responsibilities transferred previously in accordance with Article VI above.
4. In order to enable the Council to promote economic growth, upon its inauguration, the Council will establish, among other things, a Palestinian Electricity Authority, a Gaza Sea Port Authority, a Palestinian Development Bank, a Palestinian Export Promotion Board, a Palestinian Environmental Authority, a Palestinian Land Authority and a Palestinian Water Administration Authority, and any other Authorities agreed upon, in accordance with the Interim Agreement that will specify their powers and responsibilities.
5. After the inauguration of the Council, the Civil Administration will be dissolved, and the Israeli military government will be withdrawn.

Article VIII: Public order and security

In order to guarantee public order and internal security for the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Council will establish a strong police force, while Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats, as well as the responsibility for overall security of Israelis for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order.

Article IX: Laws and military orders

1. The Council will be empowered to legislate, in accordance with the Interim Agreement, within all authorities transferred to it.
2. Both parties will review jointly laws and military orders presently in force in remaining spheres.

Article X: Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee

In order to provide for a smooth implementation of this Declaration of Principles and any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period, upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, a Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee will be established in order to deal with issues requiring coordination, other issues of common interest, and disputes.

Article XI: Israeli-Palestinian cooperation in economic fields

Recognizing the mutual benefit of cooperation in promoting the development of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Israel, upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, an Israeli-Palestinian Economic Cooperation Committee will be established in order to develop and implement in a cooperative manner the programs identified in the protocols attached as Annex III and Annex IV.

Article XII: Liaison and cooperation with Jordan and Egypt

The two parties will invite the Governments of Jordan and Egypt to participate in establishing further liaison and cooperation arrangements between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian representatives, on one hand, and the Governments of Jordan and Egypt, on the other hand, to promote cooperation between them. These arrangements will include the constitution of a continuing committee that will decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Other matters of common concern will be dealt with by this committee.

Article XIII: Redeployment of Israeli forces

1. After the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, and not later than the eve of elections for the Council, a redeployment of Israeli military forces in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will take place, in addition to withdrawal of Israeli forces carried out in accordance with Article XIV.
2. In redeploying its military forces, Israel will be guided by the principle that its military forces should be redeployed outside populated areas.
3. Further redeployments to specified locations will be gradually implemented commensurate with the assumption of responsibility for public order and internal security by the Palestinian police force pursuant to Article VIII above.

Article XIV: Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area

Israel will withdraw from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, as detailed in the protocol attached as Annex II.

Article XV: Resolution of disputes

1. Disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of this Declaration of Principles, or any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period, shall be resolved by negotiations through the Joint Liaison committee to be established pursuant to Article X above.
2. Disputes which cannot be settled by negotiations may be resolved by a mechanism of conciliation to be agreed upon by the parties.
3. The parties may agree to submit to arbitration disputes relating to the interim period, which cannot be settled through conciliation. To this end, upon the agreement of both parties, the parties will establish an Arbitration Committee.

Article XVI: Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation concerning regional programs

Both parties view the multilateral working groups as an appropriate instrument for promoting a "Marshall Plan", the regional programs and other programs, including special programs for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as indicated in the protocol attached as Annex IV.

Article XVII: Miscellaneous provisions

1. This Declaration of Principles will enter into force one month after its signing.
2. All protocols annexed to this Declaration of Principles and Agreed Minutes pertaining thereto shall be regarded as an integral part hereof.

DONE at Washington, D.C., this thirteenth day of September 1993.

For the Government of Israel:
(Signed) Shimon PERES

Witnessed By:

The United States of America
(Signed) Warren CHRISTOPHER

For the PLO:
(Signed) Mahmud ABBAS

The Russian Federation
(Signed) Andrei V.KOZYREV

ANNEX I: PROTOCOL ON THE MODE AND CONDITIONS OF ELECTIONS

1. Palestinians of Jerusalem who live there will have the right to participate in the election process, according to an agreement between the two sides.
2. In addition, the election agreement should cover, among other things, the following issues:
 - a) the system of elections;
 - b) the mode of the agreed supervision and international observation and their personal composition; and
 - c) rules and regulations regarding election campaign, including agreed arrangements for the organizing of mass media, and the possibility of licensing a broadcasting and TV station.
3. The future status of displaced Palestinians who were registered on 4th June 1967 will not be prejudiced because they are unable to participate in the election process due to practical reasons.

ANNEX II: PROTOCOL ON WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM THE GAZA STRIP AND JERICO AREA

1. The two sides will conclude and sign within two months from the date of entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, an agreement on the withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area. This agreement will include comprehensive arrangements to apply in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal.
2. Israel will implement an accelerated and scheduled withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, beginning immediately with the signing of the agreement on the Gaza

Strip and Jericho area and to be completed within a period not exceeding four months after the signing of this agreement.

3. The above agreement will include, among other things:
 - (a) Arrangements for a smooth and peaceful transfer of authority from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Palestinian representatives.
 - (b) Structure, powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian authority in these areas, except: external security, settlements, Israelis, foreign relations, and other mutually agreed matters.
 - (c) Arrangements for the assumption of internal security and public order by the Palestinian police force consisting of police officers recruited locally and from abroad (holding Jordanian passports and Palestinian documents issued by Egypt). Those who will participate in the Palestinian police force coming from abroad should be trained as police and police officers.
 - (d) A temporary international or foreign presence, as agreed upon.
 - (e) Establishment of a joint Palestinian-Israeli Coordination and Cooperation Committee for mutual security purposes.
 - (f) An economic development and stabilization program, including the establishment of an Emergency Fund, to encourage foreign investment, and financial and economic support. Both sides will coordinate and cooperate jointly and unilaterally with regional and international parties to support these aims.
 - (g) Arrangements for a safe passage for persons and transportation between the Gaza Strip and Jericho area.
4. The above agreement will include arrangements for coordination between both parties regarding passages:
 - (a) Gaza – Egypt,
 - (b) Jericho - Jordan.
5. The offices responsible for carrying out the powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian authority under this Annex II and Article VI of the Declaration of Principles will be located in the Gaza Strip and in the Jericho area pending the inauguration of the Council.
6. Other than these agreed arrangements, the status of the Gaza Strip and Jericho area will continue to be an integral part of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and will not be changed in the interim period.

ANNEX III: PROTOCOL ON ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION
IN ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The two sides agree to establish an Israeli-Palestinian Continuing Committee for Economic Cooperation, focusing, among other things, on the following:

1. Cooperation in the field of water, including a Water Development Program prepared by experts from both sides, which will also specify the mode of cooperation in the management of water resources in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and will include proposals for studies and plans on water rights of each party, as well as on the equitable utilization of joint water resources for implementation in and beyond the interim period.
2. Cooperation in the field of electricity, including an Electricity Development Program, which will also specify the mode of cooperation for the production, maintenance, purchase and sale of electricity resources.
3. Cooperation in the field of energy, including an Energy Development Program, which will provide for the exploitation of oil and gas for industrial purposes, particularly in the Gaza Strip and in the Negev, and will encourage further joint exploitation of other energy resources. This Program may also provide for the construction of a petrochemical industrial complex in the Gaza Strip and the construction of oil and gas pipelines.
4. Cooperation in the field of finance, including a Financial Development and Action Program for the encouragement of international investment in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and in Israel, as well as the establishment of a Palestinian Development Bank.

5. Cooperation in the field of transport and communications, including a Program, which will define guidelines for the establishment of a Gaza Sea Port Area, and will provide for the establishing of transport and communications lines to and from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to Israel and to other countries. In addition, this program will provide for carrying out the necessary construction of roads, railways, communications lines, etc.
6. Cooperation in the field of trade, including studies, and Trade Promotion Programs, which will encourage local, regional and inter-regional trade, as well as a feasibility study of creating free trade zones in the Gaza Strip and in Israel, mutual access to these zones, and cooperation in other areas related to trade and commerce.
7. Cooperation in the field of industry, including Industrial Development Programs, which will provide for the establishment of joint Israeli-Palestinian Industrial Research and Development Centers, will promote Palestinian-Israeli joint ventures, and provide guidelines for cooperation in the textile, food, pharmaceutical, electronics, diamonds, computer and science-based industries.
8. A program for cooperation in, and regulation of, labor relations and cooperation in social welfare issues.
9. A Human Resources Development and Cooperation Plan, providing for joint Israeli-Palestinian workshops and seminars, and for the establishment of joint vocational training centers, research institutes and data banks.
10. An Environmental Protection Plan, providing for joint and/or coordinated measures in this sphere.
11. A program for developing coordination and cooperation in the field of communication and media.
12. Any other programs of mutual interest.

ANNEX IV: PROTOCOL ON ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION
CONCERNING REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

1. The two sides will cooperate in the context of the multilateral peace efforts in promoting a Development Program for the region, including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, to be initiated by the G-7. The parties will request the G-7 to seek the participation in this program of other interested states, such as members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, regional Arab states and institutions, as well as members of the private sector.
2. The Development Program will consist of two elements:
 - a) an Economic Development Program for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
 - b) a Regional Economic Development Program.
 - A. The Economic Development Program for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will consist of the following elements:
 - (1) A social Rehabilitation Program, including a Housing and Construction Program.
 - (2) A Small and Medium Business Development Plan.
 - (3) An Infrastructure Development Program (water, electricity, transportation and communications, etc.)
 - (4) A Human Resources Plan.
 - (5) Other programs.
 - B. The Regional Economic Development Program may consist of the following elements:
 - (1) Establishment of a Middle East Development Fund, as a first step, and a Middle East Development Bank, as a second step.
 - (2) The development of a joint Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian Plan for coordinated exploitation for the Dead Sea area.
 - (3) The Mediterranean Sea (Gaza) - Dead Sea Canal.
 - (4) Regional Desalinization and other water development projects.
 - (5) A regional plan for agricultural development, including a coordinated regional effort for the prevention of desertification.
 - (6) Interconnection of electricity grids.
 - (7) Regional cooperation for the transfer, distribution and industrial exploitation of gas, oil and other energy resources.

- (8) A Regional Tourism, Transportation and Telecommunications Development Plan.
 - (9) Regional cooperation in other spheres.
3. The two sides will encourage the multilateral working groups, and will coordinate towards its success. The two parties will encourage intercessional activities, as well as pre-feasibility and feasibility studies, within the various multilateral working groups.

AGREED MINUTES TO THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON
INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS

A. General understandings and agreements

Any powers and responsibilities transferred to the Palestinians pursuant to the Declaration of Principles prior to the inauguration of the Council will be subject to the same principles pertaining to Article IV, as set out in these Agreed Minutes below.

B. Specific understandings and agreements

Article IV

It is understood that:

1. Jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations: Jerusalem, settlements, military locations, and Israelis.
2. The Council's jurisdiction will apply with regard to the agreed powers, responsibilities, spheres and authorities transferred to it.

Article VI (2)

It is agreed that the transfer of authority will be as follows:

- (1) The Palestinian side will inform the Israeli side of the names of the authorized Palestinians who will assume the powers, authorities and responsibilities that will be transferred to the Palestinians according to the Declaration of Principles in the following fields: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, tourism, and other authorities agreed upon.
- (2) It is understood that the rights and obligations of these offices will not be affected.
- (3) Each of the spheres described above will continue to enjoy existing budgetary allocations in accordance with arrangements to be mutually agreed upon. These arrangements also will provide for the necessary adjustments required in order to take into account the taxes collected by the direct taxation office.
- (4) Upon the execution of the Declaration of Principles, the Israeli and Palestinian delegations will immediately commence negotiations on a detailed plan for the transfer of authority on the above offices in accordance with the above understandings.

Article VII

The Interim Agreement will also include arrangements for coordination and cooperation.

Article VII (5)

The withdrawal of the military government will not prevent Israel from exercising the powers and responsibilities not transferred to the Council.

Article VIII

It is understood that the Interim Agreement will include arrangements for cooperation and coordination between the two parties in this regard. It is also agreed that the transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian police will be accomplished in a phased manner, as agreed in the Interim Agreement.

Article X

It is agreed that, upon the entry into force of the Declaration of Principles, the Israeli and Palestinian delegations will exchange the names of the individuals designated by them as members of the Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee.

It is further agreed that each side will have an equal number of members in the Joint Committee. The Joint Committee will reach decisions by agreement. The Joint Committee may add other technicians and experts, as necessary. The Joint Committee will decide on the frequency and place or places of its meetings.

ANNEX II

It is understood that, subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal, Israel will continue to be responsible for external security, and for internal security and public order of settlements and Israelis. Israeli military forces and civilians may continue to use roads freely within the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area.

Done at Washington, DC, this thirteenth day of September, 1993.

For the Government of Israel:

(Signed) Shimon PERES

The United States of America

(Signed) Warren CHRISTOPHER

Witnessed By:

For the PLO:

(Signed) Mahmud ABBAS

The Russian Federation

(Signed) Andrei V.KOZYREV



**US PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON, STATEMENT AT THE SIGNING CEREMONY
OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, WASHINGTON, DC, 13 SEPTEMBER 1993**

Prime Minister Rabin, Chairman Arafat, Foreign Minister Peres, Mr. Abbas, President Carter, President Bush, distinguished guests, on behalf of the United States and Russia, co-sponsors of the Middle East peace process, welcome to this great occasion of history and hope.

Today we bear witness to an extraordinary act in one of history's defining dramas, a drama that began in a time of our ancestors when the word went forth from a sliver of land between the River Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea. That hallowed piece of earth, and land of life and revelation, is the home to the memories and dreams of Jews, Muslims, and Christians throughout the world.

As we all know, devotion to that land has also been the source of conflict and bloodshed for too long. Throughout this century, bitterness between the Palestinian and Jewish people has robbed the entire region of its resources, its potential, and too many of its sons and daughters. The land has been so drenched in warfare and hatred that conflicting claims of history etched so deeply in the souls of the combatants there that many believe the past would always have the upper hand.

Then, 14 years ago, the past began to give way when at this place and upon this desk three men of great vision signed their names to the Camp David Accord. Today we honor the memories of Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, and we salute the wise leadership of President Jimmy Carter.

Then, as now, we heard from those who said that conflict would come again soon. But the peace between Egypt and Israel has endured. Just so, this bold new venture today, this brave gamble that the future can be better than the past, must endure.

Two years ago in Madrid, another president took a major step on the road to peace by bringing Israel and all her neighbors together to launch direct negotiations. Today we also express our deep thanks for the skillful leadership of President George Bush.

Ever since Harry Truman first recognized Israel, every American president, Democrat and Republication, has worked for peace between Israel and her neighbors. Now the efforts of all who have labored before us bring us to this moment, a moment when we dare to pledge what for so long seemed diffi-

cult even to imagine: that the security of the Israeli people will be reconciled with the hopes of the Palestinian people, and there will be more security and more hope for all.

Today, the leadership of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization will sign a Declaration of Principles on Interim Palestinian Self-Government. It charts a course toward reconciliation between two peoples who have both known the bitterness of exile. Now both pledge to put old sorrows and antagonisms behind them and to work for a shared future, shaped by the values of the Torah, the Koran and the Bible.

Let us salute also today the government of Norway for its remarkable role in nurturing this agreement.

But above all, let us today pay tribute to the leaders who had the courage to lead their people toward peace, away from the scars of battle, the wounds and the losses of the past, toward a brighter tomorrow. The world today thanks Prime Minister Rabin, Foreign Minister Peres and Chairman Arafat. Their tenacity and vision has given us the promise of a new beginning.

What these leaders have done now must be done by others. Their achievement must be a catalyst for progress in all aspects of the peace process, and those of us who support them must be there to help in all aspects, for the peace must render the people who make it more secure.

A peace of the brave is within our reach. Throughout the Middle East, there is a great yearning for the quiet miracle of a normal life. We know a difficult road lies ahead. Every peace has its enemies, those who still prefer the easy habits of hatred to the hard labors of reconciliation.

But Prime Minister Rabin has reminded us that you do not have to make peace with your friends. And the Koran teaches that if the enemy inclines toward peace, do thou also incline toward peace.

Therefore, let us resolve that this new mutual recognition will be a continuing process in which the parties transform the very way they see and understand each other. Let the skeptics of this peace recall what once existed among these people. There was a time when the traffic of ideas and commerce and pilgrims flowed uninterrupted among the cities of the fertile crescent. In Spain, in the Middle East, Muslims and Jews once worked together to write brilliant chapters in the history of literature and science. All this can come to pass again.

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman,

I pledge the active support of the United States of America to the difficult work that lies ahead. The United States is committed to ensuring that the people who are affected by this agreement will be made more secure by it, and to leading the world in marshaling the resources necessary to implement the difficult details that will make real the principles to which you commit yourselves today.

Together, let us imagine what can be accomplished if all the energy and ability the Israelis and the Palestinians have invested into your struggle can now be channeled into cultivating the land and freshening the waters, into ending the boycotts and creating new industry, into building a land as bountiful and peaceful as it is holy. Above all, let us dedicate ourselves today to your region's next generation. In this entire assembly, no one is more important than the group of Arab and Israeli children who are seated with us today.

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman,

this day belongs to you. And because of what you have done, tomorrow belongs to them. We must not leave them prey to the politics of extremism and despair, to those who would derail this process because they cannot overcome the fears and hatreds of the past. We must not betray their future. For too long, the young of the Middle East have been caught in a web of hatred not of their own making. For too long, they have been taught from the chronicles of war. Now, we can give them the chance to know the seasons of peace.

For them, we must realize the prophecy of Isaiah, that the cry of violence shall no more be heard in your land, nor rack nor ruin within your borders. The children of Abraham, the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael, have embarked together on a bold journey. Together, today, with all our hearts and all our souls, we bid them, shalom, salaam, peace.



PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT, STATEMENT AT THE SIGNING CEREMONY OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, WASHINGTON, DC, 13 SEPTEMBER 1993

In the name of God, the most merciful, the passionate, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to express our tremendous appreciation to President Clinton and to his administration for sponsoring this historic event which the entire world has been waiting for.

Mr. President, I am taking this opportunity to assure you and to assure the great American people that we share your values for freedom, justice and human rights - values for which my people have been striving.

My people are hoping that this agreement which we are signing today marks the beginning of the end of a chapter of pain and suffering which has lasted throughout this century.

My people are hoping that this agreement which we are signing today will usher in an age of peace, coexistence and equal rights. We are relying on your role, Mr. President, and on the role of all the countries which believe that without peace in the Middle East, peace in the world will not be complete.

Enforcing the agreement and moving toward the final settlement, after two years, to implement all aspects of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 in all of their aspects, and resolve all the issues of Jerusalem, the settlements, the refugees and the boundaries will be a Palestinian and an Israeli responsibility. It is also the responsibility of the international community in its entirety to help the parties overcome the tremendous difficulties which are still standing in the way of reaching a final and comprehensive settlement.

Now as we stand on the threshold of this new historic era, let me address the people of Israel and their leaders, with whom we are meeting today for the first time, and let me assure them that the difficult decision we reached together was one that required great and exceptional courage.

We will need more courage and determination to continue the course of building coexistence and peace between us. This is possible and it will happen with mutual determination and with the effort that will be made with all parties on all the tracks to establish the foundations of a just and comprehensive peace.

Our people do not consider that exercising the right to self-determination could violate the rights of their neighbors or infringe on their security. Rather, putting an end to their feelings of being wronged and of having suffered an historic injustice is the strongest guarantee to achieve coexistence and openness between our two peoples and future generations. Our two peoples are awaiting today this historic hope, and they want to give peace a real chance.

Such a shift will give us an opportunity to embark upon the process of economic, social and cultural growth and development. And we hope that international participation in that process will be extensive as it can be. This shift will also provide an opportunity for all forms of cooperation on a broad scale and in all fields.

I thank you, Mr. President. We hope that our meeting will be a new beginning for fruitful and effective relations between the American people and the Palestinian people.

I wish to thank the Russian Federation and President Boris Yeltsin. Our thanks also go to Secretary Christopher and Foreign Minister Kozyrev, to the government of Norway and to the Foreign Minister of Nor-

way for the positive part they played in bringing about this major achievement. I extend greetings to all the Arab leaders, our brothers, and to all the world leaders who contributed to this achievement.

Ladies and gentlemen, the battle for peace is the most difficult battle of our lives. It deserves our utmost efforts because the land of peace, the land of peace yearns for a just and comprehensive peace. Thank you.

Mr. President, thank you, thank you, thank you.



**PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER MAHMOUD ABBAS,
STATEMENT AT THE SIGNING CEREMONY OF THE DECLARATION
OF PRINCIPLES, WASHINGTON, DC, 13 SEPTEMBER 1993**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

In these historic moments, with feelings of joy that are mixed with a maximum sense of responsibility regarding events that are affecting our entire region, I greet you and I greet this distinguished gathering. I hope that this meeting in Washington will provide to be the onset of a positive and constructive change that will serve the interests of the Palestinian and the Israeli peoples.

We have come to this point because we believe that peaceful coexistence and cooperation are the only means for reaching understanding and for realizing the hopes of the Palestinians and the Israelis. The agreement we will sign reflects the decision we made in the Palestine Liberation Organization to turn a new page in our relationship with Israel.

We know quite well that this is merely the beginning of a journey that is surrounded by numerous dangers and difficulties. And yet, our mutual determination to overcome everything that stands in the way of the cause of peace - our common belief that peace is the only means to security and stability, and our mutual aspiration for a secure peace characterized by cooperation - all this will enable us to overcome all obstacles with the support of the international community. And here, I would like to mention in particular the US Government, which will shoulder the responsibility of continuing to play an effective and a distinct role in the next stage, so that this great achievement may be completed.

In this regard, it is important to me to affirm that we are looking forward with a great deal of hope and optimism to a date that is two years from today when negotiations over the final status of our country are set to begin. We will then settle the remaining fundamental issues, especially those of Jerusalem, the refugees and the settlements. At that time, we will be laying the last brick in the edifice of peace whose foundation has been established today.

Economic development is the principal challenge facing the Palestinian people after years of struggle during which our national infrastructure and institutions were overburdened and drained. We are looking to the world for its support and encouragement in our struggle for growth and development which begins today.

I thank the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian Federation for the part they played and for their efforts and their sponsorship of the peace process. I also appreciate the role played by the Government of Norway in bringing about this agreement and I look forward to seeing positive results soon on the remaining Arab-Israeli track, so that we can proceed together with our Arab brothers on this comprehensive quest for peace. Thank you.



**ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES, STATEMENT AT THE
SIGNING CEREMONY OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES,
WASHINGTON, DC, 13 SEPTEMBER 1993**

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Mr. President, I would like to thank you and the great American people for peace and support. Indeed, I would like to thank all those who have made this day possible. What we are doing today is more than signing an agreement, it is a revolution. Yesterday, a dream; today, a commitment.

The Israeli and the Palestinian people who fought each other for almost a century have agreed to move decisively on the path of dialogue, understanding and cooperation. We live in an ancient land. And as our land is small, so must our reconciliation be great. As our wars have been long, so must our healing be swift. Deep gaps call for lofty bridges.

I want to tell the Palestinian delegation that we are sincere, that we mean business. We do not seek to shape your life or determine your destiny. Let all of us turn from bullets to ballots, from guns to shovels. We shall pray with you. We shall offer you our help in making Gaza prosper and Jericho blossom again.

As we have promised, we shall negotiate with you a permanent settlement, and with all our neighbours a comprehensive peace - peace for all. We shall support the agreement with an economic structure. We shall convert the bitter triangle of Jordanians, Palestinians and Israelis into a triangle of political triumph and economic prosperity. We shall lower our barriers and widen our roads to goods and guests will be able to move freely all over the places - holy and other places. This should be another genesis. We have to build a new commonwealth on our old soil - a Middle East of the people and a Middle East for the children. For their sake, we must put an end to the waste of arms race and invest our resources in education.

Ladies and gentlemen:

Two parallel tragedies have unfolded. Let us become a civic community. Let us bid once and for all farewell to wars, to threats, to human misery. Let us bid farewell to enmity and may there be no more victims on either side. Let us build a Middle East of hope, where today's food is produced and tomorrow's prosperity is guaranteed - a region with a common market, a Near East with a long-range agenda. We owe it to our fallen soldiers, to the memories of the victims of the Holocaust.

Our hearts today grieve for the lost life of young and innocent people yesterday in our own country. Let their memory be our foundation. We are establishing today a memory of peace on fresh and old pomp. Suffering is, first of all, human. We also feel for the innocent loss of Palestinian life. We begin a new day. The day may be long and the challenges enormous. Our calendar must meet an intensive schedule.

Mr. President,

Historically, you are presiding over a most promising day in the very long history of our region, of our people.

I thank all of you, ladies and gentlemen, and let's pray together. Let's add hope to determination as all of us since Abraham believe in freedom, in peace, in the blessing of our great land and great spirit.

From the eternal city of Jerusalem, from this green, promising lawn of the White House, let's say together in the language of our Bible: peace, peace to him that is far off and to him that is near, saith the Lord, and I will heal him. Thank you.



**US SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER, STATEMENT
AT THE SIGNING CEREMONY OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES,
WASHINGTON, DC, 13 SEPTEMBER 1993**

Mr. President; Mr. Prime Minister; Chairman Arafat; Members of Congress; distinguished visitors, guests, friends and colleagues:

I'm honoured to have witnessed the signing of this agreement on behalf of the United States.

Millions of people have dreamed of this moment - this moment for this very region. The Israelis and the Palestinians have taken a dramatic step towards a just, lasting and comprehensive peace that can lift the lives of the people of the Middle East. They overcame seemingly insurmountable obstacles in framing the Declaration of Principles and the terms for a mutual recognition. They've broken through the barriers of hatred and fear. Throughout the process, they've demonstrated extraordinary courage and statesmanship. This gives genuine hope that they will complete the journey that has been begun today.

This achievement was the product of a sustained effort, international in scope and thoroughly bipartisan here in the United States. The foundation for the breakthrough, as the President said, was laid at the Madrid Conference of October 1991, which overcame the impediments to direct Arab-Israeli talks and launched a real peace process. The Madrid success, in turn, could not have been realized without its own foundation, the 1978 Camp David accords and the 1974 and 1975 disengagement agreements involving Israel, Egypt and Syria.

In the distinguished group here assembled today, I see those responsible not only for today's breakthrough, but also men and women who have toiled for decades in the search for peace in the Middle East. I salute and congratulate each one of you.

I also salute and congratulate those who have helped at particular times. In particular, I express appreciation to Foreign Minister Holst and his Norwegian colleagues, who worked under very difficult circumstances and made it possible to facilitate the negotiation of the Declaration of Principles. We also owe a debt of gratitude to Foreign Minister Moussa and his Egyptian colleagues and many, many others who gave unstinting help to the peace process. We are all proud of this remarkable achievement, but we also understand that much more remains to be done if this newly planted tree is to bear fruit.

The United States is committed to a comprehensive peace between Israel and all of its Arab neighbours. We hope and believe that this agreement will spur progress in the talks between Israel and Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon. The United States is prepared to do its part in the negotiations that lie ahead. We will spare no effort in helping the parties turn the agreements at the table into realities on the ground. We will remain a full partner in the search for peace.

But, certainly, we are not the sole partner. We need the entire international community to join us in this work and to oppose any effort to subvert the peace. This Israeli-Palestinian agreement cannot be permitted to fail. Many, many problems remain to be solved.

Today's historic agreement demonstrates that the Middle East does not need to be a cauldron of hostility; it can, instead, be a cradle of hope.

Thank you.



**RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI KOZYREV, STATEMENT
AT THE SIGNING CEREMONY OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES,
WASHINGTON, DC, 13 SEPTEMBER 1993**

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, Chairman:

On behalf of President Yeltsin, I would like to congratulate you and other colleagues and friends here who made possible, through their committed effort and goodwill, this major step on the long road to comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

I think it's really time to rejoice but no time for euphoria. Unfortunately, this is only the first step - major, but first step - on the long, long road. And I would like to assure you that Russia is one of the co-sponsors, not only witnesses, but co-sponsors. So the peace process will spare no effort together with the United States, with the United Nations and other interested parties to go on - on this road - and not let this major event fail. It is only ironic that, in time when the Middle Eastern peace process seems to be on track - and I'm sure it will move toward lasting peace - there are other forces which threaten security in the region.

Three days ago I was in Kabul, Afghanistan, and on the Tajik-Afghan border. And even there, we can see those forces of subversion, terrorism and extremism - religious, and not only religious, political extremism - doing their destructive job. I know that in other parts of this region there are also signs of this new danger, and I hope that we will not limit our joint effort only to the peace between Israel and its neighbours, not only for the cause of Palestinians to gain their legitimate rights, but also to see for stability in the whole region. And in this, Russia will be also a true and determined co-sponsor.

Once again, thank you for the effort done by all of the distinguished Presidents, Foreign Ministers - actual and former. And I hope that further generations of politicians will be not so much doing with the peace, but rather with a peace dividend in the Middle East. It's high time for that. Thank you.



**ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAQ RABIN, STATEMENT
AT THE SIGNING CEREMONY OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES,
WASHINGTON, DC, 13 SEPTEMBER 1993**

President Clinton, the President of the United States, your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen.

This signing of the Israeli-Palestinian declaration of principles here today is not so easy, neither for myself as a soldier in Israel's wars, nor for the people of Israel, nor for the Jewish people in the Diaspora who are watching us now with great hope mixed with apprehension. It is certainly not easy for the families of the victims of the wars, violence, terror, whose pain will never heal, for the many thousands who defended our lives with their own and have even sacrificed their lives for our own. For them, this ceremony has come too late.

Today, on the eve of an opportunity for peace, and perhaps an end to violence and wars, we remember each and every one of them with everlasting love. We have come from Jerusalem, the ancient and eternal capital of the Jewish people. We have come from an anguished and grieving land. We have come from a people, a home, a family that has not known a single year, not a single month, in which mothers have not wept for their sons. We have come to try to put an end to the hostilities so that our children, and our children's children, will no longer experience the painful cost of war, violence and terror. We have come to secure their lives and to ease the sorrow and the painful memories of the past, to hope and pray for peace.

Let me say to you, the Palestinians, we are destined to live together on the same soil in the same land. We, the soldiers who have returned from battles stained with blood; we who have seen our relatives and friends killed before our eyes; we who have attended their funerals and cannot look into the eyes of their parents;

we who have come from a land where parents bury their children; we who have fought against you, the Palestinians, we say to you today in a loud and a clear voice, enough of blood and tears. Enough!

We have no desire for revenge. We harbor no hatred towards you. We, like you, are people - people who want to build a home, to plant a tree, to love, live side by side with you in dignity, in affinity, as human beings, as free men. We are today giving peace a chance and saying again to you, "Enough." Let us pray that a day will come when we all will say farewell to arms. We wish to open a new chapter in the sad book of our lives together - a chapter of mutual recognition, of good neighborliness, of mutual respect, of understanding. We hope to embark on a new era in the history of the Middle East.

Today here in Washington at the White House, we will begin a new reckoning in the relations between peoples, between parents tired of war, between children who will not know war. President of the United States, ladies and gentlemen, our inner strength, our higher moral values have been derived for thousands of years from the Book of the Books, in one of which, Koheleth (Ecclesiastes), we read, "To every thing there is a season and a time to every purpose under heaven. A time to be born and time to die, a time to kill and a time to heal. A time to weep and a time to laugh. A time to love and a time to hate, a time of war and a time of peace." Ladies and gentlemen, the time for peace has come.

In two days, the Jewish people will celebrate the beginning of a new year. I believe, I hope, I pray that the new year will bring a message of redemption for all peoples: a good year for you, for all of you; a good year for Israelis and Palestinians; a good year for all the peoples of the Middle East; a good year for our American friends who so want peace and are helping to achieve it. For presidents and members of previous administrations, especially for you, President Clinton, and your staff, for all citizens of the world, may peace come to all your homes.

In the Jewish tradition, it is customary to conclude our prayers with the word "Amen." With your permission men of peace, I shall conclude with words taken from the prayer recited by Jews daily. I would ask the entire audience to join me in saying "Amen." May He who makes peace on High, make peace for us and all Israel. Amen.



ISRAELI-JORDANIAN COMMON AGENDA, WASHINGTON, DC, 14 SEPTEMBER 1993 *[EXCERPTS]*

A. Goal:

The achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace between the Arab States, the Palestinians and Israel as per the Madrid invitation.

B. Components of Israel-Jordan [Jordan-Israel] Peace Negotiations:

1. Searching for steps to arrive at a state of peace based on Security Council resolutions 242 [(1967)] and 338 [(1973)] in all their aspects.
2. Security:
 - a. Refraining from actions or activities by either side that may adversely affect the security of the other or may prejudice the final outcome of negotiations.
 - b. Threats to security resulting from all kinds of terrorism.
 - c. i. Mutual commitment not to threaten each other by any use of force and not to use weapons by one side against the other including conventional and non-conventional mass destructions weapons.
 - ii. Mutual commitment, as a matter of priority and as soon as possible, to work towards a Middle East free from weapons of mass destruction, conventional and non-conventional weapons; this goal is to be achieved in the context of a comprehensive, lasting and stable peace characterized by the renunciation of the use of force, reconciliation and openness.

Note: The above (item c-ii) may be revised in accordance with relevant agreements to be reached in the Multilateral Working Group on Arms Control and Regional Security.

- d. Mutually agreed upon security arrangement and security confidence building measures.
 3. Water:
 - a. Securing the rightful water shares of the two sides.
 - b. Searching for ways to alleviate water shortage.
 4. Refugees and Displaced Persons:

Achieving an agreed just solution to the bilateral aspects of the problem of refugees and displaced persons in accordance with international law.
 5. Borders and Territorial Matters:

Settlement of territorial matters and agreed definitive delimitation and demarcation of the international boundary between Israel and Jordan [Jordan-Israel] with reference to the boundary definition under the Mandate, without prejudice to the status of any territories that came under Israeli Military Government control in 1967. Both parties will respect and comply with the above international boundary.
 6. Exploring the potentials of future bilateral cooperation, within a regional context where appropriate, in the following:
 - a. Natural Resources:
 - Water, energy and environment
 - Rift Valley development
 - b. Human Resources:
 - Demography
 - Labour
 - Health
 - Education
 - Drug control
 - c. Infrastructure:
 - Transportation: land and air
 - Communication
 - d. Economic areas including tourism
 7. Phasing the discussion, agreement and implementation of the items above including appropriate mechanisms for negotiations in specific fields.
 8. Discussion on matters related to both tracks to be decided upon in common by the two tracks.
- C. It is anticipated that the above endeavour will ultimately, following the attainment of mutually satisfactory solutions to the elements of this agenda, culminate in a peace treaty.



**WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, STATEMENTS ON
THE MIDDLE EAST, SIGTUNA, SWEDEN, 14-20 SEPTEMBER 1993**

The Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches, meeting in Sigtuna, Sweden, 14-20 September 1993, warmly welcomes the exchange of letters of mutual recognition between the leaders of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the subsequent signing in Washington, D.C. of an agreement to establish a transitional Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

These unprecedented actions constitute a significant step in the direction for which the WCC has hoped and prayed ever since it was formed 45 years ago.

For over four decades, the WCC has repeatedly issued calls for good-faith dialogue leading to a peaceful settlement. The V. Assembly (Nairobi, 1975) put it in these words:

Although the parties have not trusted one another sufficiently until now to engage in dialogue, full mutual recognition by the parties must be seen not as a precondition to, but rather as a product of the negotiation.

We call upon all parties to take those steps essential to negotiations with hope for success. Among these steps, we emphasize the cessation of all military activity, both regular and irregular, including terrorism.

For the breakthrough achieved in the present negotiations, and for the wisdom and patience of the mediators, we give thanks to God.

Important as it is, however, this agreement does not yet ensure peace, nor does it guarantee justice. On both sides, serious, even potentially violent divisions remain as a result of the concessions that have been necessary to reach an accord.

Implementation is the key. The "Declaration of Principles" subscribed by the leaders of the PLO and the State of Israel does constitute a commitment to continue negotiations whose goal is the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which by international consensus lay out the fundamental conditions for security, lasting peace and justice for Israel, the Palestinian people and the Arab States.

Many significant issues remain to be resolved, among them: the complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all the occupied territories, the future of Israeli settlements, the resettlement of refugees, and the restoration of the full rights of the Palestinian people. The future status of Jerusalem is also subject to further negotiation, and the principle long advocated by the WCC that the destiny of the holy city must be defined through a genuine partnership between followers of Judaism, Christianity and Islam has yet to be affirmed.

Implementation of this agreement, and further negotiations within this auspicious new framework can succeed and achieve the goals of justice and security for all the peoples of the region only through the exercise of extraordinary political will and imagination, not only by the immediate parties to the continuing talks, but by major powers beyond the region.

We reiterate our commitment to the churches and to the peoples in the Middle East, and assure Jews and Muslims who have laboured sacrificially for peace of the WCC's continuing solidarity in this hopeful, yet trying time.

We renew the WCC's call to churches all over the world to remain constant in prayer, and urge them:

1. to support vigorously the continuation of this process,
2. to redouble efforts to assist the Palestinian people in the reconstruction of their ruined homes and economies, and
3. to engage in continuing dialogue with Jews and Muslims as a means of participating in the process of building and discovering how to live together harmoniously in mutually supportive communities.

We pray, with the psalmist, that justice and peace might soon embrace throughout the Middle East, in order that the ancient promise of the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled, that "they shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain." (Ps. 85, Is. 11:9)



ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN, STATEMENT ON THE ISRAELI-PLO AGREEMENT, KNESSET SPECIAL SESSION, JERUSALEM, 21 SEPTEMBER 1993

Honourable President of the State, Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset:

The Government today submitted to the Knesset the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements for the Palestinians in the territories, as well as the letters exchanged between Israel and the PLO and the agenda for the negotiations between Israel and Jordan. All the documents pertaining to the issue have been placed before the members of the House and there is no other, secret agreement. Everything is out in the open and above-board. The Government will ask for the Knesset's endorsement and will regard the Knesset's decision as a vote of confidence in the Government and its resolutions.

Distinguished Knesset, in three days every Jew, wherever he may be, will observe the sanctity of Yom Kippur. On this day of national and personal reckoning, as the sun sets and we say the concluding prayer, millions of Jews in every corner of the earth, from Casablanca and Buenos Aires to Melbourne and Kiryat Shemona, will utter the prayer: As you close the gates, open them anew because a new day has dawned.

The Israeli Government today believes that with the beginning of the new year, a gate has opened - a gate of peace, a gate of blessing. As the prayer goes: Bestow peace, good, blessings, life, favour and grace, charity and mercy upon us and all the people of Israel. On the eve of Yom Kippur 5754, the Israeli Government presents the Israeli people with a chance for peace and, perhaps, for an end to the wars, violence and terror. In the high holidays prayers we also say: who will live and who will die, who will perish and who will not, who will die by water, fire or sword.

On this bitter day 20 years ago, we felt death by fire and sword on our flesh and skin. All of us, both religious and secular, left-wing or right-wing, Jewish and non-Jewish citizens of Israel experienced one of the toughest hours in our history as a State. In the sands of the Chinese farm in the Sinai Peninsula, on the cliffs of Mount Hermon on the Golan Heights, IDF [Israel Defence Forces] soldiers in the regular army and in the reserves, our best sons, used their bodies to block the waves of tanks and columns of soldiers that threatened our existence. In the battle to defend our lives and homes against the Egyptian and Syrian Armies, 12,569 IDF soldiers and officers fell.

Today, too, 20 years later, we anguish over the deaths of our dear ones and we share in the sorrow of the bereaved families whose pain does not abate or the scars of their tragedy heal as years go by. On the eve of Yom Kippur, our hearts are with them, and so it will be forever.

Distinguished Knesset, the Yom Kippur War taught us as well as our enemies the limitations of military power and the possibilities entailed in a political solution. In the wake of the disengagement agreements we signed with Egypt and Syria, the interim agreement we signed with Egypt and the IDF's withdrawal from Egypt and the heart of Syria, we knew and we know to this day long years of peace, quiet and tranquillity in those two cores of fire and war. Thanks to the determination and initiative of the late Prime Minister Menahem Begin - and here with us is the Honourable President of the State, who was a full partner to it - the Israeli Government signed the first and unprecedentedly important peace treaty with Egypt. As for the Israeli-Syrian border, quiet and security have prevailed for almost 20 years and are enjoyed by the population of the Golan Heights.

Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset, for over 100 years we have been seeking to build ourselves a home in the only place on earth that was and will be our home: here, in the land of Israel. For over 100 years we have been seeking to live here in peace and tranquillity, to plant a tree, to pave a road. For over 100 years we have been seeking good relations with our neighbours, a life without fear and dread. For over 100 years we have been dreaming and fighting. In 100 years of colonization, this land experienced a great deal of suffering and blood. We who came back home after 2,000 years in exile, after the Holocaust, which sent the best of the Jewish people to the crematoriums, we who look for a harbour in the storm, a place to rest our head, we stretched out our hand to our neighbours, but this hand was rejected time and again. Time and again it was rejected, but our soul did not tire of seeking peace. Our life in this suffering land was accompanied by salvos of fire, mines and grenades. We planted and they uprooted, we built and they destroyed, we defended and they attacked. Almost every day we buried our dead. One hundred years of terror and war harmed us, but it did not destroy our dream. We dreamed of peace for 100 years.

Distinguished Knesset, when it assumed office over a year ago, this Government decided to put an end to the terror and war, to try to build a new world in the State, at home, in the family, which did not know even one year or one month of its life in which mothers did not cry for their sons. This Government decided to put an end to the hatred so that our children and grandchildren will not longer suffer the painful price of wars, terror, and violence. This Government decided to safeguard their lives and security, to ease the pain and horrible memories, to pray and help for peace. When we presented the

Government to the Knesset over a year ago, we said - and I quote: 'This Government is determined to do everything in its power, to forge any path, to do everything possible and impossible for the sake of national and personal security, for the sake of peace and preventing war'. We said then - and I quote: 'The road we will tread will be fraught with obstacles, crises, disappointments, tears, and pain'. After all this, however, when we come to the end of this road, we will have a strong country, a good country, a country in which we all share in the big effort and whose citizens we are proud to be.

We said then: 'The new Government shares the current feeling among the people that this is an hour of great opportunities and we will do everything not to miss the opportunities'. We said then: 'We owe it to ourselves and our children to see the new world as it is, to study the dangers, check out the chances, and do everything so that the State of Israel becomes part of the changing world'. We must rid ourselves of the feeling of isolation that gripped us for almost a quarter of a century. We must join the international march of peace, reconciliation and cooperation that is currently storming across the entire globe. Otherwise, we will be the last and only ones waiting behind at the station.

We said then that the main goal of the new Government will be to promote the making of peace and to take feverish steps to bring about the end of the Arab-Israeli conflict. We will do that on the basis of the Arab States' and the Palestinians' recognition of Israel as a sovereign State and of its right to live in peace and security. We sincerely believe that this is possible and imperative and that it will come.

Members of the Knesset, we said then the following words - and I quote: 'The Government will propose to the Arab States and the Palestinians to pursue the peace negotiations based on the format consolidated in the Madrid conference as the first step on the way to a permanent solution'. We will discuss the implementation of autonomy in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. We do not intend to waste precious time. Within a short period of time, we will open and pursue the talks in order to lower the flame of hostility between the Palestinians and the State of Israel.

The day we presented our Government we also said: 'Holding such negotiations on the issue worry those among us who chose to settle in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District'. I hereby inform you that this Government, by means of the IDF and the other security forces, will be responsible for the security and welfare of the inhabitants of those areas.

On the question of Jerusalem, we said that this Government, just like all its predecessors, believes there are no differences of opinion in this House over the eternalness of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. United and unified Jerusalem is not negotiable and will be the capital of the Israeli people under Israel's sovereignty and the subject of every Jew's yearnings and dreams for ever and ever.

Members of the Knesset, 14 months ago we presented an IOU to the Knesset, the voters and the Israeli people. We promised to try to bring peace to this land. In the time that has elapsed since then, we did not close any doors or miss any opportunity. We checked out every crack and hint. We did not forestall any chance of attaining peace or interim arrangements that would offer a normal life to both peoples in this land.

We conducted negotiations with the delegations of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Palestinians. During the negotiations, and in fact from their beginning, it transpired that the only address for negotiations with the Palestinians was PLO-Tunis. We could have behaved like ostriches; we could have lied to ourselves and buried our heads in the sand. We could have claimed that Faisal al-Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi and others represent the residents of the territories while ignoring the real party that stood behind them. We decided not to behave in this manner. We knew very well who stood behind them and the Israeli public is also perfectly aware of this. We have no desire to deny the fact that this is a merciless terrorist organization, an organization that dispatched the terrorists who murdered the children in Avivim and Ma'alot, who shot the guests in Tel Aviv's Savoy Hotel, who attacked the innocent victims riding the bus on the Tel Aviv-Haifa coastal road and who committed hundreds of other acts of murder and terror. This organization has shed the blood of hundreds of our beloved citizens: the

blood of Ofra and Tal Moses, members of the family of Abie Moses from Alfey Menashe; the blood of innocent people whose only fault was being Jewish.

Knesset members, we cannot choose our neighbours and our enemies, including the cruellest of them. We must deal with what we have: the PLO, which has fought against us and against whom we fought. Today we are looking for a way to achieve peace together with this organization. We can shut all the doors, cease any attempt to achieve peace. Morally, we are entitled not to sit at the negotiating table with the PLO, not to shake the hands of those who have wielded knives or pulled the trigger. We could have rejected the proposals of the PLO with disgust, in which case we would have unwittingly been among those responsible for the continuation of the vicious circle in which we have been forced to live so far: war, terrorism and violence.

We chose to adopt another way, one which offers a chance and hope. We decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people to the negotiations in the framework of the peace talks. We have known, and we still know, what a heavy load we are carrying from the past. We took this step only after the PLO undertook, in its letters to the Prime Minister, the following: recognition of Israel's right to live in peace and security and a commitment to settle any future controversy by peaceful means and through negotiations. The PLO has undertaken to denounce and put an end to terrorism and violence in Israel, in the territories and elsewhere. I want to say here that since the agreements were signed, the PLO has not carried out even one act of terrorism. The PLO has undertaken to enforce an end to terrorism and violence by its members and to punish the violators. The PLO has undertaken to renounce the clauses of the Palestinian Covenant that negate Israel's right to exist and the peace process and to bring about their formal cancellation by the pertinent institution.

In Washington, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres signed, on Israel's behalf the Declaration of Principles agreement for the interim period only. This agreement, which permits the Palestinians to run their affairs, safeguards the following issues for Israel: unified Jerusalem remains under Israel's rule, and the body that will run the lives of the Palestinians in the territories will have no authority over it. The Israeli settlements in Judea, Samaria and Gaza will remain under Israel's rule without any change whatsoever in their status. The authority of the Palestinian Council will not apply to any Israeli in the areas of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The IDF will continue to bear overall responsibility for the security of the Israeli settlements in the territories, the security of the Israeli settlements in the territories, the security of every Israeli staying in the territories and for external security - namely, for the defence of the current confrontation lines along the Jordan River and for the Egyptian border. The IDF will deploy in all areas of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District on the basis of these missions. All the issues pertaining to the permanent arrangement will be put off for the negotiations that will begin two years after the date stipulated in the agreement, while preserving the Israeli Government's freedom to determine its positions regarding the permanent solution. This means that the Declaration of Principles leaves all the options open on this issue.

The agreement on the interim period in Gaza and Jericho will be implemented before the establishment of the elected Palestinian Council, which will direct the affairs of the Palestinians in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. The Council will be established only after we agree with the Palestinians about its structure, composition and functions. The target date for elections is nine months after the Declaration of Principles goes into effect. Israel will regard the Gaza-Jericho First stage as a sort of test of the Palestinians' ability to implement the agreement on the Declaration of Principles.

I would like to repeat here what I said in Washington last week - and I quote: `We are destined to live together on the same soil, in the same land. We, the soldiers who have returned from the battles stained with blood; we, who have seen our relatives and best friends killed before our eyes; we, who have attended their funerals and cannot look into the eyes of their parents and their orphans; we who have come from a land where parents bury their children; we, who have fought against you, the Palestinians; we say to you today in a loud and clear voice: enough of blood and tears, enough. We harbour no hatred towards you. We have no desire for revenge. We, like you, are people who want to build a home, to plant a tree, to

love, to live with you side by side, in dignity, in empathy, as human beings, as free men. Today we are giving peace a chance and saying to you in a clear voice: enough, no more'.

Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset, we have no intention or desire to hide the truth from the Knesset members and the Israeli public. In addition to the great advantages, the expected peace also harbours dangers. We are aware of these dangers and will do everything necessary to minimize them. At the same time, we believe the risks are calculated and will not harm Israel's security and existence. In any event, the might of the IDF - the best army in the world - is available for our use if, God forbid, we are faced with such a challenge. Today we are looking forward to the good chances, to days without worries and nights without fears, to a developing economy and a prosperous society. If and when the long desired peace arrives, our lives will completely change. We will no longer live only by our swords.

On the eve of the New Year, after 100 years of violence and terrorism, after wars and suffering, today there is a good chance to open a new chapter in Israel's history. There is a chance for putting an end to tears. Flower buds and new horizons are opening up for the Israeli economy and society. Above all, I want to tell you that this is a victory for Zionism, which is now recognized by its most adamant and bitter enemies. There are chances for good relations with our neighbours, for an end to the bereavement which has afflicted our homes, for an end to war.

I call on all the Knesset members to give us an opportunity to exhaust this great chance. Knesset members, let the sun rise. My best wishes to you and all of Israel for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.



**US VICE-PRESIDENT AL GORE, STATEMENT AT THE CONFERENCE
TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE, US STATE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, DC, 1 OCTOBER 1993**

[The conference - co-sponsored by Russia and the US - was attended by 46 delegations, incl. the UN.]

Ladies and gentlemen, good morning. I would like to begin by acknowledging, with gratitude, Secretary Christopher and Secretary Bentsen and Minister Fyodorov, representing our co-host, the Russian Federation. And may I formally welcome each and every participant here for this important conference. You are arriving in Washington at a time when this city is still in the afterglow of the wonderful agreement that was signed on the South Lawn of the White House just a few weeks ago.

Those of you who have been over to the West Wing of the White House - and I see a great many here who have visited there on a regular basis - you know that it's the custom at the White House to decorate the walls with photographs of the big events of the month. Usually the pictures are up for a few weeks and then they come down and are replaced by a new batch. Eventually, this month's pictures will come down from the wall too, but they will occupy a permanent place in our memory and a permanent place in our hearts: the images of the Palestinian, Egyptian and Israeli youths in their green shirts with their seeds of peace sign; pictures of the three leaders walking across the South Lawn; and, of course, Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat leaning forward in front of President Clinton to accomplish the famous handshake.

All of us there knew that we had witnessed a watershed event in history - a stunning demarcation line between war and peace, between despair and hope. As cheers rang out spontaneously on the lawn at the moment of the handshake, everyone there knew that just as the crumbling of the Berlin Wall had instantly become a metaphor, inspiring hope that all of the other walls that need to come down could eventually come down, so in the same way this historic handshake would become a metaphor for all of the other efforts at reconciliation which now seem at times impossible in our world, but must occur and can occur if this one did occur. And it did.

The leaders of Israel and of the Palestinians have made historic and courageous choices. Prime Minister Rabin spoke for us all when he said, 'Enough of blood and tears. Enough'. And so I say to those Israelis and Palestinians who are here today, your actions have earned you the respect and admiration and gratitude of peace-loving people all around the world.

Today, the international community is also making a choice. We have chosen to support the agreement reached between Israel and the Palestinians. We support it politically and we support it economically. This conference demonstrates the strength of our commitment. When I look around this room and see the vast array of nations represented, I feel certain that the whole world will understand our message that we intend to see peace prevail in the Middle East.

This conference will play a critical role in supporting implementation of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration. But the United States believes this conference should also play an ongoing and much larger role than just seeing the agreement survive. We believe it can support and facilitate further progress in the peace process for all States involved in the peace negotiations.

The presence of so many parties from inside and outside the Middle East thus sends a strong signal of hope. By itself it lends support to the peace process - support that is essential as Israelis and Palestinians work to create a firm economic foundation for peace.

We are prepared to do our part. As President Clinton has said, the United States anticipates contributing \$500 million over the next five years to help meet the economic needs associated with implementing the Israeli-Palestinian agreement. The money is urgently needed, both in the Jericho and Gaza regions. For that reason, we will fund a range of activities on which we can begin quickly, and, in some cases, we will start almost immediately. These include school reconstruction, hospital renovation and housing.

We're not alone. Other countries have already announced significant contributions. We hope still others will be announced at today's conference. For those who have already announced contributions and for those who will make such announcements today, the United States offers its sincerest thanks. The world offers thanks.

It's hard today to find money for even the worthiest causes. How well we all know that. Your decisions, therefore, are the result of a commitment to the cause of peace that does not end with rhetoric. It would be hard to think of a more worthwhile cause. The Palestinian people need our help. They need food. They need clothing. They need medicine. They need help establishing the public sector infrastructure that will be the key to long-term economic development. They need help empowering the private sector through investments. Governments can play a crucial role in creating an environment where private investment will flourish.

But there are limits on what Governments can do. Ultimately, the question of how well market forces can affect real people living everyday lives will determine economic success or failure. This lesson is not lost on the private sector.

On a personal note, on the day of the agreement on the South Lawn, we had a briefing afterward in the White House for a group of Arab-American leaders and Jewish-American leaders both in the same room - in fact, the first time the two groups had been in the room as groups. Because the schedule had dragged on a bit after the South Lawn ceremony, these two groups of people were required to wait for an hour before the briefing began; and during that hour, they got to know one another as human beings, as individuals, as men and women. And by the time those of us briefing them arrived, the mood in that room was electrifying. Reconciliation on a personal level had taken place among dozens of individuals, echoing the symbolic and real reconciliation affirmed by the handshake on the South Lawn.

In that atmosphere, I mentioned this possibility of private investment and instantly the response from individuals on the Arab and Jewish sides of the room - by then they were intermingled - but the reaction from both groups was spontaneous, enthusiastic and immediate. And I'm told that since that time

there has been a great deal of conversation in cities and communities all across the United States - conversations aimed at reconciliation and cooperative efforts to provide economic support from the private sector for the reconstruction and economic activities that are necessary in Gaza and Jericho.

And these commitments do not stem just from altruism. They stem from the view of successful investors that there is a reservoir of skill and talent, not to mention markets, worth exploring there. The President has asked me to take the lead in encouraging this private process and to offer our good offices in support of the effort.

In the coming weeks, I intend to take counsel with others who are interested in helping to bring together business leaders and others in the Jewish- and Arab-American communities in this country, and I feel that, ultimately, this is something truly worthy of the talents and efforts of these communities and could be a substantial source of support for the peace process both materially and spiritually. Meanwhile, I urge all of you to encourage similar private sector initiatives in your own countries and I urge one thing more before I close. In order to realize the promise of the future, it is necessary to shed the vestiges of what has been our past.

There are many things, including the boycott of Israel, that have no place in a world seeking peace. The decision to take the first steps toward peace required exceptional courage. It does take courage to compromise. It takes courage to surrender some of yesterday's demands in exchange for the promise of a much brighter tomorrow.

That meeting of Arab- and Jewish-Americans, held only a few hours after the signing, was memorable and nothing short of miraculous. I looked out at that group and one man stood up who will remain in my memory - he identified himself as a Gazan. He looked across the seats to the representatives of Jewish groups and across almost a half-century of bitterness, and he said, "I say shalom".

One of the Jewish leaders, a professor, quoted Hebrew scripture from memory with deep emotion and then translated it into English, and it was the passage where the Lord says, 'Choose between - you have a choice between life and death; therefore choose life'. And she said, 'We have made choices today'.

I call on all of the parties represented here to do all you can to reward the courage on both sides encapsulated in that wonderful handshake. We must do everything in our power to assure that one day Palestinians and Israelis will look back on 13 September 1993, a sunny day on the South Lawn of the White House, with pride and satisfaction and that - when the pictures have been taken down from the West Wing walls, when the photographers have moved on to record the next crisis or the next celebration, and when most of the names of those who worked so hard to achieve this declaration have been, regrettably, forgotten - both peoples, living in harmony and prosperity, will remember and know that they and their leaders did not take the risk for peace in vain; because that risk was supported by other leaders from countries all over the world - who, in their own way, also showed the courage called for at a historic time and supported the peace process.

Thank you for being here, and thank you for your help.



**US SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER, STATEMENT
AT THE CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE,
US STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, DC, 1 OCTOBER 1993**

Distinguished delegates and friends: For those of you who may not have had a chance to meet me, I'm Warren Christopher, Secretary of State and one of the co-chairs of this event.

The signing of the peace agreement two weeks ago challenges all of us to seize the moment and convert it into a true turning point in the troubled history of the Middle East. When that moving ceremony ended and the camera lights faded, the essential and practical task of building peace had just begun.

We're here today representing people from the region and all around the world to help those who had the courage to sign the Israeli-Palestinian agreement. Indeed, we must help them transform the Declaration of Principles into new realities on the ground.

For the Israelis and the Palestinians, the urgent and hard work of reconciliation and reconstruction has only begun. We must help them demonstrate the tangible benefits of peace and we must do so quickly if the advocates of peace are to be strengthened and the enemies of peace are to be isolated and discredited.

By meeting here today and, more importantly, by agreeing to act now, we send a powerful signal to the Arabs and Israelis alike that the international community will not let peace fail.

Forty-six countries and organizations are represented here today from all around the world - one of the first donors' conferences, indeed perhaps the first in my knowledge, where people have volunteered to attend. And let me say, we're grateful to all of you for attending.

I know that no one will mind if I single out for particular appreciation the attendance of Norway and Foreign Minister Holst, who contributed so much to making the ceremony on the White House lawn possible and, in effect, this day possible.

Your presence here and your immediate response to our invitation clearly demonstrate an outpouring of moral and political support for the agreement and for a comprehensive peace settlement.

Of course, our responsibilities do not end with the celebration. Now we must all deliver the necessary economic backing. Our pledges must be real, and they must be translated rapidly. The structures we create to organize and dispense the assistance must be flexible and effective and the Israeli-Palestinian structures for receiving assistance must be capable of absorbing it and using the assistance efficiently and credibly.

This conference demonstrates our collective recognition of a historic moment and the need to do all we can to make it an irreversible turning point in history. This extraordinarily diverse gathering of nations and institutions testifies to the breadth and the depth of that commitment. It shows that those who make the political investment in negotiations will reap the dividends of international support. Those, on the other hand, who choose violence and rejectionism will find only isolation and failure.

The United States is proud to remain a full partner for peace. We congratulate the Israelis and the Palestinians for making the negotiations work, and we pledge ourselves to continue our active and determined effort to build upon these agreements and to achieve a comprehensive peace.

A vital leader in America's role is our Treasury Secretary, my colleague and friend, Lloyd Bentsen. I'm very pleased that Secretary Bentsen is here today and that he is going to be applying his very considerable talents to this effort. Secretary Bentsen will be making remarks in just a few moments.

But I want to welcome you all to the Department of State and I look forward to working with you in this historic, collective endeavour to promote peace in the Middle East."



**RUSSIAN FINANCE MINISTER BORIS FYODOROV, STATEMENT AT THE
CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE, US STATE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, DC, 1 OCTOBER 1993**

On behalf of the Russian co-sponsor, let me welcome all those gathered in this meeting hall. It gives me great satisfaction to participate in the work of such a representative forum. I would like to express special gratitude to the American co-sponsor, represented by Secretary of State Christopher and Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen, for the wonderful organization of the meeting, for the enormous efforts made in preparing this meeting in such a short time.

The changes in the direction of the events of the Middle East towards practical steps towards peace, evidenced by the recent signing in Washington of the Palestinian-Israeli Declaration of Principles, requires the full support of the world community, and not only political support but also economic, financial and humanitarian support.

In this regard, our meeting is extremely important if seen from the standpoint of the creation of an optimal and effective mechanism for international support to the Palestinians. Today in the Middle East the question is as follows: Where will the pendulum swing, towards reason and the creation of civilized relations or towards hostility, extremism and chaos? The answer to this question to a great extent depends on the decisions that will be taken today.

Each contribution that will be made today in making the life of the Palestinians better, and in the final analysis the creation of a material basis for Mideast peace, will be repaid with the hardest currency possible, the strengthening of regional stability and the broadening of possibilities for multifaceted cooperation in the region.

We feel that the first priority must be given to practical measures of a social and economic type, especially in the Gaza Strip, which in the near term must give visible results in improving the daily life of the Palestinians. And in this manner, the political, morally and politically, must strengthen the political leadership, neutralize the attacks on the peace process. Along with this, it is necessary to define actions in the future, adopt long-range assistance programmes for three to five years.

We do not need to speak of how dramatic a period Russia is going through at present, which requires concentrated efforts and resources of the Russian Government around Russia. Nonetheless, within the scope of its possibilities, Russia is ready to make concrete contributions towards Palestinian self-rule, to review the economy of this region. This could take the form of technical and economic assistance in such spheres as the development of water-management systems, agriculture and energy sphere, as well as the education of Palestinian students and the preparation of specialists for the emerging structures of the Palestinian State.

We are ready to assist the Palestinians, both on a multilateral basis and on a bilateral basis. We give great importance to coordinating our efforts with international organizations, and first and foremost with the UN and the World Bank. I am convinced that the work of this conference will be effective and fruitful. Thank you for your attention.



**WORLD BANK PRESIDENT LEWIS T. PRESTON, STATEMENT
AT THE CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE, US STATE
DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, DC, 1 OCTOBER 1993**

In terms of today's agenda, we face two practical issues:

First, how can we help establish an effectively functioning civil administration in the occupied territories which can begin to improve living conditions, employment opportunities and social services?

Second - and related to that - how can we mobilize the resources and implement the programme needed to help the people of the West Bank and Gaza help themselves?

The Development Challenge

With our friends in the region, in Europe and in the United States, the Bank has prepared a report which details the magnitude of the challenge:

- Incomes have stagnated for a decade - and living conditions are appalling, especially in Gaza;
- Unemployment is high - and increasing;
- Public institutions and financial systems need to be developed;
- The environment is already threatened - and we need to ensure that future development is sustainable;
- And both social services and physical infrastructure are inadequate to meet the needs of a growing economy.

Economic Future of the Occupied Territories

As we begin to face these challenges, it is important that we should have a shared vision of the occupied territories' economic future. That vision must be of an efficient, productive, self-sustaining economy - able to compete abroad and raise living standards at home.

A first priority - as I said - is to help the local entities and organizations to function as part of a new civil administration. Beyond that, realizing the vision of an independent economy will depend on:

- The strength and speed of external support; and
- the quality of domestic management.

Striking the proper balance between the roles of the public and private sectors and strengthening economic links with the outside world, are especially critical issues.

The private sector in the occupied territories has already shown itself to be highly resourceful. Given the right policy environment, there is potential for greatly expanded business activity and significant private investment - both domestic and expatriate. Opening up to trade - particularly with neighbouring countries - is also essential to create jobs, raise incomes and spur competitiveness in the global economy.

It is imperative, therefore, that donors adopt the right approach from the outset. That means supporting policies to encourage private investment and access to labour and export markets. And it means emphasizing the building of institutional and absorptive capacities; developing a domestic financial sector; and setting up a sound regulatory system.

At the same time, immediate relief assistance is urgently required. Medium- and long-term investment in social and physical infrastructure is also crucial. The international community has a major responsibility here. Our role must be to "jump-start" the economy of the occupied territories - and help them on to the path of sustainable development.

Financing and the Bank's Role

How much will it cost? The Bank has already done some analysis of financing needs - and our numbers reflect the views of all concerned. Over the next five years, we estimate the total external requirement at about \$2.5 billion.

Mobilizing these resources and implementing the international effort will demand real cooperation and coordination. The World Bank has already started work:

- We have proposed to you - our members - the establishment of a \$35 million trust fund for technical assistance, training and project preparation - and it will be in operation soon;

- We have proposed to the Bank's Board an allocation of \$50 million, on concessional terms, to initiate lending in Gaza;
- We are working on an immediate emergency assistance project - to be co-financed by other donors - which will focus on the rehabilitation of vital social and physical infrastructure; logistical support for establishing the new administration; and the import of urgently needed materials and supplies;
- Looking ahead, we plan to broaden our support - including a substantial role for the IFC [international finance corporations] in promoting the private sector.

Conclusion: Potential and Hope

In conclusion, I would like to express my appreciation to the President of the United States - on behalf of the World Bank - for convening this meeting.

The challenge ahead is daunting. But, as I said at the outset, so too is the opportunity: to build upon the rich human resource base in the occupied territories; to exploit the great potential for regional cooperation; and to take advantage of the goodwill and support of the international community.

This meeting embodies that spirit of goodwill - and of hope for the future. We must seize this moment. Thank you.



**PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER YASSER ABED RABBO,
STATEMENT AT THE CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE,
US STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, DC, 1 OCTOBER 1993**

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Colleagues:

I am honoured to address the Conference to Support Middle East Peace today on behalf of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people. This is a most fitting sequel to the historic moment at the White House a few weeks ago when the Palestinian-Israeli Declaration of Principles was signed signalling a real start at making the dream of peace a reality. Our meeting today provides the peace process with momentum. It clearly lays the emphasis on rebuilding the Palestinian economy to enhance the political commitment aimed at ending the years of confrontation, suffering and instability in our part of the world.

We would like to express our real appreciation and convey our thanks to the President of the United States and his Government, the co-chairman of this conference and all the donors participating for their quick and positive response to this historical occasion produced by the Palestinian-Israeli accord and to their support for its continued success. Let me outline for you some elements of our vision:

First and fundamentally, our vision is of an economy developed by and for the Palestinian people themselves. Our development will depend on private initiative, not on government direction. We see the talent, creativity and hard work of individuals working directly in productive activities as being the best guarantee of rising incomes and employment. Of course, we also see a role for Government in creating the proper environment for growth, mainly by helping to build essential physical and social infrastructure, by providing a legal and regulatory framework that guarantees property rights and encourages private investment, and by securing free access to foreign markets. We do not seek big government bureaucracy as the solution to our needs; rather we see Government as the servant of the dynamic private sector on which our prosperity will depend.

Second, while dealing with the urgent needs, mainly in the area of physical and social infrastructure, we will take into consideration the long term and future economic and social development. We believe that our current efforts should lay the foundation for sustainable development.

Third, our vision is one of Palestinian prosperity as an integral part of a dynamic regional economy. We look for regional cooperation in trade, tourism, and other areas of common concerns. And we see

that regional prosperity and economic cooperation with our neighbours can only be achieved through pursuing the wider agenda of reducing tensions in the Middle East and building a just, lasting and comprehensive peace. During the past 26 years, our economy has been facing unfair treatment. Its economic relations have been shaped by Israeli policies working for Israeli interests. We believe that these relations should be reshaped on the basis of mutual benefits, equity and reciprocity.

Mr. Chairman, the realization of the Palestinian vision shall become the daily task of every Palestinian, man and woman, when they see that settlement activities in Jerusalem have halted and when the deportees can join their families and the prisoners are freed and when the Palestinian people feel that the process of implementing [Security Council] resolution 242 [(1967)] will culminate in the exercise of their right to self-determination.

Ladies and gentlemen, on our side, we will do our utmost to ensure that your assistance is used effectively and properly. To this end, we have set up a Palestinian Emergency Development and Reconstruction Authority, which will coordinate our efforts and serve as the competent authority to contact and deal with the coordinating body which the donors create, and to provide overall supervision on our part of the development and reconstruction process.

Finally, I believe that our people, and our Jordanian brothers, with whom we are seeking to preserve and develop close ties, look towards our friends in the region, old and new, to begin a voyage towards a new and promising future. We would like to see our efforts completed through just peace between all our Arab brothers with Israel. A peace that is based on ending confrontation, respect for international legality and full implementation of [Security Council] resolutions 242 [(1967)] and 338 [(1973)], real sharing and good neighbourliness, mutuality and respect for human rights, free choice and independence.

Our vision includes peace for the holy city of Jerusalem, enabling East Jerusalem to become the capital of our future independent State, ending the misery and humiliation of exile and refuge of our people, allowing them the dignity and security of return to their home and putting a total halt to the process of forced settlement of our land because it violates the principles of reconciliation, free choice, neighbourliness as well as legitimacy. Our visions are also those of security for all of us, end to violence and commitment to signed agreements. In short, real peace.



**ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES, STATEMENT AT THE
CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE, US STATE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, DC, 1 OCTOBER 1993**

Mr. Chairman,

We appreciate this swift initiative of the US President and Secretaries of State and Treasury to convene the Donors' Conference. Only three weeks have passed since Israel and the Palestinians signed their agreement on the lawn of the White House and we are already discussing the methods to ensure its success. We express our deep appreciation to our European, Nordic, Canadian, Russian and Japanese friends and all the other contributors who seek to assist in this important endeavour.

This conference is the first of its kind in the annals of the Middle East. On many occasions external powers tended to divide and rule. Now they unite and contribute.

We need a Middle East in which nations will maintain their identities and economies will flourish through interdependence. To provide our people with hope for prosperity we have to adapt our region to modern market economy.

We have to embark on three different economic initiatives. The first, to provide financial assistance to the Palestinians, to enable them to translate the agreement on self-government into a successful reality.

Secondly, we need economic mechanisms to lay the foundations of a new Middle East. A Middle East that will battle desertification and enrich itself with an integrated infrastructure.

We have to start building roads, telecommunication lines, energy plants, water desalination and the tourist industry. The role of the public sector in the initial period is essential. We should invite the private sector to participate in this voyage.

Thirdly, we have to rid ourselves of wasteful expenses, oversized armies, an exaggerated arms race, outdated bureaucratic systems. The peoples of the region have to help themselves and prove to the outside world that we can overcome economic barriers, foster cooperation and improve the existing facilities by diverting financial resources from the futile arms race.

Israel supports the understanding reached between the major donors and will cooperate with the World Bank and other institutions. To this effect, we will contribute \$2.5 million to the Bank's trust fund set up for preparing feasibility studies. We shall continue to support and expand the multilateral negotiations in scope and substance. We express our appreciation to Tunisia for hosting the Working Group on Refugees.

Israel will work closely with Palestinians and Jordanians to introduce economic cooperation in our geographic proximity and help create a flourishing economic triangle. We shall do it as neighbours. We do not seek to replace military presence by economic domination. In this spirit we shall contribute over the coming years \$25 million in grants and \$50 million in credits.

All of us have to rise above past suspicion and act in concert to address the possibilities created by this new political opportunity. The region is in need of an economic and political rebirth and one day we shall say, that it was here in Washington, that we saw the beginning of a new Middle East.



COMMISSIONER HANS VAN DEN BROEK, COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES, STATEMENT AT THE CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE, US STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, DC, 1 OCTOBER 1993

Mr. Secretary,

It is with great pleasure, and with a clear view of the historic importance of the agreement recently reached between the Palestinians and the Israelis, that I speak to outline the support that the European Community [(EC)] is preparing for the Palestinians.

- Since 1971, in addition to substantial bilateral aid from its Member States, the EC has contributed more than US\$800 million in grant aid to the Palestinians; in 1993 alone over US\$100 million is being committed in grants, including more than US\$25 million which has been mobilized since the signature of the Declaration of Principles.
- Aid has been channelled through many instruments:
- Aid to refugees through UNRWA;
- Direct development aid including support to Palestinian institutions, and co-financing with European NGOs;
- Aid for trade through granting of preferential agreements;
- Aid for environmental purposes;
- Emergency interventions.
- In this process the EC has built up a network of relationships with Palestinian leaders and institutions and has appointed a representative to the territories to channel more efficiently its assistance.
- The EC is ready to capitalize on its experience for its own future efforts, and to put it at the disposal of other donors.

- For the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza, the Commission proposes to ask the community budgetary authorities that 500 million ECU [European currency units] [\$600 million] be made available for 1994-98. Half of this amount would be grants from the community budget and the remainder is expected to be provided through long-term loans.
- The Community's approach is:
- In the short term, to extend projects already underway, in particular in the fields of housing, credit for small and medium-sized business, solid waste removal programmes, upgrading the sewage system and the construction of the Gaza Hospital. The construction of classrooms and the completion of industrial parks could be added to the existing aid programme.
- In the medium term, EC resources could contribute to improving the economic and social infrastructure, as well as helping the Palestinians to generate urgently-needed employment. In particular, creating a modern infrastructure for private business activities through telecommunications, road connections, electricity, industrial estates, etc. is of the greatest importance.
- The Commission is prepared to offer the Palestinians technical assistance to establish institutions for planning and finance which will be necessary for financial management and development.
- The Community welcomes the constitution of PEDRA (the Palestinian Emergency Development and Reconstruction Authority) and looks forward to assisting it in any way necessary.

It must be remembered that the peace process concerns not just the occupied territories but also the region surrounding them.

- That is why the Community's assistance to the Palestinians runs parallel to the substantial volume of technical and financial assistance that we provide and shall continue to provide to the countries of the region with all of which we already have important trade and cooperation agreements.
- In the longer term, the development of the region as a whole should become the central concern of the international community. No stable peace in the region is possible without such an economic development effort.
- In order for this to be possible, the countries of the region themselves need to show the willingness to embark on durable large-scale cooperation in fields like trade, industry, agriculture, transport and communications infrastructure.
- The prospect of peace offers new perspectives for the relationships between the countries of the region and the rest of the world.
- The European Community, which has already been playing a prominent role in the multilateral track of the peace process through the different working groups, especially while leading the economic development group, will continue to be a willing partner both in promoting co-operation within the region and in its own relations with the region. We look forward to the work ahead in close cooperation with other donors.



**US SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER, STATEMENT AT THE
CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE, US STATE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, DC, 1 OCTOBER 1993**

Thank you again for your cooperation. Our session this morning, I think it's fair to say, was a striking success. On behalf of Secretary Bentsen and Foreign Minister Kozyrev and Minister Fyodorov, I want to thank you all for attending the conference and for your participation and your generosity.

In the coming months, we must make sure that we continue to work together to make sure that the pledges are fulfilled and that they're translated into tangible improvements on the ground in the occupied territories.

At the same time, we must all redouble our efforts to work for a comprehensive peace in the region. The Israeli-Palestinian agreements are a crucial component, an important building block, but they must be fortified by progress on the other tracks.

Speaking of other tracks and speaking particularly of the multilateral track, I want to note how pleased I am that the first of the multilateral meeting will take place in the region when Tunisia hosts the refugee group in October and Egypt hosts the environmental group in December. I hope there will be many other meetings of the portions of the multilateral track in the region in the near future.

As we've heard this morning and as you could tell from the speakers, the European Community is playing a very vital role in providing resources and providing leadership. The EC financial commitment complements its active leadership in the multilateral track.

The EC is a prime example of how integration of economies can bring former adversaries together in producing stability and prosperity in a region. I'm pleased now to introduce Foreign Minister Claes of Belgium, who is President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community for this period, and I introduce him to speak to you on this occasion - Foreign Minister Claes.



**SAUDI FOREIGN MINISTER PRINCE SAUD AL-FAISAL,
STATEMENT AT THE CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE,
WASHINGTON DC, 1 OCTOBER 1993**

Mr. Vice-President: Mr. Secretary of State of the United States of America; Mr. Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of America; Mr. Minister of Finance of the Russian Federation; Your Highnesses, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I would like to express our gratitude to the Vice-President for opening this important meeting; and on behalf of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Ibn Abdul Aziz, his government and the people of Saudi Arabia, it gives me great pleasure to express our appreciation for the efforts earnestly exerted by the co-sponsors of the peace conference on the Middle East. I would like to join other speakers in paying tribute to President Clinton and his administration for taking such a timely initiative in convening this conference here in Washington with a view to mobilizing political and material support for the Palestinian people as they enter a historic phase of assuming responsibility for their own affairs in Gaza and the West Bank.

Saudi Arabia is firmly committed to the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace between the Arabs and Israel based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. We, along with our colleagues in the Gulf Cooperation Council, were among the first to extend our support to the Declaration of Principles signed by the Israeli and the Palestinian representatives here in Washington. We believe it to be a bold first step towards the resolution of the Palestinian question, which is the heart and core of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Although the road for peace in the Middle East is still a complex one, we hope this first step shall pave the way towards a successful outcome of the peace process launched in Madrid in October 1991.

The momentum generated by this accomplishment should be reinforced by successful negotiations of the outstanding issues such as the question of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, as well as speedy movement in the other tracks of the peace process to this end, and international political and material support to the Palestinians is the first clear and foremost priority. The government of Saudi Arabia is pleased to participate in these international efforts. In this context, we also see an important role for the regional financial institutions.

I would like, therefore, to reaffirm the continued and firm commitment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to assist in the economic development of the occupied Arab territories. We attach a great impor-

tance to the improvement of existing infrastructure and building newly required ones with a view to realizing the development objectives of the Palestinian economy.

We note with appreciation the role played by the World Bank in assisting the Palestinians to identify their development needs for the next five years. We commend the work of the bank and express our confidence in its ability to carry out the task of coordinating assistance provided by donor countries and institutions to this end. Saudi Arabia is willing to contribute through the Saudi Fund for Development, to the bank's efforts in this regard.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is also pleased to pledge one hundred million U.S. dollars during the course of 1994 to the World Bank's program for the urgent development needs of the Palestinian economy. Further, the Saudi Fund for Development has been instructed to coordinate with the World Bank in funding the program of development for the occupied territories.

We trust that this conference shall demonstrate the interest the international community attaches to the realization of peace in the Middle East so as to sustain the momentum for progress in the peace process.

Thank you, Mr. Vice-President.



**RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND UNITED STATES, CO-SPONSORS' SUMMARY,
CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE, US STATE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, DC, 1 OCTOBER 1993**

1. The Conference to Support Middle East Peace was held on 1 October in Washington. The Conference was jointly sponsored by the Russian Federation and the United States. The Russian co-chairs were Foreign Minister Kozyrev and Finance Minister Fyodorov. The American co-chairs were Secretary Christopher and Secretary Bentsen.
2. The Conference brought together several overlapping circles of parties: members of the Multilateral Steering Group, a body that has overseen the multilateral track of the peace process; the gavel-holders of the working groups established under the Madrid process, namely the European Community, Japan, Canada, and the US; the G-7 countries, which were invited in the Palestinian-Israeli Declaration of Principles to play a role in fostering economic development in the region; Norway; major donors from around the world; Israel and Arab representatives, including the GCC; and the World Bank and the United Nations. All participants gathered, first and foremost, to show support for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East and for the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, which is an important step toward that end. Given the pressing economic and development in Gaza and the West Bank, the conference set as its major objective the marshalling of substantial resources to meet immediate and longer-term needs.
3. The Palestinians and Israelis reported to the Conference on steps they are taking to implement and consolidate the Declaration of Principles signed on 13 September. The Palestinians emphasized their intention to organize mechanisms to promote economic development and make effective use of external assistance. The Palestinians and Israelis made clear their intention to cooperate in fostering economic development in the West Bank and Gaza as foreseen in the Declaration of Principles.
4. The participants at the Conference agreed to support the historic political breakthrough in the Middle East through a broad-based multilateral effort to mobilize resources to promote reconstruction and development in the West Bank and Gaza. They acknowledged that formidable challenges of implementing the 13 September Declaration of Principles will generate a broad range of assistance needs.
5. Participants shared the view that these needs require both immediate and longer-term action. The twin goals are to have near-term impact on economic prospects and living standards and to ensure that longer-term assistance lays the basis for launching sustained growth.

Conference Commitments

6. For the critical first phase of the effort, participants announced pledges totalling in excess of \$600 million for the first year and \$1 billion for the first two years. For the five-year period corresponding to the peace agreement, there were formal indications of planned support approaching \$2 billion. Additional indications are expected in the future. Anticipating the continuation of donor efforts on the level announced for the first year, we are confident that the \$2.4 billion of five-year external assistance needs identified by the World Bank will be met.

Assistance Programmes and Donors

7. The donor community agreed to support urgent relief efforts and to endeavour to meet other short-term needs including rehabilitation of existing infrastructure. It is recognized that an appropriate legal framework should be established on the recipient side in order to enable a smooth implementation of external assistance. Participants recognized that the United Nations Relief and Works Agency is already active in these areas. UNRWA, non-governmental organizations, the EC, and other bilateral donors are prepared to move at a rapid pace.
8. Urgent and ongoing efforts must be directed at building the capacity of the Palestinians to organize and manage their own political, economic and social affairs in the context of implementation of the 13 September Palestinian-Israeli Declaration of Principles. An important priority will be the development of effective revenue-sharing and revenue-collection arrangements. Participants resolved to initiate an extensive programme of technical assistance to build institutions and to train personnel. The World Bank will establish and manage a Trust Fund to finance these kinds of technical assistance, training, and feasibility studies over the next 12-18 months. Moreover, UN agencies including UNDP, along with other multilateral and bilateral programmes and agencies, will provide both technical and financial assistance to support this institution-building effort.
9. In the longer term, the Conference noted the importance of promoting public and private investment to lay the foundation for launching the West Bank and Gaza on a path of sustained growth. Participants will carry out their assistance projects within the framework of a five-year programme of public investment in physical and social infrastructure and productive capacity. The World Bank, in cooperation with other international financial institutions, will take a leading role in developing and helping to mobilize programmes to support public investment.
10. The private sector and private investment will play a critical part in promoting sustained growth and development. The Palestinians acknowledge the importance of establishing an environment conducive to private investment. Conference participants intend to encourage trade and private investment through export financing programmes and investment incentives.
11. Conference participants stressed the need to address the development of the West Bank and Gaza in its regional context. The World Bank has begun to identify regional infrastructure projects that would facilitate economic integration of the West Bank and Gaza with its neighbours. Participants emphasized that freer trade among the economies of the region would be beneficial. The four relevant working groups created under the Madrid process should continue their work on issues of regional economic development, water, environment and refugees.
12. There was a shared concern, in a time of budget constraint and scarce resources, that this assistance effort be managed efficiently with maximum benefit for recipients. Donors and regional financial institutions will work closely with the World Bank to achieve this goal.
13. Participants recognized that many obstacles must be overcome on the road to peace, security and economic development in the region. The expressed confidence in the ability of the Israeli and Palestinian people to sustain the hard labour of peace. Participants urged the Palestinian and Israeli representatives to move forward rapidly to implement the Declaration of Principles and pledged their support for the peace process, both politically and financially.



**ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES, “LETTER OF SECRET ASSURANCES”
TO NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER JOHAN HOLST REGARDING JERUSALEM AND
STATEMENT TO THE KNESSET ON THE MATTER, JERUSALEM, 11 OCTOBER 1993**

[In a speech to Muslims in South Africa on 10 May 1994, PLO Chairman Arafat was the first who mentioned the existence of this secret letter. The Israeli govt. repeatedly denied but eventually, due to continuing rumors, made it public. Peres stressed that the letter had been written not to Arafat but to Norwegian FM Holst. A copy of the statement to the Knesset was also sent to Holst.]

I. LETTER OF SECRET ASSURANCES

Dear Minister Holst,

I wish to confirm that the Palestinian institutions of East Jerusalem and the interest and well-being of the Palestinians of East Jerusalem are of great importance and will be preserved.

Therefore, all the Palestinian institutions of East Jerusalem, including the economic, social, educational and cultural, and the holy Christian and Moslem places, are performing an essential task for the Palestinian population.

Needless to say, we will not hamper their activity; on the contrary, the fulfillment of this important mission is to be encouraged.

Sincerely,

Shimon Peres, Foreign Minister of Israel

II. STATEMENT BY FOREIGN MINISTER PERES TO THE KNESSET

Israel recognizes the religious significance of Jerusalem to all the prophetic religions. It respects its unique value in the spiritual as well as in the daily lives of Jews, Moslems and Christians. We have been and we shall remain strongly committed to the absolute freedom of worship and the continuing functioning of the religious and spiritual institutions in Jerusalem.

We shall continue to respect the various aspects of religious life in the city and will seek to broaden our dialogue with the various religious institutions.

We will continue to refrain from any action which may infringe upon the freedom of worship and access to the holy sites, or which may hurt the feelings and sensitivities of the various religious groups and denominations. This applies to all those who reside in the city and those who make their pilgrimage to its shrines.

Jerusalem is a city of human, religious and cultural mosaics. Jews, Moslems and Christians live in the city, with each community preserving its cultural heritage, social patterns and institutions, as well as its educational systems. The harmonious coexistence in Jerusalem depends on the continued functioning of these systems, institutions and holy sites.



**AMBASSADOR GAAFAR M. ALLAGANY, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF SAUDI ARABIA TO THE UN, STATEMENT TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
48TH SESSION NEW YORK, 13 OCTOBER 1993 [EXCERPTS]**

In the name of God, most compassionate, most merciful.
Blessings and peace be upon the most noble of prophets.

Mr. President: [...]

The Declaration of Principles between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Israeli government, signed in Washington on September 13th of this year, has raised expectations and hopes which signal the possibility of achieving a just and permanent settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict; a conflict

which has persisted for too long. This development, though it represents only an agreement on self-government in the occupied Palestinian territories, beginning with Gaza and Jericho, nevertheless represents a step towards the establishment of a just, comprehensive and permanent peace between the Arab States and Israel. It is natural that a solution to the Palestinian question will contribute to a just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict because it represents the core of this conflict.

The welcome with which the Palestinian-Israeli agreement was received within Palestinian, Arab and international circles genuinely and clearly reflects the desire of the Arabs for the establishment of a permanent, just and comprehensive peace in the Middle-East. It also indicates the seriousness with which the Arab side has pursued the current peace process, which was launched in Madrid in October of 1991 under the sponsorship of the United States of America and the Federated Russian Republic.

We are witnessing today the optimism generated by the Palestinian-Israeli agreement, and we feel it is incumbent upon the international community to lend support to the progress which has been achieved in this area by providing the necessary economic and developmental assistance required to build the administrative structures needed to make the agreement on self-government succeed. At the same time, it is also incumbent upon us to work diligently to exploit the opportunity generated by this agreement to further the cause of peace.

Consolidation of this agreement requires the achievement of concrete and positive results in the areas of negotiation between Palestinians and Israelis, at the forefront of which is the issue of Jerusalem, which is an integral part of the occupied Arab territories, as well as the issue of the return of Palestinian refugees, and the settlements erected by Israel in the occupied Arab territories contrary to international law and the Geneva Conventions. At the same time, genuine progress in all other bilateral negotiating tracks is needed. [...]

Mr. President:

I wish to express the appreciation of the government of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques to President Clinton for his prudent initiative in calling for, and hosting, an International Donors Conference to solicit political and financial support for the Palestinians as they prepare to assume the responsibilities of self government in the occupied territories. I also wish to take this opportunity to express our pleasure with the positive results generated at this conference. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has, and continues, to fully support the Middle East peace process by all means. It has participated effectively in the multilateral talks, and genuinely hopes that the process will lead to a just, permanent and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian question and the Arab conflict with Israel on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Despite the financial burdens the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia faces in building an advanced economy in which the expectations of its citizens for a better future are fulfilled, and despite its current international obligations at a time of difficulty in the international economic system, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia participated in the International Donors Conference which recently concluded its meeting in Washington, D.C. The Custodian of The Two Holy Mosques bestowed upon me the honor of announcing the Kingdom's commitment to provide substantial developmental assistance to improve the infrastructure in the West Bank and Gaza strip in coordination with the World Bank's special five-year program for the occupied territories. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will participate, through the Saudi Development Fund, in the amount of one hundred million U.S. dollars for the year 1994. We believe that this assistance will improve the living conditions of our Palestinian brothers in the occupied Arab territories as well as contribute positively to the peace process. [...]



**PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI NEGOTIATION DELEGATIONS,
JOINT STATEMENT AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST COORDINATING
COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE TABA TALKS, TABA, 13 OCTOBER 1993**

[The first meeting of the Coordinating Committee was devoted to organizational issues.]

The Palestinian and Israeli sides held the first meeting of the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area negotiations in a cordial and constructive atmosphere. Both sides expressed their determination to continue in the same atmosphere and to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion. The two sides emphasized the importance of confidence building and the provision of security for Israelis and Palestinians alike.

Organizational questions were addressed and resolved. Agreement was reached on a schedule for the negotiations for the coming weeks and on the establishment of two working groups on security matters, and civilian matters including the transfer of authority in the Gaza Strip and Jericho area. The two Heads of Delegation agreed to maintain a direct channel of communication. The issue of the release of Palestinian prisoners will be dealt with as a matter of priority within the context of the ongoing negotiations.

Both sides expressed their thanks and gratitude to the Egyptian Government for its hospitality and support for the negotiations.



**PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI NEGOTIATION DELEGATIONS, CONFIDENCE-
BUILDING MEASURES SUB-COMMITTEE, STATEMENT ON THE RELEASE OF
PRISONERS, TABA, 21 OCTOBER 1993**

[The negotiations in Taba focused on security, the Palestinian police force, protection of Israeli settlements, the size of the Jericho area, control of the Jordan River bridges, and prisoner release. The following statement describes the prisoners' categories and their gradual release.]

The Confidence-Building Measures sub-committee, in its meetings yesterday and today, discussed mutual measures in order to build confidence between the two peoples. An agenda on matters of common concern, to be dealt with in the following meetings, has been agreed upon.

The release of prisoners will be implemented gradually and continually. As a first step, it was decided that the release of prisoners in the following categories will begin next week:

- A) prisoners who are ill;
- B) prisoners below the age of 18;
- C) prisoners over the age of 50; and
- D) women prisoners.

The next meeting will deal with other categories. Both sides expressed the hope that this first step will contribute to the advancement of the peace process and to the prevention of violence.

In response to questions, the Israeli delegation spokesman issued the following clarifications: People in the above categories who were involved in severe cases of terrorism will not be released. The cases of prisoners in other categories will be discussed in the ongoing talks at Taba.



**PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DECISION TO ESTABLISH THE PALESTINIAN
ECONOMIC COUNCIL FOR DEVELOPMENT AND CONSTRUCTION (PECDAR), TUNIS,
4 NOVEMBER 1993**

First: the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Construction will be set up under the chairmanship of the brother President Yasir Arafat.

- a) The Council will assume the operations for defining the priorities of economic and social development construction and the priorities of development projects. It will assume also the implementation, control and management of these projects on the basis of transparency, clarity, and competence.
- b) The Council is composed of political, intellectual and economic personalities and leaderships among Palestinians from inside and outside our occupied land.

Second: the board of governors will be composed of the following members and will be responsible to the head of the national authority, the PLO chairman:

1. Brother Farouk Kaddoumi, vice chairman
2. Brother Muhammad Zuhdi al-Nashashibi, vice chairman
3. Brother Ahmad Qurei, delegated member and director-general
4. Brother Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, assistant director- general
5. Brother Dr. Yusif Sayigh, member
6. Brother Dr. Antoine Zahalan, member
7. Brother Ibrahim Dakkak, member
8. Brother Nabil al-Sharif, member
9. Brother Dr. Muhammad al-Samhuri, member
10. Brother Dr. Khalil al-Hindi, member
11. Brother Dr. Sufyan Sultan, member
12. Brother Tahir Kanaan, member
13. Brother Mustafa Murtajah, member
14. Brother Dr. Nabil Qassis, member

Third: the following administrations will be attached to this Authority: The Administration of the Economic Policies and the Selection of Projects; the Administration of Coordinating and Facilitating the Arrival of Aid; the Administration of Supervising and Management of Projects; the Administration of Management and Auxiliary Services; the Administration of Technical Assistance and Training; any other administrations required by the nature of the work.

Fourth: The Authority will draw up the internal statute and the work procedure of the administration and will decide the appointments according to the operative procedures and regulations.

Fifth: This decision will come into force as of its date, and will be communicated to all those who are required to implement it.



**PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI ECONOMIC COOPERATION COMMITTEE, JOINT
STATEMENT, FIRST MEETING, PARIS, 17 NOVEMBER 1993**

The Palestinian-Israeli Economic Cooperation Committee - which was established and will work and decide in compliance with the Declaration of Principles signed on 13 September 1993 and the decision of the PLO and Israel in their meeting in Cairo on 13 October 1993 - held its first meeting in Paris on 16 November 1993. The Palestinian Delegation was headed by Abu-Ala, Member of the Central Committee of the FATAH Movement and Director General of the Economic and Planning Department of the PLO, and the Israeli by Finance Minister Avraham Shohat. The Co-Chairmen made opening statements reflecting their respective positions.

The two sides reviewed the economic situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and emphasized the need for rapid progress in the economic condition of the Palestinian people therein. The heads of the two delegations shared the view that there is a correlation between sound economic relationships,

based on mutual recognition of each other's interests and the right of the Palestinian people to exercise their economic decision making power in accordance with their economic plans and priorities, and the success of the peace process now on its way.

The delegations agreed that Israel and the Palestinian authority will establish a framework of economic cooperation which will be predicated on the principles of reciprocity, equity and fair economic relationships, as well as the enhancement of the role of the private sector in promoting economic growth, and mutual respect for each party's economic relations with the other parties.

The Palestinian Delegation emphasized its special economic relationship with the Arab world - particularly Jordan, the international community and the UN bodies.

Both sides decided to accelerate their work so as to meet the objectives agreed upon in the Declaration of Principles and to ensure their implementation. Bearing this in mind, they have agreed upon an agenda for their negotiations which will accommodate their mutual economic interests. The two delegations have agreed to establish three sub-committees which will deal simultaneously with the following:

1. Trade and Labor
2. Fiscal Matters
3. Finance and Banking

Other sub-committees may also be established.

The two delegations have concurred in the importance of the Multilateral Working Groups' progress and their contribution to a more stable and prosperous Middle East. They have noted with satisfaction the assistance pledged by the international community as reflected in the resolutions of the Donor's Conference in Washington and Paris. The Economic Cooperation Committee and the sub-committees will resume their work next week (23-25 November, 1993) in Paris.

The two delegations have expressed their appreciation of the hospitality provided by the Government of France.



**KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, ADDRESS TO THE PARLIAMENT,
AMMAN, 23 NOVEMBER 1993 [EXCERPTS]**

Honourable Senators, Honourable Deputies: Your present assembly coincides with an international political, economic and strategic phase which has, over the last few years, seen increasingly rapid changes posing major challenges at the Arab, regional, and international levels. Our country has been able to stand firm in facing these challenges and to persist in making determined, confident and steadfast progress.

The issue of peace has entered a new stage requiring us to take a strong stand stemming from our national unity, from our constant positions rooted in international legitimacy and from our unwavering determination to achieve a just, durable and honourable peace which future generations would accept and preserve. Such a peace would be based on the restoration of all our rights, would guarantee the legitimate rights of our fraternal Palestinian people on their national soil, and would provide security and peace to all the States and peoples of the region. To this end, we gave our support to the position taken by the Palestinian people as represented by the PLO. We provided an umbrella ensuring legitimacy for their negotiating team, in a spirit of truthfulness, brotherhood, and sincere openness that must prevail among brethren, and the need to support the PLO in realizing its national identity.

The PLO, in full freedom and by its own free choice, has adopted an independent position, thus bearing its historic responsibility. It concluded a Declaration of Principles with Israel on 13 September

1993; and Israel recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Israel also recognized the unity of the Palestinian people within and outside the occupied territories. The independent Palestinian will has thus been confirmed. This recognition has been supported by the great world powers and, indeed, by most world States. Furthermore, the PLO recognized the State of Israel. Old enemies shook hands. Pursuant to our commitment to respect and support the independent Palestinian decision-making since the Rabat summit of 1974, we support the PLO and respect its right to work to realize the goals of the fraternal Palestinian people as well as those of their central and basic cause. We shall do everything in our power to extend this support. To epitomize this conviction, my Government persistently instructed the Jordanian negotiating team to bide its time, waiting for progress on the Palestinian-Israeli track. Hence, as soon as the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles was signed, with all that this development entailed, my Government instructed the head of our negotiating team to sign the Jordanian-Israeli negotiations agenda on 14 September 1993, thus heralding the start of efforts to proceed toward peace in foolproof and wise steps, confident of the ability of our Government, your august assembly, and our courageous people to cooperate among themselves so that they may face the challenges of the next phase and its responsibilities with faith, loyalty and determination.

This would lead us to the dawning of peace, the peace of which the peoples of the whole region have so far been deprived. Such peace would bring forth satisfaction and stability, open wide horizons for the progress and advancement of humanity and provide man with the opportunities for a decent life, thus eliminating all differences among all parties.

I am fully confident and I have absolute faith that we all believe that a just and comprehensive peace will not be realized and completed until Jerusalem becomes the city of peace, its symbol and its presence, once its occupied Arab land is returned to its owners who have inherited it from their Arab forefathers, Muslims and Christians alike, once it becomes the meeting point between the Palestinians and Israelis, and once it becomes a meeting point of peace for all.

Our commitment to the achievement of peace is a duty we owe to future generations. And this commitment prompts us to adopt an honest and sincere stance that wants Jerusalem to be the eternal symbol of peace in the world among the followers of the three monotheistic religions, all of which are descendants of the Prophet Abraham, may God's peace be upon him.

As for Jerusalem, the holiest of holies, it lies in the hearts and souls of all believers in God, followers of the three monotheistic faiths. We will recognize no sovereignty over it except for that of Almighty God, glory to Him. From this august rostrum, I would like to renew the call I made in my address to the nation on 12 October for the creation of a grand non-political Arab-Islamic body that would unite Muslims, bring them together, and represent the seven Muslim sects, one that would rise above the mundane and trivial. Such a body would be assigned the task of caring for and overseeing Islamic holy places. We would like to affirm that we will support such a body with all the means and resources at our disposal. Moreover, we will not cede or give up our religious and historical responsibilities towards Jerusalem and towards al-Awqaf and Islamic holy places in Palestine. At the same time, we call for the start of an inter-religious dialogue among the followers of the three monotheistic religions to realize God's will, which ordained that holy Jerusalem be the closest to their hearts, so that they may worship Almighty God, compete to show fear of Him, and gain his satisfaction, glory to God.

Stemming from the legitimacy of our historical and religious responsibilities and from our keen determination to protect and preserve our holy places, we are continuing restoration and renovation work on the Dome of the Rock, as well as capping it with gold-enamelled copper plates. I thank Almighty God who has allowed me to do this, serving the cause of the first of the two kiblans and the third holy mosque. The restoration committee is currently engaged in reconstructing the pulpit of the holy al-Aqsa Mosque, under my direct supervision, in the wake of the message I addressed to my Government in this regard. This is being done so the pulpit of the Prophet and the forerunners will once again play its historic role in guiding the believers.



GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, ISRAEL'S POSITION REGARDING THE NEGOTIATIONS ON GAZA AND JERICHO, 13 DECEMBER 1993

In Israel's recent negotiations with the PLO regarding the implementation of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles in the Gaza Strip and Jericho, three major differences of view have arisen on the issues of external security, border crossings and the size of the Jericho area. The Declaration of Principles (DOP), negotiated by the sides in the Oslo talks and signed on 13 September in Washington, refers clearly to these subjects. The following briefing presents Israel's position on these issues, as fully consistent with the DOP which was already agreed upon by the parties:

I. Responsibility for Security from External Threats:

During the negotiations, it became evident that the Palestinians object to Israeli security control along the borders. The Israeli-Palestinian DOP is comprised of three parts - the body of the DOP, the Annexes and the Agreed Minutes. In all three parts it is clear that Israel is to retain responsibility for external security:

- Article VIII of the DOP states that 'Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats',
- Annex II clearly states that the agreement regarding the transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian Authority in Gaza and Jericho will not include external security (clause 3b).
- The Agreed Minutes of Annex II state plainly that 'Israel will continue to be responsible for external security'.

II. Responsibility for Border Crossings:

In the negotiations, the PLO is demanding control over the Jordan River bridges linking the West Bank and Jordan, and the Rafah terminal on the Egyptian border. According to the letter and spirit of the DOP, responsibility for border crossings is to be retained by Israel, in keeping with the following principles:

By definition, the DOP concerns the establishment of a 5-year period of interim self-government arrangements for the Palestinians - not the establishment of a Palestinian state (Art. I). Control over borders, with all that it entails, clearly constitutes an attribute of statehood.

- The DOP unequivocally establishes that the responsibility for external security remains within the realm of the Israeli government (see above). This responsibility inherently carries with it the need for Israeli control over the border, of which border crossings are an integral part. It would be inconceivable that, on the one hand, Israel would patrol the border in order to prevent hostile infiltration, while on the other hand, Israel would have no ability to prevent these same hostile elements from passing through the border crossings.
- The DOP states (Annex II) that the Palestinian Authority will have no responsibility in the area of foreign relations. The control over border crossings - which entails entry procedures for foreign nationals, granting visas, issuing travel documents and passports, and the like - is by its very nature inseparable from the realm of foreign relations, and therefore, not to be included among the powers transferred to the Palestinians.
- According to the DOP (Art. V) the issue of borders is only to be discussed in the negotiations regarding the permanent status of the territories which will come into effect following the 5-year interim period. These permanent status negotiations are to begin in the third year of the interim period.

III. The Dimension of the Jericho Area:

During the Oslo talks, in which the DOP was drafted, the idea of adding the city of Jericho to the 'Gaza First' option was accepted on the basis of the following understandings:

- In order to show that the interim arrangements would not be limited to the Gaza Strip alone, it was agreed that a 'symbolic' area in the West Bank also be included in the first stage of the interim arrangement implementation.

- Jericho was chosen by the PLO and approved by Israel precisely because it did not contain Jewish settlements in the immediate area of the city. This lack of settlements was to make the arrangements easier for both sides to implement.
- Israel agreed to consider the inclusion of the adjacent refugee camps of Aqabat Jaber and Ein el Sultan, which led to the use of the term 'Jericho Area' instead of 'Jericho City'.
- It was always clear to all sides that the extent of the Jericho Area was to be limited in nature, in keeping with the above understandings.

The present PLO claim, that the area of Jericho should include an geographical expanse covering over 300 sq. kilometers is therefore not in keeping with the spirit of the agreements reached between the parties, which were the basis for the DOP. Such a large area is much greater than 'symbolic', would include many Jewish settlements, deviates from the agreed meaning of the term 'Jericho Area', and is contrary to the position which was clarified by Israel well before the DOP was signed in Washington.

It should be recalled that the interim arrangements for the rest of the West Bank are to be negotiated separately between Israel and the PLO in Washington, and are not included in the provisions of the Gaza/Jericho agreement, as outlined in the DOP.



HOLY SEE AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL, JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ ON MUTUAL RELATIONS, VATICAN CITY, 29 DECEMBER 1993

Today, 29 December 1993, in the Vatican Apostolic Palace, the Bilateral Permanent Working Commission, established by the Holy See and the State of Israel, has held its plenary session - after the constituent one on 29 July 1992 and the following one on 19 November 1992.

The Commission considered the work done to date by its 'level of experts' and expressed its appreciation both for the climate of sincere cooperation and mutual trust that characterized and facilitated the talks and for the notable results. Thereupon the plenary Commission approved the draft 'Fundamental Agreement between the Holy See and the State of Israel' earlier adopted by Commission's 'level of experts.' This Agreement will be signed in Jerusalem tomorrow. The Commission is looking forward to the continuation of its work following the signature of the 'Fundamental Agreement' with a view to its implementation.

The Delegation of the Holy See was headed by Monsignor Claudio M. Celli, Under-Secretary for Relations with the States, and the Delegation of the State of Israel was headed by Dr. Yossi Beilin, Deputy Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Members of the Delegation of the Holy See were: Archbishop Andrea Cordero Lanza di Montezemolo, Apostolic Delegate in Jerusalem; Fr. Marco Brogi, OFM, Under-Secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches; Msgr. Luigi Gatti, of the Secretariat of State's Section for Relations with the States; Fr. David M. Jaeger, OFM, Judicial Vicar, Austin (Texas), Adviser to the Apostolic Delegate in Jerusalem.

Members of the Delegation of the State of Israel were: Mr. Aviezer Pazner, Ambassador of Israel, Rome; Dr. Israel Lippel, Senior Adviser to the Minister of Religious Affairs; Mr. Eitan Margalit, Adviser to the Minister on Interreligious Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Shlomo Gur, Minister Counsellor, Bureau of the Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ms. Miriam Ziv, Minister Counsellor Embassy of Israel, Rome; Rabbi David Rosen, Adviser to the Commission; Mr. Avraham Talmor, Deputy Director, International Department, Ministry of Finance; Mr. Yuval Rotem, Assistant to the Deputy Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE HOLY SEE AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL, JERUSALEM, 30 DECEMBER 1993

PREAMBLE

The Holy See and the State of Israel,

Mindful of the singular character and universal significance of the Holy Land;

Aware of the unique nature of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people, and of the historic process of reconciliation and growth in mutual understanding and friendship between Catholics and Jews;

Having decided on 29 July 1992 to establish a "Bilateral Permanent Working Commission", in order to study and define together issues of common interest, and in view of normalizing their relations;

Recognizing that the work of the afore-mentioned Commission has produced sufficient material for a first and Fundamental Agreement;

Realizing that such Agreement will provide a sound and lasting basis for the continued development of their present and future relations and for the furtherance of the Commission's task;

Agree upon the following Articles:

Article 1

- § 1. The State of Israel, recalling its Declaration of Independence, affirms its continuing commitment to uphold and observe the human right to freedom of religion and conscience, as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in other international instruments to which it is a party.
- § 2. The Holy See, recalling the Declaration on Religious Freedom of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, *dignitatis humanae*, affirms the Catholic Church's commitment to uphold the human right to freedom of religion and conscience, as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in other international instruments to which it is a party. The Holy See wishes to affirm as well the Catholic Church's respect for other religions and their followers as solemnly stated by the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council in its Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, *nostra aetate*.

Article 2

- § 1. The Holy See and the State of Israel are committed to appropriate cooperation in combatting all forms of anti-semitism and all kinds of racism and of religious intolerance, and in promoting mutual understanding among nations, tolerance among communities and respect for human life and dignity.
- § 2. The Holy See takes this occasion to reiterate its condemnation of hatred, persecution and all other manifestations of anti-Semitism directed against the Jewish people and individual Jews anywhere, at any time and by anyone. In particular, the Holy See deploras attacks on Jews and desecration of Jewish synagogues and cemeteries, acts which offend the memory of the victims of the Holocaust, especially when they occur in the same places which witnessed it.

Article 3

- § 1. The Holy See and the State of Israel recognize that both are free in the exercise of their respective rights and powers, and commit themselves to respect this principle in their mutual relations and in their cooperation for the good of the people.
- § 2. The State of Israel recognizes the right of the Catholic Church to carry out its religious, moral, educational and charitable functions, and to have its own institutions and to train, appoint and deploy its own personnel in the said institutions or for the said functions to these ends. The Church recognizes the right of the State to carry out its functions, such as promoting and protecting the welfare and safety of the people. Both the State and the Church recognize the need for dialogue and cooperation in such matters as by their nature call for it.
- § 3. Concerning Catholic legal personality at canon law, the Holy See and the State of Israel will negotiate on giving it full effect in Israeli law, following a report from a joint sub-commission of experts.

Article 4

- § 1. The State of Israel affirms its continuing commitment to maintain and respect the status quo in the Christian Holy Places to which it applies and the respective rights of the Christian communities

thereunder. The Holy See affirms the Catholic Church's continuing commitment to respect the afore-mentioned status quo and the said rights.

- § 2. The above shall apply notwithstanding an interpretation to the contrary of any Article in this Fundamental Agreement.
- § 3. The State of Israel agrees with the Holy See on the obligation of continuing respect for and protection of the character proper to Catholic sacred places, such as churches, monasteries, convents, cemeteries and their like.
- § 4. The State of Israel agrees with the Holy See on the continuing guarantee of the freedom of Catholic worship.

Article 5

- § 1. The Holy See and the State of Israel recognize that both have an interest in favouring Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Whenever the need for coordination arises, the proper agencies of the Church and of the State will consult and cooperate as required.
- § 2. The State of Israel and the Holy See express the hope that such pilgrimages will provide an occasion for better understanding between the pilgrims and the people and religions in Israel.

Article 6

The Holy See and the State of Israel jointly reaffirm the right of the Catholic Church to establish, maintain and direct schools and institutes of study at all levels; this right being exercised in harmony with the rights of the State in the field of education.

Article 7

The Holy See and the State of Israel recognize a common interest in promoting and encouraging cultural exchanges between Catholic institutions worldwide, and educational, cultural and research institutions in Israel, and in facilitating access to manuscripts, historical documents and similar source materials, in conformity with applicable laws and regulations.

Article 8

The State of Israel recognizes that the right of the Catholic Church to freedom of expression in the carrying out of its functions is exercised also through the Church's own communications media; this right being exercised in harmony with the rights of the State in the field of communications media.

Article 9

The Holy See and the State of Israel jointly reaffirm the right of the Catholic Church to carry out its charitable functions through its health care and social welfare institutions; this right being exercised in harmony with the rights of the State in this field.

Article 10

- § 1. The Holy See and the State of Israel jointly reaffirm the right of the Catholic Church to property.
- § 2. Without prejudice to rights relied upon the Parties:
- (a) The Holy See and the State of Israel will negotiate in good faith a comprehensive agreement, containing solutions acceptable to both Parties, on unclear, unsettled and disputed issues, concerning property, economic and fiscal matters relating to the Catholic Church generally, or to specific Catholic Communities or institutions.
 - (b) For the purpose of the said negotiations, the Permanent Bilateral Working Commission will appoint one or more bilateral subcommissions of experts to study the issues and make proposals.
 - (c) The Parties intend to commence the afore-mentioned negotiations within three months of entry into force of the present Agreement, and aim to reach agreement within two years from the beginning of the negotiations.
 - (d) During the period of these negotiations, actions incompatible with these commitments shall be avoided.

Article 11

- § 1. The Holy See and the State of Israel declare their respective commitment to the promotion of the peaceful resolution of conflicts among States and nations, excluding violence and terror from international life.

§ 2. The Holy See, while maintaining in every case the right to exercise its moral and spiritual teaching-office, deems it opportune to recall that, owing to its own character, it is solemnly committed to remaining a stranger to all merely temporal conflicts, which principle applies specifically to disputed territories and unsettled borders.

Article 12

The Holy See and the State of Israel will continue to negotiate in good faith in pursuance of the Agenda agreed upon in Jerusalem, on 15 July 1992, and confirmed at the Vatican on 29 July 1992; likewise on issues arising from Articles of the present Agreement, as well as on other issues bilaterally agreed upon as objects of negotiation.

Article 13

§ 1. In this Agreement the Parties use these terms in the following sense:

- (a) The Catholic Church and the Church - including, inter alia, its Communities and institutions;
- (b) Communities of the Catholic Church - meaning the Catholic religious entities considered by the Holy See as Churches sui juris and by the State of Israel as Recognized Religious Communities.

§ 2. Notwithstanding the validity of this Agreement as between the Parties, and without detracting from the generality of any applicable rule of law with reference to treaties, the parties agree that this Agreement does not prejudice rights and obligations arising from existing treaties between either Party and a State or States, which are known and in fact available to both Parties at the time of the signature of this Agreement.

Article 14

§ 1. Upon signature of the present Fundamental Agreement and in preparation for the establishment of full diplomatic relations, the Holy See and the State of Israel exchange Special Representatives, whose rank and privileges are specified in an Additional Protocol.

§ 2. Following the entry into force and immediately upon the beginning of the implementation of the present Fundamental Agreement, the Holy See and the State of Israel will establish full diplomatic relations at the level of Apostolic Nunciature, on the part of the Holy See, and Embassy, on the part of the State of Israel.

Article 15

This Agreement shall enter into force on the date of the latter notification of ratification by a Party.

Done in two original copies in the English and Hebrew languages, both texts being equally authentic. In case of divergency, the English text shall prevail.

Signed in Jerusalem, this thirtieth day of the month of December, in the year 1993, which corresponds to the sixteenth day of the month of Tevet, in the year 5754.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

FOR THE HOLY SEE

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL JERUSALEM, 30 DECEMBER 1993

1. In relation to Article 14 § 1 of the Fundamental Agreement, signed by the Holy See and the State of Israel, the 'Special Representatives' shall have, respectively, the personal rank of Apostolic Nuncio and Ambassador.
2. These Special Representatives shall enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities granted to Heads of Diplomatic Missions under international law and common usage, on the basis of reciprocity.
3. The Special Representative of the State of Israel to the Holy See, while residing in Italy, shall enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities defined by Article 12 of the Treaty of 1929 between the Holy See and Italy, regarding Envoys of Foreign Governments to the Holy See residing in Italy. The rights, privileges and immunities extended to the personnel of a Diplomatic Mission shall

- likewise be granted to the personnel of the Israeli Special Representative's Mission. According to an established custom, neither the Special Representative, nor the official members of his Mission, can at the same time be members of Israel's Diplomatic Mission to Italy.
4. The Special Representative of the Holy See to the State of Israel may at the same time exercise other representative functions of the Holy See and be accredited to other States. He and the personnel of his Mission shall enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities granted by Israel to Diplomatic Agents and Missions.
 5. The names, rank and functions of the Special Representatives will appear, in an appropriate way, in the official lists of Foreign Missions accredited to each Party.

*Signed in Jerusalem, this thirtieth day of the month of December, in the year 1993,
which corresponds to the sixteenth day of the month of Tevet, in the year 5754.*



**HEAD OF THE HOLY SEE DELEGATION, MONSIGNOR CLAUDIO MARIA CELLI,
STATEMENT AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN
THE HOLY SEE AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL, JERUSALEM, 30 DECEMBER 1993**

Mr. Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On June 29th, 1992, at the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican, a Permanent Bilateral Commission was established for the purpose of pursuing an agenda officially agreed upon that same day, and in order to study together and to resolve questions of mutual interest, with a view to a normalization of relations between the Parties. This decision was made possible thanks to the desire expressed by the two Parties, the previous Government of the State of Israel and the Secretariat of State of His Holiness Pope John Paul II. It was followed by an intense round of consultations between the Foreign Ministry of Israel and the Apostolic Delegation, and between the Secretariat of State and the Israeli Embassy in Rome.

Following the establishment of the Commission, the experts of the two Parties, led first by Mr. Gilboa and later by Mr. Margalit, and by Archbishop Andrea Cordero Lanza di Montezemolo, have done a great amount of work, for which we are most grateful.

The full Commission met on November 19th, 1992 here in Jerusalem and once again yesterday morning in the Vatican, in order to approve the texts which were drawn up and submitted by the experts. Those texts comprise the "Fundamental Agreement" signed at today's ceremony.

The Agreement is "fundamental" in the sense that it is meant to serve as the basis for other negotiations. As stated in its Preamble, the Agreement is meant to be "a sound and lasting basis for the furtherance of the Commission's task".

I would like to emphasize that the Agreement already represents a real and solid outcome of the Commission's work. It can also be considered "fundamental", in the sense of highly important, for several reasons.

Among other things, it expresses a basic principle meant to guide the two Parties, the State of Israel and the Holy See, in carrying out their work jointly in the future. This principle, in fact, has already exercised a marked influence on the first phase of negotiations. It is expressly mentioned in one of the articles of the Agreement: "Both the State and the Church recognize the need for dialogue and cooperation in such matters as by their nature call for it" (article 3, paragraph 2).

Also, as Mr. Shimon Peres, Foreign Minister of the State of Israel, pointed out a few days ago, the signing of the Agreement, while certainly marking an important historical event, must also be acknowledged to have a fundamental religious and spiritual significance, not only for the Holy See and the State of Israel, but for millions of people throughout the world.

The Holy See and the State of Israel are now beginning a new period in their bilateral relations. From the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel until the present, those relations have been marked by mutual respect, but they will henceforth be official and later on diplomatic in nature, in accordance with the formalities provided for by international law and tradition.

While clearly distinguishing the political and the religious aspects of this event, the Holy See is convinced that dialogue and respectful cooperation between Catholics and Jews will now be given new impetus and energy, both in Israel and throughout the world. The Preamble of the Accord explicitly mentions this religious dimension. It is also referred to in the Articles, in which the Holy See once more reiterates 'its condemnation of hatred, persecution and all other manifestations of anti-Semitism directed against the Jewish people and individual Jews anywhere, at any time and by anyone' (article 2, 2).

I am likewise certain that this new situation will provide greater confidence and security to the Catholic Church in Israel and to her leaders. This is a matter of great importance for the Holy See, which considers the establishment of official relations with States not as an end in itself, but as a means, and which is principally concerned for the communities of the Catholic faithful. In fact, a significant portion of the agreement is devoted to the Catholic Church and her institutions located in the State of Israel.

Everyone, I think, is convinced that this historic moment should not be viewed in isolation, but as part of a much larger and more important historical situation. This Agreement has been signed at a time when a peace process has begun, one in which the leaders of the State of Israel are deeply committed, together with their various counterparts, to the quest for peace, justice and cooperation in the whole region.

We know that there are still many problems to be solved, and that, for many of them, we are only at the beginning. But our hope is strengthened by the certainty that the leaders of all the parties desire justice and peace. If they persevere in this desire, difficulties can be overcome and future generations in the whole region will be able to live in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation very different from that of the past fifty years.

From the beginning, the Holy See has felt involved in the quest for this deeply desired peace, as it does in every part of the world where there is an absence of peace. As an article of the Agreement significantly states: 'The Holy See and the State of Israel declare their respective commitment to the promotion of the peaceful resolution of conflicts among States and nations...' (Article 11, 1). On the part of the Holy See, this commitment is deeply rooted in one of its essential characteristics, which is also recalled in an article of the Agreement, namely the exercise of "its moral and spiritual teaching-office" (article 11, 2). Precisely in the name of this un-renounceable office, the Holy See, while remaining extraneous to territorial questions on a technical level, at the same time considers itself bound to address such questions, as it has done in the past and continues to do, insofar as they involve issues of a moral nature, as for example, those of justice and peace.

The Holy See hopes that this new stage in relations and in cooperation will enable it to offer a specific contribution towards the development of an ever more trusting and constructive dialogue between the State of Israel and its neighbours and, consequently, towards the entire peace process.

Obviously I cannot fail to emphasize that our meeting today has taken place in Jerusalem and to repeat, as an expression of good wishes and hope, the words written in 1984 by His Holiness Pope John Paul II: 'Jerusalem, the sacred patrimony of all believers, and the desired meeting-place of peace for the peoples of the Middle East'. And now I would like to call to mind with deep veneration and gratitude, Pope John Paul II, who has desired this Agreement and who has charged me to sign it in his name. He has great affection and concern for this Land, which was made holy by Divine Revelation and which remains holy for the peoples who dwell in it, as it does for millions of Jewish, Christian and Muslim believers throughout the world.

Once again I would like to express my deep gratitude to the two delegations of experts. Their commitment and hard work have enabled us to make good progress so far, and this is certainly a sign of hope for what we still have to do together.

May Almighty God bless the fruits of our work and may His blessing accompany us as we continue it. Amen.



STATEMENT BY THE HOLY SEE'S PRESS OFFICE DIRECTOR JOAQUIN NAVARRO-VALLS, VATICAN CITY, 30 DECEMBER 1993

1. In Jerusalem, in the Office of the Foreign Minister, Msgr. Claudio Maria Celli, Under-Secretary for Relations with States, and Dr. Yossi Beilin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel, respectively plenipotentiaries for the Holy See and the State of Israel, signed an Agreement on several fundamental principles which regulate relations between the Holy See and the State of Israel.
2. The Agreement is the result of the first phase of the work of the Permanent Bilateral Commission, set up on July 29, 1992.

It contains principles and norms which concern:

- (a) The guarantees on the part of the State of Israel for the freedom of religion and conscience, a fundamental human right and the basis of the entire fabric of relations between the Church and the State and, therefore, between the Holy See and States;
- (b) The juridical condition of the Catholic Church in Israel, bearing in mind the rights acquired over the centuries, through internal legislation, usages and international treaties;
- (c) The collaboration between the Holy See and the State of Israel on general questions which interest both sides, such as, for example, the fight against racism, including anti-Semitism, the refusal of violence and the search for peaceful solutions of conflicts, the elimination of religious intolerance and the promotion of mutual understanding between peoples and States;
- (d) The process of gradually making official the relations between the Holy See and the State of Israel in the perspective of reaching and establishing diplomatic relations. It is foreseen that this process, which began with the very creation of the Permanent Bilateral Work Commission, continue now in the following manner:
 - with the signing of the Agreement, the Parties will exchange Special Representatives with the personal level of Apostolic Nuncio and of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary;
 - following the ratification of the Agreement by both Parties, that is, when it enters into force, and after a suitable period of time, diplomatic relations will be established, in conformity with article 2 of the Vienna Convention and with the usual praxis.
3. The now-signed Agreement constitutes the basis for the others which must be negotiated in a near future between the same Parties and which must establish their particular application.
4. It is a question of an Agreement or international treaty between the Holy See, as an international sovereign subject, and the State of Israel, which was constituted in May 1948 and followed the noted resolution 181 (II), adopted by the UN General Assembly on 29 November 1947. Admitted to the UN as a member since May 1949, the State of Israel has been recognized by the great majority of countries of the international community, obtaining ever greater consensus with the passing of time, up to concluding or, as the case may be, actively negotiating peace agreements with those who have always been its adversary. The independence of the State of Israel has always been the object of deep respect on the part of the Holy See, even if up to today there have not been diplomatic relations.
This agreement will enter into force, as an international treaty committing both Parties, after having undergone the normal process of ratification, in conformity with the international praxis and as foreseen by the Agreement itself.
5. The Holy See maintains that today's signing of the Agreement is a very important stage in its centuries-old commitment to care for the rights and freedoms of the Church in the Holy land, where the State of Israel is, and hopes that the climate of trustworthy dialogue which has characterized the works of the Commission and the new situation in the relations with the State of Israel will contribute to offering more serenity and security to the pastors and faithful of that local Church and, at the same time, to support the will for a better dialogue, a deeper friendship and a greater collaboration between Catholics and Hebrews of Israel and the entire world.

6. At the same time, the Holy See hopes that this significant step contributes to favouring progress within the peace process which is under way in the Middle East region. It is convinced that, even with difficulties and obstacles, such a process is irreversible. The Holy See, at the time of the Madrid Conference (November 1991), was able to repeat its well-known interest in the situation in the region and in the development of peace negotiations, already shown on many previous occasions. Before then, in fact, it had many times expressed the hope that the Parties would sit around a negotiating table. Equally as many times it spoke up on the problems of those lands and peoples, clearly denouncing situations of injustice and insecurity, and deploring at the same time, the resorting to violence, always useless, as a means to solve them. One could recall here the numerous and noted interventions of the Holy Father himself regarding the decades-old conflict existing between the Palestinian people and the State of Israel. With the same insistence and with equal concern, the Pope has called the attention of the world and, in particular, of all political leaders, to the situation in Lebanon where the entire population of a country has been involved in conflicts which often were the result of problems extraneous to the real difficulties of a dignified national co-existence in a free and sovereign country. This concern and this lively interest have their basis in the specific spiritual and moral mission of the Holy See, it being clear that, among other things, it is stated in the Agreement that it, because of its very nature, maintains that it should remain extraneous to any merely temporal conflict, with explicit reference to disputed territories or non-defined borders. Beyond these more properly called technical aspects, however, the Holy See cannot, in any case, give up its specific mission of teaching and its right to express a judgment on the moral dimension that each of these problems necessarily has. In fact, with regard to the territorial questions which interest the State of Israel and its neighbours, the Holy See has often defended the rights of those without a voice or without a way of establishing a dialogue. Now, it has noted that the directly interested parties are committed to resolving, through the negotiations underway, the questions which pit them against each, and it is hoped that the same negotiations proceed in an orderly fashion and reach conclusions acceptable for everyone, for the good of everyone and with respect for the rights that everyone has to live with dignity, peace and security within one's own homeland. In this context and in coherence with its mission of promoting peace, the Holy See feels that it must play its own role, above all to favour everywhere the promotion of the respect of human rights, and first among them, the right to freedom of religion and conscience, the basis of the dignity of every citizen and every community in any country.
7. In its considerations, decisions and behaviour, the Holy See does not fail to bear in mind the complex religious reality of the State of Israel and of the entire region, with particular attention to the sensibilities of the Christian communities which are not in full communion with the Catholic Church. Respectful of those communities, the Holy See did not wish to give even the minimum impression of negotiating in their name. With reference to the delicate problem of the juridical regime of the status quo concerning determined Christian Holy Places, the Holy See took care, also in the Agreement in question, to find the way to reassure the interested Christian communities of its firm will to respect and confirm the rights which are theirs. Further, the Holy See trusts that the Agreement will be positively received by the other Christian communities, above all by reason of the commitments found in it on the subject of freedom of religion and conscience. Already the day following the establishment of the [Permanent] Bilateral [Working] Commission, representatives of the Holy See itself suitably informed the leaders of the non-Catholic Christian communities of the Holy Land who appreciated the gesture and the ecumenical sensitivity, welcoming with understanding what was explained to them.
8. Questions relative to the city of Jerusalem and other Holy Places, which for so long have been the object of the Holy See's concern, are not directly or explicitly mentioned in the Agreement because of their international and multilateral references, which does not permit solving them with an Agreement which is, by definition, bilateral between the two signing Parties. That does not mean that the position of the Holy See with regards to such questions has changed or that their importance has been, in any way, forgotten. The Holy See has noted that, in what concerns the territorial questions and the sovereignty linked to this, something has changed in the position of the Parties most directly interested. After the Madrid Conference, after the negotiations in Washington (1992-1993) and after the historical agreement between Israel and the PLO (13 September 1993), the parties, whose claims are well known,

now are sitting opposite one another for direct negotiations. The Holy See, coherent with the principles already recalled concerning its participation in the problems of international co-existence, does not intend to take the place of any of the Parties in treating the problems of territorial sovereignty.

The Holy See, on the other hand, feels the duty and the right to continue to claim, as it has always done, several guarantees in the international sphere. It asks that whoever exercises sovereignty, alone or with others, must adhere to an internationally guaranteed special statute for that which concerns the safekeeping of the highest religious and cultural values found in that area.

In this regard, one could recall the analysis made by Pope Paul VI which could be considered as the basis of all successive pronouncements of the Holy See*: 'The question, seen in its general terms, now offers, in our view, two aspects which are essential and cannot be omitted. The first regards the Holy Places properly called and considered as such by the three monotheistic religions having an interest, Hebrew, Christian and Muslim, and intends to safeguard the freedom of worship, the respect for, the preservation of an access to the same Holy Places, protected by special immunity through their own statute, whose observance is guaranteed by an institution of international character with particular regard for the historical and religious physiognomy of Jerusalem. The second aspect of the question refers to the free enjoyment of religious and civil rights which persons have a right to expect in the seats, in the activities of all communities present in the territory' of the Holy Land.

The Holy See maintains that its position is mirrored in the consensus of the international community, shown in a privileged way in resolution 181 (II), adopted by the United Nations [General Assembly] on 29 November 1947, even if today those ends could be equally reached with means and instruments different from those foreseen at the time.

The Holy See, in solidarity with the leaders of all three monotheistic religions and with so many other men of good will, hopes always for the day in which the Holy City of Jerusalem can truly become the crossroads city of peace, a privileged place for the meeting of peoples, cultures and civilizations.

In this context, the Holy See expresses its trust in the international community - and in the Parties more directly interested in the global future of the territory of Jerusalem, the State of Israel and the Palestinians - so that all commit themselves to consider this their position, which is also the expression of universal interest towards the particular religious and cultural values so intimately linked with the Holy City of Jerusalem and its neighbouring areas.

9. While the Agreement opens a totally new era in relations between the Holy See and the Catholic Church on the one hand and the State of Israel on the other, what remains is to hope for an analogous perfectionment of relations with other Parties by right present in the region. The Holy See has always been well disposed with regards to other States or other national communities who desire to make progress, with a stable and satisfactory juridical base, in their relations with the Catholic Church.



ISRAEL-PLO STATEMENT ON THE RESUMPTION OF THE TABA TALKS, 6 JANUARY 1994

[Since the Taba and Cairo negotiations faltered over many issues, a series of secret talks was held in Norway, Versailles and Cairo. An agreement reached in Davos enabled the parties to resume the Taba talks.]

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, who headed the Israeli delegation to the Liaison Committee talks, and Abu Mazen, who headed the Palestinian Delegation, issued the following statement at 09:00 hours today (Thursday), 6.1.94:

The two parties reiterate their total commitment to the Declaration of Principles in its letter and spirit. They feel that the Strasbourg, Versailles and Cairo discussions were helpful towards making an agreement as soon as possible, so as to translate the Declaration of Principles into reality on the ground. Once an agreement is made, it cannot be changed unilaterally.

The two parties agree to resume the Taba negotiations on the basis of the Declaration of Principles and the Cairo understandings.



**PLO AND ISRAEL, AGREED ARTICLES TO BE INCLUDED IN THE
GAZA-JERICO AGREEMENT, 9 FEBRUARY 1994**

THE CAIRO AGREEMENT

The two sides agreed on the attached text to be included in the Gaza-Jericho Agreement.

The Jericho Area

1. The size of the Jericho Area will be as depicted on the agreed map attached to this Agreement.
2. In addition, while not part of the Jericho Area:
 - (a) Pending the entry into force of the Interim Agreement, the holy site of Nebi Mousa will be under the auspices of the Palestinian Authority for religious purposes.
 - (b) During religious events that take place three times a year and other special occasions that will be coordinated with the Israeli authorities, Palestinians will have the right to religious pilgrimage to the al-Maghtas under the Palestinian flag.
 - (c) Palestinian private projects, as well as joint ventures in accordance with the Declaration of Principles, will be located as agreed on the shore of the Dead Sea.
 - (d) Safe passage will be provided from the Jericho Area to Nebi Mousa, al-Maghtas and the projects and ventures as agreed in paragraph c. above on the shore of the Dead Sea for the above mentioned purposes. Details regarding the safe passage arrangements will be included in the Gaza-Jericho Agreement.
3. Roads within Jericho city will be under Palestinian control. Joint patrols on the main roads will be operated, led by the Palestinian vehicle. The issue of Auja and its roads will be negotiated in the immediate future in Taba.
4. Religious affairs in the "Shalom Al Israel" Synagogue in Jericho will be under the auspices of the Israeli authorities.

The Gaza Strip

1. In accordance with the D.O.P., during the interim period the Gush Katif and Erez settlement areas, as well as the other settlements in the Gaza Strip, and the Israeli military installation area along the Egyptian border in the Gaza Strip, as indicated on the attached map, will be under Israeli authority. In the areas delineated in yellow on the attached map and without derogating from Palestinian authority, responsibility will be shared as follows: the Israeli authorities will have the overriding responsibility and powers for security and the Palestinian Authority will have the responsibility and powers for civil affairs, subject to the Gaza-Jericho Agreement. In addition, with regard to those areas delineated in yellow, cooperation and coordination in security matters, including joint patrols, as agreed, will be implemented. Possible changes in the area designated yellow in the Southern Security Zone will be dealt with in Taba.
2. Without derogating from Palestinian authority and in accordance with the D.O.P.:
 - (a) On the three lateral roads connecting the Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip to Israel, namely: the Kissufim-Gush Katif road; the Sufa-Gush Katif road; and the Nahal Oz-Karni- Nezzarim road, including the adjacent sides upon which the security of traffic along these roads is dependent, the Israeli authorities will have all necessary responsibilities and powers in order to conduct independent security activity, including Israeli patrols.
 - (b) Joint Israeli-Palestinian patrols will operate along these roads and the adjacent sides. Such joint patrols will be led by the Israeli vehicle.
 - (c) Where the Israeli authorities carry out engagement steps, they will do so with a view to transferring, at the earliest opportunity, the continued handling of the incidents falling within Palestinian responsibility to the Palestinian Police.
 - (d) Overpasses will be constructed on intersections between the lateral roads and the main north-south road.
 - (e) These arrangements will be reviewed by the JSCCC after one year from the date of completion of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip.
3. Zoning questions will be dealt with in Taba.

Other Issues

The early empowerment agreement will be negotiated in Taba, after the completion of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement. The Interim Agreement, including modalities for elections and redeployment of forces in the West Bank, will be negotiated in Washington, D.C.

February 9, 1994

FINAL VERSION

ARTICLE ____

Passages1. General

- (a) While Israel remains responsible during the interim period for external security, including along the Egyptian border and the Jordanian line, border crossing shall take place according to the arrangements included in this Article. These arrangements aim at creating a mechanism that facilitates the entry and exit of people and goods, reflecting the new reality created by the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, while providing full security for both sides.
- (b) The arrangements included in this Article shall apply to the following border crossings:
 - (1) the Allenby Bridge crossing; and
 - (2) the Rafah crossing.
- (c) The same arrangements will be applied by the parties, with the necessary adjustments, to agreed sea-ports, airport or other international crossings, such as the Abdullah and Damya Bridges.
- (d) The two sides are determined to do their utmost to maintain the dignity of persons passing through the border crossings. To this end, the mechanism created will rely heavily on brief and modern procedures.
- (e) In each border crossing there will be one terminal, consisting of two wings. The first wing will serve Palestinian residents of the Gaza Strip and West Bank and visitors to these areas (hereinafter "the Palestinian Wing"). The second wing will serve Israelis and others (hereinafter "the Israeli Wing"). There will be a closed Israeli checking area and a closed Palestinian checking area, as set out below.
- (f) Special arrangements will apply to VIPs crossing through the Palestinian Wing. The liaison bureau to be established pursuant to paragraph 5 below (hereinafter "the Liaison Bureau") will define the scope and the nature of these special arrangements.

2. Control and Management of the Passages

- (a) For the purpose of this Article, "passage" is defined to mean the area from the crossing barrier at the Egyptian border or the Allenby Bridge, passing through and including the terminal and:
 - (1) with regard to the Allenby Bridge crossing, from the terminal up to the Jericho area; and -
 - (2) with regard to the Rafah crossing, from the terminal up to the outer limit of the Israel military location along the Egyptian border.
- (b)
 - (1) Israel will have the responsibility for security throughout the passage, including for the terminal.
 - (2) An Israeli director-general will have the responsibility for the management and security of the terminal.
 - (3) The director-general will have two deputies who will report to him:
 - a) an Israeli deputy who will be the manager of the Israeli Wing. Israel will have exclusive responsibility for the management of the Israeli Wing; and
 - b) a Palestinian deputy, appointed by the Palestinian Authority, who will be the manager of the Palestinian Wing.
 - (4) Each deputy will have an assistant for security and an assistant for administration. The assignments of the Palestinian deputies for security and administration will be agreed upon by the two sides in Taba.
 - (5) There will be maximum co-ordination between the two sides. Both sides will maintain co-operation and co-ordination on matters of mutual concern.
 - (6) The director-general will continue to use Palestinian contractors to provide bus services and other administrative and logistical services.

- (7) Palestinian policemen present at the terminal will be armed with handguns. their deployment will be decided upon in Taba. Other Palestinian officials present at the terminal will be unarmed.
 - (8) The details of management and security and Liaison Bureau issues will be dealt with in Taba.
 - (9) The two sides will work together in Taba in order to seek ways for additional arrangements in the Rafah terminal.
 - (10) Both Parties will review these procedures in a year's time.
- (c) Except for the arrangements included in this Article, the current procedures and arrangements applicable outside the terminal shall continue to apply throughout the passage.
 - (d) (1) Once incoming passengers have crossed the terminal, they will proceed to the Jericho Area or the Gaza Strip, as appropriate, without any interference from Israeli authorities (safe passage).
 - (2) Outgoing passengers may proceed to the terminal without any interference from Israeli authorities after joint verification that such passengers hold the necessary documentation for exiting the area of Jordan or Egypt, as set out in this Agreement.

3. Arrangements for Entry from Egypt and Jordan Through the Palestinian Wing

- (a) At the entrance to the Palestinian Wing there will be a Palestinian policeman and a raised Palestinian flag.
- (b) Before entering the Palestinian Wing, passengers will identify their personal luggage and it will be placed on a conveyor belt. Each side will be able to inspect such luggage inside its own checking area, using its own personnel and, if necessary, may open the luggage for inspection in the presence of the owner and a Palestinian policeman.
- (c) Persons entering the Palestinian Wing will pass through a magnetic gate. An Israeli policeman and a Palestinian policeman will be posted on each side of this gate. In the event of suspicion, each side will be entitled to require a physical inspection to be conducted in inspection booths to be located adjacent to the gate. Passengers will be inspected by a Palestinian policeman in the presence of an Israeli policeman. Accompanying personal belongings may also be inspected at this point.
- (d) Having completed the above phase, persons entering the Palestinian Wing will pass through one of three lanes for the purpose of identification and document control, as follows:
 - (1) The first lane will be used by Palestinian residents of the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area. These passengers will pass via a Palestinian counter, where their documents and identity will be checked. Their documents will be checked by an Israeli officer who will also check their identity indirectly in an invisible manner.
 - (2) The second lane will serve other Palestinian residents of the West Bank. These passengers will first pass via a Palestinian counter, where their documents and identity will be checked. Then they will continue via an Israeli counter, where their documents and identity will be checked. The two counters will be separated by tinted glass and a revolving door.
 - (3) The third lane will serve visitors to the Gaza Strip and West Bank. An identical procedure as in paragraph 3d(2) above will apply to such visitors, except that they will first pass via the Israeli counter, and then continue via the Palestinian counter.
- (e) In the event of suspicion regarding a passenger in any of the three lanes described in paragraph d. above, each side may question such passenger in this closed checking area. Suspicion justifying questioning in the closed checking area may be one of the following:
 - (1) the passenger was involved, directly or indirectly, in criminal or planned criminal activity, in terrorist or planned terrorist activity and is not a beneficiary of the amnesty provision of this Agreement;
 - (2) the passenger conceals arms, explosives or related equipment;
 - (3) the passenger holds forged or non-valid documentation or the details included in the documentation are inconsistent with those included in the population registry (in case of a resident) or in the data base (in case of a visitor), except that questions relating to such inconsistency will initially be raised at the counter and the passenger will be questioned in the closed checking area only if the suspicion has not been removed; or
 - (4) the passenger acts in an obviously suspicious behavior during the passage via the terminal.
If, at the conclusion of this questioning, the suspicion has not been removed, such passenger may be apprehended, after the other side has been notified. In case of a Palestinian suspect being apprehended by the Israeli side, a Palestinian policeman will be asked to meet with

the suspect. Following notification to the Liaison Bureau, any further treatment of the apprehended person will be in accordance with Annex III (Protocol Concerning Legal Arrangements in Criminal Matters).

- (f) In the Palestinian Wing, each side will have the authority to deny the entry of persons who are not residents of the Gaza Strip and West Bank.
- (g) For the purpose of this Agreement, "residents of the Gaza Strip and West Bank" shall mean persons who, on the date of entry into force of this Agreements, are registered as residents of these areas in the population registry maintained by the military government of the Gaza Strip and West Bank, as well as persons who have subsequently obtained permanent residency in these areas with the approval of Israel, as set out in this Agreement.
- (h) Following the above procedure, the passengers will collect their luggage and proceed to the customs area. (The procedures will be agreed upon by Paris).
- (i) The Palestinian side will provide passengers whose entry is approved with an entry permit stamped by the Palestinian side and attached to their documents.

At the conclusion of the direct and indirect checking of the documents and identity of passengers passing via the first lane and stamping their entry permits, the Palestinian officer will provide the passenger with a white card issued by the Israeli officer. A Palestinian official posted at the exit of the Palestinian Wing will verify that the passenger holds such a white card and will collect the cards with indirect and invisible Israeli checking.

For a passengers going through the second and third lanes, the Israeli officer will provide the passengers with a blue card, after checking their documents and identity, and verifying their entry permits. An Israeli and a Palestinian official posted at the exit of the Palestinian Wing will verify and collect the cards. White and blue cards collected will be checked by Israeli and Palestinian officials.

In cases where either side denies the entry of a non-resident passengers, that passenger will be escorted out of the terminal and sent back to Jordan or Egypt, as appropriate, after notifying the other side.

4. Arrangements for Exit to Egypt and Jordan Through The Palestinian Wing

Passengers exiting to Egypt or Jordan through the Palestinian Wing will enter the terminal without their luggage. Thereafter, the same procedures described in paragraph 3 above will apply to them, except that the order of passing via the Israeli and Palestinian counters will be reversed.

5. Liaison Bureau

- (a) There will be a liaison bureau at each crossing point in order to deal with matters arising regarding passengers passing through the Palestinian Wing, issues requiring co-ordination, and differences regarding the implementation of these arrangements. Without derogating from Israel's responsibility for security, the bureau will also deal with incidents.
- (b) This bureau will be comprised of an equal number of representatives from each side and will be located at a specified location inside each terminal.
- (c) This bureau will be subordinate to the CAC and the relevant RCCO.

6. Miscellaneous

- (a) Special arrangements will be agreed upon by the two sides regarding the passage of goods, buses, trucks and privately-owned vehicles. Pending this agreement, the current arrangements will continue to apply.
- (b) Israel will attempt to complete the structure alterations on the Rafah and Allenby Bridge terminals not later than the date of the completion of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area. If these structural alternations are not completed by that time, the arrangements described in this Article shall apply, except for those arrangements that cannot be implemented without the structural alterations.
- (c) In order to cross through the crossing points in and out of the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area residents of these areas will use documents as detailed in (the Annex developed by the civilian committee).

Pending the entry into force of the Interim Agreements, other West Bank residents will continue to use the existing document issued by the military government and its Civil Administration.

- (d) Visitors to the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area will be permitted to remain in these areas for a period of up to three months granted by the Palestinian Authority and approved by Israel. The Palestinian Authority may extend this three-month period for an additional period of up to three months and will inform Israel about the extension. Any further extensions require the approval of Israel. The Palestinian request for a four-month period and an additional four months will be negotiated in Taba in the immediate future.
- (e) The Palestinian Authority will ensure that visitors referred to in paragraph d. above will not overstay the duration to their entry permit and authorized extensions.



**ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATIONS DELEGATIONS,
JOINT STATEMENT ON THE CAIRO TALKS, CAIRO, 23 FEBRUARY 1994**

[The referred to Israel-PLO talks took place in Cairo from 21-23 Feb. 1994 and were suspended by Arafat following the Hebron Massacre on 25 Feb.]

The Israeli and Palestinian delegations, headed by Major General Amnon Shahak and Dr. Nabil Sha'ath respectively, met in Cairo from 21-23.02.94 to continue their negotiations.

The delegations discussed three main topics in three working groups: security, the transfer of civilian authority, and confidence-building measures. The discussions were fruitful and were characterized by a constructive and businesslike atmosphere which contributed to further enhancing mutual respect and confidence.

With regard to security, the two sides concentrated on security arrangements for the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, zoning, the deployment and size of the Palestinian police, and other related issues.

In the civilian group, the main issues were archaeology, telecommunications, land registration and the population registry.

The heads of the delegations expressed their satisfaction with the progress achieved in this round of negotiations and their hope that further progress will be made next week when they meet again in Cairo.

The heads of the delegations also expressed their gratitude to President Hosni Mubarak, his government, and the Egyptian people for the hospitality and support they continued to give to these negotiations.



**GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, DECISION IN THE WAKE OF THE HEBRON MURDERS,
JERUSALEM, 25 FEBRUARY 1994**

At its meeting today, the government expressed its deep shock at the awful murder of innocent Palestinians at prayer during the Fast of Ramadan, at the Tomb of the Patriarchs - a site holy to both faiths.

The government calls on everyone, Arabs and Jews, to exercise the greatest restraint, despite the harsh circumstances.

The IDF and all of the security forces are doing everything possible to prevent violence, incitement, and any deterioration of the situation.

Government ministers and the attorney-general raised various proposals concerning steps to be taken to deal with radical Israeli organizations which engage in provocations in the territories.

The government is convinced that these organizations violate the public order in a grave and dangerous manner, and that all legal measures must be used to restrain and stop them.

Even when dealing with an isolated incident of terrorism, committed by a single individual, as was the case this morning in Hebron, it is impossible to avoid addressing the impact of the incitement which is heard from time to time, and which threatens public peace and order.

The government has authorized the prime minister and minister of defense to review the various steps suggested during the discussion today, and to report his decisions to the government on Sunday [27 February].

The investigation of today events will be pursued to their full conclusion.

The government is fully committed to continue the pursuit of peace, and to advancing the negotiations, to the best of its ability.



**GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, CABINET COMMUNIQUÉ REGARDING
THE HEBRON MASSACRE, JERUSALEM, 27 FEBRUARY 1994**

At the weekly cabinet meeting today (Sunday), 27.02.94:

1. The prime minister and the defense minister, the police minister, the chief-of-staff, the police inspector-general and the acting OC Central Command briefed the cabinet on last Friday's massacre at the Tomb of the Patriarchs and on the ensuing events.
2. The cabinet made the following decisions:
 - A. To establish, given the extraordinary circumstances involved, a commission of inquiry, in accordance with the Commissions of Inquiry Law 5729-1968, regarding the massacre at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron on 25.2.94. The foreign minister, the justice minister and Minister Amnon Rubinstein were entrusted with formulating the powers of the commission, in consultation with the attorney-general and the cabinet secretary.
 - B. The cabinet decided, after hearing the report of security elements and after having been presented with the opinion of the attorney-general, to take the following series of measures on an individual basis against radical elements among the Israeli residents in Judea and Samaria:
 1. The imposition of administrative detentions;
 2. The extension of restraining and supervisory orders against the entry of certain persons into the Judea, Samaria and Hebron areas, and;
 3. The disarmament of specific individuals and the confiscation of their weapons permits.
 - C. To charge the attorney-general with the task of exploring and proposing options for the outlawing of the "Kach" and "Kahane Chai" organizations.
 - D. To record the statement of the prime minister and defense minister on the release of about 800 Palestinian detainees and prisoners from arrest and detention. The intent is to release up to 1,000 detainees and prisoners within the coming week.
 - E. The Tomb of the Patriarchs will be opened only after new arrangements for security and prayers have been determined.
3. The cabinet empowered the prime minister and defense minister, the labor and social affairs minister, the agriculture minister, the construction and housing minister and the finance minister to decide on a temporary regulation - with the consent of the cabinet - concerning civilian matters regarding the closure in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, including the employment of foreign workers.



GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, COMMUNIQUÉ OUTLAWING KACH AND KAHANE CHAI GROUPS, JERUSALEM, 13 MARCH 1994

The government decided, in accordance with the proposal of the prime minister and minister of defence, on the basis of the legal opinion of the attorney-general, security factors and the Israel police, as follows:

"In accordance with the authority granted by Section 8 of the Prevention of Terror Law, 5708-1948, and in addition to the declaration made concerning it in the Legislative Digest number 0 3305, 5746-1986, page 1,436, the government declares that the groups described below are terrorist organizations:

- A) The "Kach" movement whose primary activists are, today, Baruch Marzel, Noarn Federman, and Tiran Pollak.
- B) The "Kahane Chai" movement whose primary activists are, today, Binyamin Kahane, David Axelrod, and Yekutiel Ben Yaakov.

This declaration applies to the terrorist organizations detailed above, as well as to every member, and to every individual who is active in achieving objectives of the same type as those of the organizations described above, or who uses the same methods as these organizations used, whether they are known by these names or by other names, whether consistently or only from time to time. This declaration also applies to all of the factions and various combinations of the organizations described above.



UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 904 REGARDING THE HEBRON MASSACRE, NEW YORK, 18 MARCH 1994

The Security Council,

Shocked by the appalling massacre committed against Palestinian worshippers in the Mosque of Ibrahim in Hebron, on 25 February 1994, during the holy month of Ramadan.

Gravely concerned by the consequent Palestinian casualties in the occupied Palestinian territory as a result of the massacre, which underlines the need to provide protection and security for the Palestinian people,

Determined to overcome the adverse impact of the massacre on the peace process currently under way, *Noting* the condemnation of this massacre by the entire international community,

Reaffirming its relevant resolutions, which affirmed the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 to the territories occupied by Israel in June 1967, including Jerusalem, and the Israeli responsibilities thereunder,

1. *Strongly condemns* the massacre in Hebron and its aftermath which took the lives of more than 50 Palestinian civilians and injured several hundred others;
2. *Calls upon* Israel, the occupying Power, to continue to take and implement measures, including *inter alia* confiscation of arms, with the aim of preventing illegal acts of violence by Israeli settlers;
3. *Calls* for measures to be taken to guarantee the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians throughout the occupied territory, *inter alia* a temporary international or foreign presence, which was provided for in the Declaration of Principles, within the context of the ongoing peace process;
4. *Requests* the co-sponsors of the peace process, the United States of invigorate the peace process, and to undertake the necessary support for the implementation of the above-mentioned measures;
5. *Reaffirms* its support for the new peace process currently under way, and calls for the implementation of the Declaration of Principles, signed by the government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation on 13 September 1993 in Washington DC, without delay.



**GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, RESPONSE TO UN SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTION 904, JERUSALEM, 19 MARCH 1994**

Israel believes that the best way to promote peace and security between Israelis and Palestinians is by resuming and accelerating negotiations on the implementation of the Declaration of Principles regarding Gaza and Jericho. Israel hopes that the Security Council resolution will pave the way for the resumption of these talks.

Israel was first to condemn the abominable massacre in Hebron, and will continue to take decisive action against extremist and dangerous elements.

Israel will encourage any measures to restore stability in the territories, insofar as they conform with the Declaration of Principles, and will do its utmost to carry out its responsibility for the security of all Arabs and Israelis in the territories.

Israel's position on Jerusalem is well known: Jerusalem is, and will remain, the united capital of Israel. Any reference to it as part of the territories is unacceptable.



**PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT ON SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN HEBRON
AND ON THE RENEWAL OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, 31 MARCH 1994**

In the aftermath of the horrendous massacre in Hebron, and in response to the heightened needs of the Palestinians for security throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and particularly in Hebron and in accordance with Security Council Resolution 904, delegations of Israel and the PLO met and agreed to take the measures set out in this Agreement. As soon as this Agreement is signed, its implementation will begin and the Gaza-Jericho negotiations will be resumed, as set out below.

A. Temporary International Presence in the City of Hebron

1. In response to the unique situation created in Hebron in the aftermath of the massacre, a temporary international presence will be established in the city of Hebron ("TIPH"). As detailed in paragraph A.3 below, the TIPH will assist in promoting stability and in monitoring and reporting the efforts to restore normal life in the city of Hebron, thus creating a feeling of security among Palestinians in the city of Hebron.
2. The two sides shall request the donor countries to provide 160 persons, citizens of Norway, Denmark and Italy, as TIPH personnel, consisting of field observers, office staff and support personnel, as agreed between the two sides. Changes in the composition of the TIPH may be made from among the donor countries with the consent of both sides. Consistent with its stated tasks, the TIPH personnel shall have no military or police functions.
3. The tasks of TIPH personnel will be:
 - (a) to provide by their presence a feeling of security to the Palestinians of Hebron;
 - (b) to help promote stability and an appropriate environment conducive to the enhancement of the well-being of the Palestinians of Hebron and their economic development;
 - (c) to monitor the efforts to restore the safety of Palestinians and events affecting it and the return to normal life in the city of Hebron; and
 - (d) to provide reports as set out in paragraph A.5 below.
4. In order to facilitate the carrying out of TIPH tasks, a building will be chosen in the city of Hebron as a seat for the TIPH.
5. The TIPH will report to the following:
 - (a) on specific events - to a Joint Hebron Committee ("JHC"), comprised of two representatives from each side. The senior Palestinian representative will be the Mayor of Hebron and the senior Israeli representative will be the head of the Civil Administration in the District of

Hebron. A representative of the TIPH will be invited on a bi-weekly basis to participate in the JHC meeting in order to report on the TIPH activities.

- (b) periodically - to the Joint Israeli- Palestinian Liaison Committee established pursuant to the DOP. In addition, the TIPH will provide periodic reports to the Chair of the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee of the Donors.
6. The members of the TIPH shall wear distinctive uniforms with a special emblem, as agreed by the two sides, and their vehicles shall be marked with the same emblem. TIPH members may carry pistols for self-defense purposes.
7. The TIPH will enjoy freedom of movement for the performance of its tasks within the city of Hebron. Such freedom of movement shall not be restricted, except for reasons of imperative military necessity, and then only as an exceptional and temporary measure.
8. The TIPH will establish the modalities of its presence and activity with the agreement of the two sides, with due regard being given to its aforementioned tasks.
9. The expenses of the TIPH will be borne by the donor countries.
10. The TIPH may commence its operation immediately after the signing of this Agreement and continue to function for a period of three months. With the consent of the two sides, the TIPH may extend the period or change the scope of its operation, as agreed.

B. The Gaza-Jericho Negotiations

1. The Gaza-Jericho negotiations shall be resumed in Cairo on Thursday, March 31, 1994. These negotiations shall be accelerated with the objective of making up for lost time.
2. Israel agrees to shorten the withdrawal schedule and accelerate the withdrawal, being guided by the target dates set in the DOP.
3. Immediately after the conclusion of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement, early empowerment negotiations will commence, and the two sides will explore possible expansion of the scope of these negotiations beyond the five spheres.
4. The two sides will intensify the negotiations on the interim arrangements consistent with the DOP and guided by its target date.
5. The two sides reiterate their commitment to commence permanent status negotiations as soon as possible, but not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period, as provided for in Article V of the DOP.
6. Gradual movement into Gaza and Jericho of Palestinian policemen will start one week after the resumption of the Gaza-Jericho negotiations, in order to commence preparations for assuming powers and responsibilities, as agreed by the two sides.

(Signed:)

Major-General Amnon Lipkin-Shahak

Dr. Nabil Sha'ath



JOINT ISRAEL-PLO COMMUNIQUÉ ON ECONOMIC TALKS, PARIS, 11 APRIL 1994

[The Paris economic talks started in mid-Nov. 1993 but with slow progress. Both sides expressed the hope that another round of talks would lead to an agreement, which was finally signed on 29 April 1994.]

Having in mind the importance of finalizing and reaching an agreement on the economic policies governing the relationship between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, the chairmen of the two delegations, Mr. Avraham Shochat and Mr. Ahmad Quri ("Abu Ala"), stated that progress has characterized the recent round of negotiations.

Both chairmen have strongly supported their respective delegations and emphasized the importance of reaching an agreement on the economic relations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

The chairmen added that, even though there are some significant differences to be resolved, they believe that the next meeting, which will take place next week in Paris, will be the concluding round.

Several issues have been addressed in this round, including, among others, agriculture, labor, industry, banking, insurance, direct and indirect taxes, and general trade relations. The two delegations are in the process of finalizing an agreement on most of these issues.

The two sides emphasized the positive and cooperative atmosphere in the negotiations during the last round, and reiterated the immediate need to begin implementing the Declaration of Principles, and to improve the conditions on the ground.



EUROPEAN UNION COUNCIL, DECISION IN SUPPORT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS, 19 APRIL 1994

[The following decision was adopted on the basis of Article J(3) of the Treaty on the EU.]

The Council of the European Union,

Having regard to the Treaty on European Union and in particular Articles J(3) and J(11) thereof,

Having regard to the general guidelines issued by the European Council of 29 October 1993,

Having regard to the framework for joint action agreed by the European Council on 10 and 11 December 1993,

Considering Article C of the Treaty on European Union,

Has decided as follow:

Article 1:

- (a) The European Union, in order to work for the conclusion of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East based on the relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions, will:
- participate in international arrangements agreed by the parties to guarantee peace in the context of the process begun in Madrid,
 - use its influence to encourage all the parties to support the peace process unconditionally on the basis of the invitations to the Madrid Conference and work for the strengthening of democracy and respect for human rights,
 - make its contribution to defining the future shape of relations between the regional parties in the context of the Arms Control and Regional Security Working Group.
- (b) The European Union will:
- develop its role in the ad hoc Liaison Committee responsible for the coordination of international aid to the occupied territories,
 - maintain its leading role in the Regional Economic Development Working Group (REDWG) and develop its participation in other multilateral groups,
 - consider additional ways in which it might contribute towards the development of the region.
- (c) The European Union will:
- pursue confidence-building measures which it has submitted to the parties,
 - pursue *demarches* to the Arab States with the aim of securing an end to the boycott of Israel,
 - closely follow the future of Israeli settlements throughout the occupied territories and pursue *demarches* to Israel about this issue.

Article 2: In accordance with the relevant EC procedures the Council will examine proposals that the Commission will make:

- for the rapid implementation of programmes of assistance for the development of the occupied territories and a Palestinian operating budget, in close consultation with the Palestinians and equally close coordination with other donors,
- to provide aid in the framework of existing guidelines to the other parties to the bilateral negotiations as they progress substantially towards peace.

Article 3: In order to contribute actively and urgently to the creation of a Palestinian Police Force:

- (a) The European Union will provide assistance.
- (b) The Presidency in close cooperation with the Commission will facilitate coordination through an exchange of information between member States on their bilateral assistance.
- (c) Funds for a maximum amount of ECU 10 million available from the Community budget will be used as a matter of urgency for the provision of assistance for the creation of a Palestinian Police Force.

Article 4: The European Union will, at the request of the parties, participate in the protection of the Palestinian people through a temporary presence in the occupied territories, as called for in Security Council resolution 904 (1994). Operational arrangements and financing arising from this article will be the subject of a separate and specific Council decision.

Article 5: At the request of the parties, the EU will implement a coordinated programme of assistance in preparing for and observing the elections in the occupied territories foreshadowed by the Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993. Precise operational arrangements and financing will be the subject of separate Council decision once agreement has been reached between Israel and the PLO on arrangements for the elections. The European Parliament will be invited to participate in those arrangements.

Article 6: The European Union confirms its willingness to take further operational decisions in the field of this joint action, in accordance with developments in the peace process.

Article 7: This Decision shall take effect on today's date.



PROTOCOL ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PLO, PARIS, 29 APRIL 1994

PREAMBLE

The two parties view the economic domain as one of the cornerstone in their mutual relations with a view to enhance their interest in the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace. Both parties shall cooperate in this field in order to establish a sound economic base for these relations, which will be governed in various economic spheres by the principles of mutual respect of each other's economic interests, reciprocity, equity and fairness.

This protocol lays the groundwork for strengthening the economic base of the Palestinian side and for exercising its right of economic decision making in accordance with its own development plan and priorities. The two parties recognise each other's economic ties with other markets and the need to create a better economic environment for their peoples and individuals.

ARTICLE I: FRAMEWORK AND SCOPE OF THIS PROTOCOL

1. This protocol establishes the contractual agreement that will govern the economic relations between the two sides and will cover the West Bank and the Gaza Strip during the interim period. The implementation will be according to the stages envisaged in the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self Government Arrangements signed in Washington DC on September 13, 1993 and the Agreed Minutes thereto. It will therefore begin in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area and at a later stage will also apply to the rest of the West Bank, according to the provisions of the Interim Agreement and to any other agreed arrangements between the two sides.
2. This Protocol, including its Appendixes, will be incorporated into the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area (in this Protocol - the Agreement), will be an integral part thereof and interpreted accordingly. This paragraph refers solely to the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.
3. This Protocol will come into force upon the signing of the Agreement.

4. For the purpose of this Protocol, the term "Areas" means the areas under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority, according to the provisions of the Agreement regarding territorial jurisdiction. The Palestinian Jurisdiction in the subsequent agreements could cover areas, spheres or functions according to the Interim Agreement. Therefore, for the purpose of this Protocol, whenever applied, the term "Areas" shall be interpreted to mean functions and spheres also, as the case may be, with the necessary adjustments.

ARTICLE II: THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

1. Both parties will establish a Palestinian-Israeli Joint Economic Committee (hereinafter - the JEC) to follow up the implementation of this Protocol and to decide on problems related to it that may arise from time to time. Each side may request the review of any issue related to this Agreement by the JEC.
2. The JEC will serve as the continuing committee for economic cooperation envisaged in Annex III of the Declaration of Principles.
3. The JEC will consist of an equal number of members from each side and may establish sub-committees specified in this Protocol. A sub-committee may include experts as necessary.
4. The JEC and its sub-committees shall reach their decisions by agreement and shall determine their rules of procedure and operation, including the frequency and place or places of their meetings.

ARTICLE III: IMPORT TAXES AND IMPORT POLICY

1. The import and customs policies of both sides will be according to the principles and arrangements detailed in this Article.
2. a. The Palestinian Authority will have all powers and responsibilities in the sphere of import and customs policy and procedures with regard to the following:
 - (1) Goods on List A1, attached hereto as Appendix I locally-produced in Jordan and in Egypt particularly and in the other Arab countries, which the Palestinians will be able to import in quantities agreed upon by the two sides up to the Palestinian market needs as estimated according to para 3 below.
 - (2) Goods on List A2, attached hereto as Appendix II, from the Arab, Islamic and other countries, which the Palestinians will be able to import in quantities agreed upon by the two sides up to the Palestinian market needs as estimated according to para 3 below.
- b. The import policy of the Palestinian Authority for Lists A1 and A2 will include independently determining and changing from time to time the rates of customs, purchase tax, levies, excises and other charges, the regulation of licensing requirements and procedures and of standard requirements. The valuation for custom purposes will be based upon the GATT 1994 agreement as of the date it will be introduced in Israel, and until then - on the Brussels Definition of Valuation (BDV) system. The classification of goods will be based on the principles of "the Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System". Concerning imports referred to in Article VII of this Protocol (Agriculture), the provisions of that Article will apply.
3. For the purposes of para 2(a) above, the Palestinian market needs for 1994 will be estimated by a sub-committee of experts. These estimates will be based on the best available data regarding past consumption, production, investment and external trade of the Areas. The sub-committee will submit its estimate within three months from the signing of the Agreement. These estimates will be reviewed and updated every six months by the sub-committee, on the basis of the best data available regarding the latest period for which relevant data are available, taking into consideration all relevant economic and social indicators. Pending an agreement on the Palestinian market needs, the previous period's estimates adjusted for population growth and rise in per-capita GNP in the previous period, will serve as provisional estimates.
4. The Palestinian Authority will have all powers and responsibilities to independently determine and change from time to time the rates of customs, purchase taxes; levies, excises and other charges on the goods on List B, attached hereto as Appendix III, of basic food items and other goods for the Palestinian economic development program, imported by the Palestinians to the Areas.
5. a. With respect to all goods not specified in Lists A1, A2 and B, and with respect to quantities exceeding those determined in accordance with paras 2(a) & 3 above (hereinafter - the Quantities), the Israeli rates of customs, purchase tax, levies, excises and other charges, prevailing at the date of sign-

ing of the Agreement, as changed from time to time, shall serve as the minimum basis for the Palestinian Authority. The Palestinian Authority may decide on any upward changes in the rates on these goods and exceeding quantities when imported by the Palestinians to the Areas.

- b. With respect to all goods not specified in Lists A1 and A2, and with respect to quantities exceeding the Quantities, Israel and the Palestinian Authority will employ for all imports the same system of importation, as stipulated in para 10 below, including *inter alia*, standards, licensing, country of origin, valuation for customs purposes etc.
6. Each side will notify the other side immediately of changes made in rates and in other matters of import policy, regulations and procedures, determined by it within its respective powers and responsibilities as detailed in this Article. With regard to changes which do not require immediate application upon decision, there will be a process of advance notifications and mutual consultations which will take into consideration all aspects and economic implications.
7. The Palestinian Authority will levy VAT at one rate on both locally produced goods and services and on imports by the Palestinians (whether covered by the three Lists mentioned above or not), and may fix it at the level of 15% to 16%.
8. Goods imported from Jordan, Egypt and other Arab countries according to para 2(a)(1) above (List A1) will comply with rules of origin agreed upon by a joint sub-committee within three months of the date of the signing of the Agreement. Pending an agreement, goods will be considered to have been "locally produced" in any of those countries if they conform with all the following:
 - (a) They have been wholly grown, produced, or manufactured in that country, or have been substantially transformed there into new or different goods, having a new name, character, or use, distinct from the goods or materials from which they were so transformed;
 - (b) They have been imported directly from the said country;
 - (c) The value or the costs of the materials produced in that country, plus the direct processing costs in it, do not fall short of 30 percent of the export value of the goods. This rate may be reviewed by the joint committee mentioned in para 16 a year after the signing of the Agreement.
 - (d) The goods are accompanied by an internationally recognized certificate of origin;
 - (e) No goods will be deemed as substantially new or different goods, and no material will be eligible for inclusion as domestic content, by virtue of having merely undergone simple combining or packaging, or dilution with water or other substances, which do not materially alter the characteristics of the said goods.
9. Each side will issue import licences to its own importers, subject to the principles of this Article and will be responsible for the implementation of the licensing requirements and procedures prevailing at the time of the issuance of the licenses. Mutual arrangements will be made for the exchange of information relevant to licensing matters.
10. Except for the goods on Lists A1 and A2 and their Quantities - in which the Palestinian Authority has all powers and responsibilities, both sides will maintain the same import policy (except for rates of import taxes and other charges for goods in List B) and regulations including classification, valuation and other customs procedures, which are based on the principles governing international codes, and the same policies of import licensing and of standards for imported goods, all as applied by Israel with respect to its importation. Israel may from time to time introduce changes in any of the above, provided that changes in standard requirements will not constitute a non-tariff-barrier and will be based on considerations of health, safety and the protection of the environment in conformity with Article 2.2. of the Agreement on Technical Barriers to trade of the Final Act of the Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiations. Israel will give the Palestinian Authority prior notice of any such changes, and the provisions of para 6 above will apply.
11. a. The Palestinian Authority will determine its own rates of customs and purchase tax on motor vehicles imported as such, to be registered with the Palestinian Authority. The vehicle standards will be those applied at the date of the signing of the Agreement as changed according to para 10 above. However, the Palestinian Authority may request, through the sub-committee on transportation, that in special cases different standards will apply. Used motor vehicles will be imported only if they are passenger cars or dual-purpose passenger cars of a model of no more than three years prior to the importation year. The sub-committee on transportation will determine the procedures for testing and confirming that such used cars comply with the standards' requirements for that

model year. The issue of importing commercial vehicles of a model prior to the importation year will be discussed in the joint sub-committee mentioned in para 16 below.

- b. Each side may determine the terms and conditions for the transfer of motor vehicles registered in the other side to the ownership or use of a resident of its own side, including the payment of the difference of import taxes, if any, and the vehicle having been tested and found compatible with the standards required at that time by its own registration administration, and may prohibit transfer of vehicles.
12. a. Jordanian standards, as specified in the attached Appendix I, will be acceptable in importing petroleum products into the Areas, once they meet the average of the standards existing in the European Union countries, or the USA standards, which parameters have been set at the values prescribed for the geographical conditions of Israel, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Cases of petroleum products which do not meet these specifications will be referred to a joint experts' committee for a suitable solution. The committee may mutually decide to accept different standards for the importation of gasoline which meet the Jordanian standards even though, in some of their parameters, they do not meet the European Community or USA standards. The committee will give its decision within six months. Pending the committee's decision, and for not longer than six months of the signing of the Agreement, the Palestinian Authority may import to the Areas, gasoline for the Palestinian market in the Areas, according to the needs of this market, provided that:
 - (1) this gasoline is marked in a distinctive color to differentiate it from the gasoline marketed in Israel;
 - (2) the Palestinian Authority will take all the necessary steps to ensure that this gasoline is not marketed in Israel.
 - b. The difference in the final price of gasoline to consumers in Israel and to consumers in the Areas, will not exceed 15% of the official final consumer price in Israel. The Palestinian Authority has the right to determine the prices of petroleum products, other than gasoline, for consumption in the Areas.
 - c. If Egyptian gasoline standards will comply with the conditions of sub-para (a) above, the importation of Egyptian gasoline will also be allowed.
13. In addition to the points of exit and entry designated according to the Article regarding Passages in Annex I of the Agreement for the purpose of export and import of goods, the Palestinian side has the right to use all points of exit and entry in Israel designated for that purpose. The import and export of the Palestinians through the points of exit and entry in Israel will be given equal trade and economic treatment.
14. In the entry points of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip:
 - a. *Freight shipment:*
The Palestinian Authority will have full responsibility and powers in the Palestinian customs points (freight-area) for the implementation of the agreed upon customs and importation policy as specified in this protocol, including the inspection and the collection of taxes and other charges, when due. Israeli customs officials will be present and will receive from the Palestinian customs officials a copy of the necessary relevant documents related to the specific shipment and will be entitled to ask for inspection in their presence of both goods and tax collection. The Palestinian customs officials will be responsible for the handling of the customs procedure including the inspection and collection of due taxes.
In case of disagreement on the clearance of any shipment according to this Article, the shipment will be delayed for inspection for a maximum period of 48 hours during which a joint sub-committee will resolve the issue on the basis of the relevant provisions of this Article. The shipment will be released only upon the sub-committee's decision.
 - b. *Passengers customs lane:*
Each side will administer its own passengers customs procedures, including inspection and tax collection. The inspection and collection of taxes due in the Palestinian customs lane will be conducted by customs officials of the Palestinian Authority. Israeli customs officials will be invisibly present in the Palestinian customs lane and entitled to request inspection of goods and collection of taxes when due. In the case of suspicion, the inspection will be carried out by the Palestinian official in a separate room in the presence of the Israeli customs official.

15. The clearance of revenues from all import taxes and levies, between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, will be based on the principle of the place of final destination. In addition, these tax revenues will be allocated to the Palestinian Authority even if the importation was carried out by Israeli importers when the final destination explicitly stated in the import documentation is a corporation registered by the Palestinian Authority and conducting business activity in the Areas. This revenue clearance will be effected within six working days from the day of collection of the said taxes and levies.
16. The Joint Economic Committee or a sub-committee established by it for the purposes of this Article will deal *inter alia* with the following:
 - (1) Palestinian proposals for addition of items to Lists A1, A2 and B. Proposals for changes in rates and in import
 - (2) procedures, classification, standards and licensing requirements for all other imports,
 - (3) Estimate the Palestinian market needs, as mentioned in para 3 above;
 - (4) Receive notifications of changes and conduct consultations, as mentioned in para 6 above;
 - (5) Agree upon the rules of origin as mentioned in para 8 above, and review their implementation;
 - (6) Co-ordinate the exchange of information relevant to licensing matters as mentioned in para 9 above.
 - (7) Discuss and review any other matters concerning the implementation of this Article and resolve problems arising therefrom.
17. The Palestinian Authority will have the right to exempt the Palestinian returnees who will be granted permanent residency in the Areas from import taxes on personal belongings including house appliances and passenger cars as long as they are for personal use.
18. The Palestinian Authority will develop its system for temporary entry of needed machines and vehicles used for the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian economic development plan. Concerning other machines and equipment, not included in Lists A1, A2 and B, the temporary entry will be part of the import policy as agreed in para 10 above, until the joint sub-committee mentioned in para 16 decides upon a new system proposed by the Palestinian Authority. The temporary entry will be coordinated through the joint sub-committee.
19. Donations in kind to the Palestinian Authority will be exempted from customs and other import taxes if destined and used for defined development projects or non-commercial humanitarian purposes. The Palestinian Authority will be responsible exclusively for planning and management of the donors' assistance to the Palestinian people. The Joint Economic Committee will discuss issues pertaining to the relations between the provisions in this Article and the implementation of the principles in the above paragraph.

ARTICLE IV: MONETARY AND FINANCIAL ISSUES

1. The Palestinian Authority will establish a Monetary Authority (PMA) in the Areas. The PMA will have the powers and responsibilities for the regulation and implementation of the monetary policies within the functions described in this Article.
2. The PMA will act as the Palestinian Authority's official economic and financial advisor.
3. The PMA will act as the Palestinian Authority's and the public sector entities' sole financial agent, locally and internationally.
4. The foreign currency reserves (including gold) of the Palestinian Authority and all Palestinian public sector entities will be deposited solely with the PMA and managed by it.
5. The PMA will act as the lender of last resort for the banking system in the Areas.
6. The PMA will authorize foreign exchange dealers in the Areas and will exercise control (regulation and supervision) over foreign exchange transactions within the Areas and with the rest of the world.
7. a. The PMA will have a banking supervision department that will be responsible for the proper functioning, stability, solvency and liquidity of the banks operating in the Areas.
 - b. The banking supervision department will predicate its supervision on the international principles and standards reflected in international conventions and especially on the principles of the "Basle Committee".
 - c. The supervision department will be charged with the general supervision of every such bank, including: -The regulation of all kinds of banking activities, including their foreign activities; - The licensing of banks formed locally and of branches, subsidiaries, joint ventures and representative offices of foreign banks and the approval of controlling shareholders; -The supervision and inspection of banks.

8. The PMA will re-license each of the five branches of the Israeli banks operating at present in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, as soon as its location or the authorities regarding it come under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority. These branches will be required to comply with the general rules and regulations of the PMA concerning foreign banks, based on the "Basle Concordat". Para 10 d, e, and f below will apply to these branches.
9. a. Any other Israeli bank wishing to open a branch or a subsidiary in the Areas will apply for a license to the PMA and will be treated equally to other foreign banks, provided that the same will apply to the Palestinian banks wishing to open a branch or a subsidiary in Israel.
 - b. Granting of a license by both authorities will be subject to the following arrangements based on the "Basle Concordat" valid on the date of signing of the Agreement and to the host authority's prevailing general rules and regulations concerning opening of branches and subsidiaries of foreign banks. In this para 10 "host authority" and "home authority" apply only to the Bank of Israel (BOI) and the PMA.
 - c. A bank wishing to open a branch or establish a subsidiary will apply to the host authority, having first obtained the approval of its home authority. The host authority will notify the home authority of the terms of the license, and will give its final approval unless the home authority objects.
 - d. The home authority will be responsible for the consolidated and comprehensive supervision of banks, inclusive of branches and subsidiaries in the area under the jurisdiction of the host authority. However, the distribution of supervision responsibilities between the home and the host authorities concerning subsidiaries will be according to the "Basle Concordat".
 - e. The host authority will regularly examine the activities of branches and subsidiaries in the area under its jurisdiction. The home authority will have the right to conduct on site examinations in the branches and subsidiaries in the host area. However, the supervision responsibilities of the home authority concerning subsidiaries will be according to the "Basle Concordat". Accordingly, each authority will transfer to the other authority copies of its examination reports and any information relevant to the solvency, stability and soundness of the banks, their branches and subsidiaries.
 - f. The BOI and the PMA will establish a mechanism for cooperation and for the exchange of information on issues of mutual interest.
10. a. The New Israeli Shekel (NIS) will be one of the circulating currencies in the Areas and will legally serve there as means of payment for all purposes including official transactions. Any circulating currency, including the NIS, will be accepted by the Palestinian Authority and by all its institutions, local authorities and banks, when offered as a means of payment for any transaction.
 - b. Both sides will continue to discuss, through the JEC, the possibility of introducing mutually agreed Palestinian currency or temporary alternative currency arrangements for the Palestinian Authority.
11. a. The liquidity requirements on all deposits in banks operating in the Areas will be determined and announced by the PMA.
 - b. Banks in the Areas will accept NIS deposits. The liquidity requirements on the various kinds of NIS deposits (or deposit linked to the NIS) in banks operating in the Areas will not be less than 4% to 8%, according to the type of deposits. Changes of over 1% in the liquidity requirements on NIS deposits (or deposits linked to the NIS) in Israel will call for corresponding changes in the above mentioned rates.
 - c. The supervision and inspection of the implementation of all liquidity requirements will be carried out by the PMA.
 - d. The reserves and the liquid assets required according to this paragraph will be deposited at the PMA according to rules and regulations determined by it. Penalties for non compliance with the liquidity requirements will be determined by the PMA.
12. The PMA will regulate and administer a discount window system and the supply of temporary finance for banks operating in the Areas.
13. a. The PMA will establish or license a clearing house in order to clear money orders between the banks operating in the Areas, and with other clearing houses.
 - b. The clearing of money orders and transactions between banks operating in the Areas and banks operating in Israel will be done between the Israeli and the Palestinian clearing houses on same working day basis, according to agreed arrangements.
14. Both sides will allow correspondential relations between each others' banks.

15. The PMA will have the right to convert at the BOI excess NIS received from banks operating in the Areas into foreign currency, in which the BOI trades in the domestic inter-bank market, up to the amounts determined per period, according to the arrangements detailed in para 16 below.
 16. a. The excess amount of NIS, due to balance of payments flows, that the PMA will have the right to convert into foreign currency, will be equal to:
 - (1) Estimates of all Israeli "imports" of goods and services from the Areas, valued at market prices (inclusive of taxes), which were paid for in NIS, less:
 - (i) the taxes collected by the Palestinian Authority on all Israeli "imports" from the Areas and rebated to Israel in NIS, and
 - (ii) the taxes collected by Israel on all Israeli "imports" from the Areas and included in their market value, and not rebated to the Palestinian Authority, minus
 - (2) Estimates of all Israeli "exports" of goods and services to the Areas, valued at market prices (inclusive of taxes), which were paid for in NIS, less:
 - (i) the taxes collected by Israel on such "exports" and rebated to the Palestinian Authority, and
 - (ii) the taxes collected by the Palestinian Authority on such "exports" and included in their market value, and not rebated to Israel; plus
 - (3) The accumulated net amounts of foreign currency converted previously into NIS by the PMA, as recorded in the BOI Dealing Room.
 - b. The said flows and amounts will be calculated as of the date of the signing of the Agreement.
- Notes to para 16:* (i) The estimates of the said "exports and imports" of goods and services will include *inter alia* labor services, NIS expenditure of tourists and Israelis in the Areas and NIS expenditure of Palestinians of the Areas in Israel; (ii) Taxes and pension contributions on "imports" of labor services, paid to "importing" side and rebated to the "exporting" one, will not be included in the estimates of the sums to be converted, as the "exports" earnings of labor services are recorded in the statistics inclusive of them, although they do not accrue to the individuals supplying them.
17. The PMA and the BOI will meet annually to discuss and determine the annual amount of convertible NIS during the following calendar year and will meet semi-annually to adjust the said amount. The amounts determined annually and adjusted semi-annually will be based on data and estimates regarding the past and on forecasts for the following period, according to the formula mentioned in para 16. The first meeting will be as soon as possible within three months after the date of the signing of the Agreement.
 18. a. The exchange of foreign currency for NIS and vice-versa by the PMA will be carried out through the BOI Dealing Room, at the market exchange rates.
 - b. The BOI will not be obliged to convert in any single month more than 1/5 of the semi-annual amount, as mentioned in para 17.
 19. There will be no ceiling on the annual foreign currency conversions by the PMA into NIS. However, in order to avoid undesirable fluctuations in the foreign exchange market, monthly ceilings of such conversions will be agreed upon in the annual and semi-annual meetings referred to in para 17.
 20. Banks in the Areas will convert NIS into other circulating currencies and vice-versa.
 21. The Palestinian Authority will have the authorities, powers and responsibilities regarding the regulation and supervision of capital activities in the Areas, including the licensing of capital market institutions, finance companies and investment funds.

ARTICLE V: DIRECT TAXATION

1. Israel and the Palestinian Authority will each determine and regulate independently its own tax policy in matters of direct taxation, including income tax on individuals and corporations, property taxes, municipal taxes and fees.
2. Each tax administration will have the right to levy the direct taxes generated by economic activities within its area.
3. Each tax administration may impose additional taxes on residents within its area on (individuals and corporations) who conduct economic activities in the other side's area.
4. Israel will transfer to the Palestinian Authority a sum equal to:

- a. 75% of the income taxes collected from Palestinians from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area employed in Israel.
 - b. The full amount of income taxes collected from Palestinians from the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area employed in the settlements.
5. The two sides will agree on a set of procedures that will address all issues concerning double taxation.

ARTICLE VI: INDIRECT TAXES ON LOCAL PRODUCTION

1. The Israel and the Palestinian tax administrations will levy and collect VAT and purchase taxes on local production, as well as any other indirect taxes, in their respective areas.
 2. The purchase tax rates within the jurisdiction of each tax administration will be identical as regards locally produced and imported goods.
 3. The present Israeli VAT rate is 17%. The Palestinian VAT rate will be 15% to 16%.
 4. The Palestinian Authority will decide on the maximum annual turnover for businesses under its jurisdiction to be exempt from VAT, within an upper limit of 12,000 US \$.
 5. The VAT on purchases by businesses registered for VAT purposes will accrue to the tax administration with which the respective business is registered. Businesses will register for VAT purposes with the tax administration of the side of their residence, or on the side of their ongoing operation. There will be clearance of VAT revenues between the Israeli and Palestinian VAT administrations on the following conditions:
 - a. The VAT clearance will apply to VAT on transactions between businesses registered with the VAT administration of the side in which they reside.
 - b. The following procedures will apply to clearance of VAT revenues accruing from transactions by businesses registered for VAT purposes:
 - (1) To be acceptable for clearance purposes, special invoices, clearly marked for this purpose, will be used for transactions between businesses registered with the different sides.
 - (2) The invoices will be worded either in both Hebrew and Arabic or in English and will be filled out in any of these three languages, provided that the figures are written in "Arabic" (not Hindi) numerals.
 - (3) For the purpose of tax rebates, such invoices will be valid for six months from their date of issue.
 - (4) Representatives of the two sides will meet once a month, on the 20th day of the month, to present each other with a list of invoices submitted to them for tax rebate, for VAT clearance. This list will include the following details regarding each invoice: a) The number of the registered business issuing it; b) The name of the registered business issuing it; c) The number of the invoice; d) The date of issue; e) The amount of the invoice; f) The name of the recipient of the invoice.
 - (5) The clearance claims will be settled within 6 days from the meeting, through a payment by the side with the net balance of claims against it, to the other side.
 - (6) Each side will provide the other side, upon demand, with invoices for verification purposes. Each tax administration will be responsible for providing invoices for verification purposes for 6 months after receiving them.
 - (7) Each side will take the necessary measure to verify the authenticity of the invoices presented to it for clearance by the other side.
 - (8) Claims for VAT clearance which will not be found valid will be deducted from the next clearance payment.
 - (9) Once an inter-connected computer system for tax rebates to businesses and for VAT clearance between the two sides is operational, it will replace the clearance procedures specified in sub-paras (4)-(8).
 - (10) The two tax administrations will exchange lists of the businesses registered with them and will provide each other with the necessary documentation, if required, for the verification of transactions.
 - (11) The two sides will establish a sub-committee which will deal with the implementation arrangements regarding the clearance of VAT revenues set above.
6. VAT paid by not-for-profit Palestinian organizations and institutions, registered by the Palestinian Authority, on transactions in Israel, will accrue to the Palestinian tax administration. The clearance system set out in para 5 will apply to these organizations and institutions.

ARTICLE VII: LABOR

1. Both sides will attempt to maintain the normality of movement of labor between them, subject to each side's right to determine from time to time the extent and conditions of the labor movement into its area. If the normal movement is suspended temporarily by either side, it will give the other side immediate notification, and the other side may request that the matter be discussed in the Joint Economic Committee. The placement and employment of workers from one side in the area of the other side will be through the employment service of the other side and in accordance with the other sides' legislation. The Palestinian side has the right to regulate the employment of Palestinian labor in Israel through the Palestinian employment service, and the Israeli Employment Service will cooperate and coordinate in this regard.
2. a. Palestinians employed in Israel will be insured in the Israeli social insurance system according to the National Insurance Law for employment injuries that occur in Israel, bankruptcy of employers and maternity leave allowance.
 - b. The National Insurance fees deducted from the wages for maternity insurance will be reduced according to the reduced scope of maternity insurance, and the equalization deductions transferred to the Palestinian Authority, if levied, will be increased accordingly.
 - c. Implementation procedures relating thereto will be agreed upon between the Israeli National Insurance Institute and the Palestinian Authority or the appropriate Palestinian social insurance institution.
3. a. Israel will transfer to the Palestinian Authority, on a monthly basis, the equalization deductions as defined by Israeli legislation, if imposed and to the extent levied by Israel. The sums so transferred will be used for social benefits and health services, decided upon by the Palestinian Authority, for Palestinians employed in Israel and for their families. The equalization deductions to be so transferred will be those collected after the date of the signing of the Agreement from wages of Palestinians employed in Israel and from their employers. These sums will not include:
 - (1) Payments for health services in places of employment;
 - (2) 2/3 of the actual administrative costs in handling the matters related to the Palestinians employed in Israel by the Payments Section of the Israeli Employment Service.
4. Israel will transfer, on a monthly basis, to a relevant pension insurance institution to be established by the Palestinian Authority, pension insurance deductions collected after the establishment of the above institution and the completion of the documents mentioned in para 6. These deductions will be collected from wages of Palestinians employed in Israel and their employers, according to the relevant rates set out in the applicable Israeli collective agreements. 2/3 of the actual administrative costs in handling these deductions by the Israeli Employment Service will be deducted from the sums transferred. The sums so transferred will be used for providing pension insurance for these workers. Israel will continue to be liable for pension rights of the Palestinian employees in Israel, to the extent accumulated by Israel before the entry into force of this para 4.
5. Upon the receipt of the deductions, the Palestinian Authority and its relevant social institutions will assume full responsibility in accordance with the Palestinian legislation and arrangements, for pension rights and other social benefits of Palestinians employed in Israel, that accrue from the transferred deductions related to these rights and benefits. Consequently, Israel and its relevant social institutions and the Israeli employers will be released from, and will not be held liable for any obligations and responsibilities concerning personal claims, rights and benefits arising from these transferred deductions, or from the provisions of paras 2-4 above.
6. Prior to the said transfers, the Palestinian Authority or its relevant institutions, as the case may be, will provide Israel with the documents required to give legal effect to their aforesaid obligations, including mutually agreed implementation procedures of the principles agreed upon in paras 3-5 above.
7. The above arrangements concerning equalization deductions and/or pension deductions may be reviewed and changed by Israel if an authorized court in Israel will determine that the deductions or any part thereof must be paid to individuals, or used for individual social benefits or insurance in Israel, or that it is otherwise unlawful. In such a case the liability of the Palestinian side will not exceed the actual transferred deductions related to the case.
8. Israel will respect any agreement reached between the Palestinian Authority, or an organization or trade-union representing the Palestinians employed in Israel, and a representative organization of employees or employers in Israel, concerning contributions to such organization according to any collective agreement.

9. a. The Palestinian Authority may integrate the existing health insurance scheme for Palestinians employed in Israel and their families in its health insurance services. As long as this scheme continues, whether integrated or separately, Israel will deduct from their wages the health insurance fees ("health stamp") and will transfer them to the Palestinian Authority for this purpose.
- b. The Palestinian Authority may integrate the existing health insurance scheme for Palestinians who were employed in Israel and are receiving pension payments through the Israeli Employment Service, in its health insurance services. As long as this scheme continues, whether integrated or separately, Israel will deduct the necessary sum of health insurance fees ("health stamp") from the equalization payments and will transfer them to the Palestinian Authority for this purpose.
10. The JEC will meet upon the request of either side and review the implementation of this Article and other issues concerning labor, social insurance and social rights.
11. Other deductions not mentioned above, if any, will be jointly reviewed by the JEC. Any agreement between the two sides concerning these deductions will be in addition to the above provisions.
12. Palestinians employed in Israel will have the right to bring disputes arising out of employee - employer relationships and other issues before the Israeli Labor Courts, within these courts' jurisdiction.
13. This Article governs the future labor relations between the two sides and will not impair any labor rights prior to the date of signing of the Agreement.

ARTICLE VIII: AGRICULTURE

1. There will be free movement of agricultural produce, free of customs and import taxes, between the two sides, subject to the following exceptions and arrangements.
2. The official veterinary and plant protection services of each side will be responsible, within the limits of their respective jurisdiction, for controlling animal health, animal products and biological products, and plants and parts thereof, as well as their importation and exportation.
3. The relations between the official veterinary and plant protection services of both sides will be based on mutuality in accordance with the following principles, which will be applied in all the areas under their respective jurisdiction:
 - a. Israel and the Palestinian Authority will do their utmost to preserve and improve the veterinary standards.
 - b. Israel and the Palestinian Authority will take all measures to reach equivalent and compatible standards regarding animal disease control, including mass vaccination of animals and avians, quarantines, "stamping out" measures and residue control standards.
 - c. Mutual arrangements will be made to prevent the introduction and spread of plant pests and diseases, for their eradication and concerning residue control standards in plant products.
 - d. The official veterinary and plant protection services of Israel and the Palestinian Authority will co-ordinate and regularly exchange information regarding animal diseases, as well as plant pests and diseases, and will establish a mechanism for immediate notification of the outbreak of such diseases.
4. Trade between the two sides in animals, animal products and biological products will be in keeping with the principles and definitions set out in the current edition of the OIE National Animal Health Code as updated from time to time (hereinafter - I.A.H.C.).
5. Transit of livestock, animal products and biological products from one side through the area under the jurisdiction of the other side, should be conducted in a manner aimed at the prevention of diseases spreading to or from the consignment during its movement. For such a transit to be permitted, it is a prerequisite that the veterinary conditions agreed upon by both sides will be met in regard to importation of animals, their products and biological products from external markets. Therefore the parties agree to the following arrangements.
6. The official veterinary services of each side have the authority to issue veterinary import permits for import of animals, animal products and biological products to the areas under its jurisdiction. In order to prevent the introduction of animal diseases from third parties, the following procedures will be adopted:
 - a. The import permits will strictly follow the professional veterinary conditions for similar imports to Israel as prevailing at the time of their issuance. The permits will specify the country of origin and the required conditions to be included in the official veterinary certificates which should be issued by the veterinary authorities in the countries of origin and which should accompany each consignment.

- b. Each side may propose a change in these conditions. The change will come into force 10 days after notice to the other side, unless the other side requested that the matter be brought before the Veterinary Sub-Committee specified in para 14 (hereinafter - VSC). If it is more stringent than the prevailing conditions - it will come into force 20 days after the request, unless both sides decide otherwise through the VSC, and if more lenient - it will come into force only if agreed upon by both sides through the VSC. However, if the change is urgent and needed for the protection of animal and public health, it will come into force immediately after notice by the other side and will remain in force unless and until both sides agree otherwise through the VSC.
 - c. The official veterinary certificates will include the provisions regarding OIE Lists A & B Diseases as specified in the I.A.H.C. When the I.A.H.C. allows alternative requirements regarding the same disease, the most stringent one will be adopted unless otherwise agreed upon by the VSC.
 - d. When infectious diseases which are not included in Lists A & B of the I.A.H.C. exist or are suspected, on scientific grounds, to exist in the exporting country, the necessary veterinary import conditions that will be required and included in the official veterinary certificates, will be discussed in the VSC, and in the case of different professional opinions, the most stringent ones will be adopted.
 - e. The import of live vaccines will be permitted only if so decided by the VSC.
 - f. Both sides will exchange, through the VSC, information pertaining to import licensing, including the evaluation of the disease situation and zoo sanitary capability of exporting countries, which will be based upon official information as well as upon other available data.
 - g. Consignments which do not conform with the above mentioned requirements will not be permitted to enter the areas under the jurisdiction of either side.
7. Transportation of livestock and poultry and of animal products and biological products between areas under the jurisdiction of one side through areas under the jurisdiction of the other side, will be subject to the following technical rules:
- a. The transportation will be by vehicles which will be sealed with a seal of the official veterinary services of the place of origin and marked with a visible sign "Animal Transportation" or "Products of Animal Origin" in Arabic and Hebrew, in coloured and clearly visible letters on white background;
 - b. Each consignment will be accompanied by a veterinary certificate issued by the official veterinary services of the place of origin, certifying that the animals or their products were examined and are free of infectious diseases and originate from a place which is not under quarantine or under animal movement restrictions.
8. Transportation of livestock and poultry, animal products and biological products destined for Israel from the Areas and *vice versa* will be subject to veterinary permits issued by the official veterinary services of the recipient side, in keeping with the OIE standards used in international traffic in this field. Each such consignment will be transported by a suitable and marked vehicle, accompanied by a veterinary certificate in the form agreed upon between the official veterinary services of both sides. Such certificates will be issued only if permits of the recipient side are presented.
9. In order to prevent the introduction of plant pests and diseases to the region, the following procedures will be adopted:
- a. The transportation between the Areas and Israel, of plants and parts thereof (including fruits and vegetables), the control of pesticide residues in them and the transportation of plant propagation material and of animal feed, may be inspected without delay or damage by the plant protection services of the recipient side.
 - b. The transportation between the Areas through Israel of plants and parts thereof (including fruits and vegetables) as well as of pesticides, may be required to pass a phyto-sanitary inspection without delay or damage.
 - c. The official Palestinian plant protection services have the authority to issue permits for the import of plants and parts thereof as well as of pesticides from external markets. The permits will be based on the prevailing standards and requirements. The permits will specify the required conditions to be included in the official Phyto-sanitary Certificates (hence P.C.) based upon the standards and the requirements of the International Plant Protection Convention (I.P.P.C.) and those of the European and Mediterranean Plant Protection Organization (E.P.P.O.) which should accompany each consignment. The P.C.'s will be issued by the plant

protection services in the countries of origin. Dubious or controversial cases will be brought before the sub-committee on plant protection.

10. The agricultural produce of both sides will have free and unrestricted access to each others' markets, with the temporary exception of sales from one side to the other side of the following items only: poultry, eggs, potatoes, cucumbers, tomatoes and melons. The temporary restrictions on these items will be gradually removed on an increasing scale until they are finally eliminated by 1998, as listed below:

Year	Poultry	Eggs	Potatoes	Cucumbers	Tomatoes	Melons (In tons millions)
1994	5,000	30	10,000	10,000	13,000	10,000
1995	6,000	40	13,000	13,000	16,000	13,000
1996	7,000	50	15,000	15,000	19,000	15,000
1997	8,000	60	17,000	17,000	22,000	17,000
1998	unlimited	unlimited	unlimited	unlimited	unlimited	unlimited

Note: The above figures refer to the combined quantities marketed from the West Bank and Gaza to Israel and vice-versa.

The Palestinian Authority will notify Israel the apportioning of these quantities between these areas concerning the quantities pertaining to the Palestinian produce.

11. The Palestinians will have the right to export their agricultural produce to external markets without restrictions, on the basis of certificates of origin issued by the Palestinian Authority.
12. Without prejudice to obligations arising out of existing international agreements, the two sides will refrain from importing agricultural products from third parties which may adversely affect the interests of each other's farmers.
13. Each side will take the necessary measures in the area under its jurisdiction to prevent damage which may be caused by its agriculture to the environment of the other side.
14. The two sides will establish sub-committees of their respective official veterinary and plant protection services, which will update the information and review issues, policies and procedures in these fields. Any changes in the provisions of this Article will be agreed upon by both sides.
15. The two sides will establish a sub-committee of experts in the dairy sector in order to exchange information, discuss and coordinate their production in this sector so as to protect the interests of both sides. In principle, each side will produce according to its domestic consumption.

ARTICLE IX: INDUSTRY

1. There will be free movement of industrial goods free of any restrictions including customs and import taxes between the two sides, subject to each side's legislation.
2. a. The Palestinian side has the right to employ various methods in encouraging and promoting the development of the Palestinian industry by way of providing grants, loans, research and development assistance and direct-tax benefits. The Palestinian side has also the right to employ other methods of encouraging industry resorted to in Israel.
 - b. Both sides will exchange information about the methods employed by them in the encouragement of their respective industries.
 - c. Indirect tax rebates or benefits and other subsidies to sales shall not be allowed in trade between the two sides.
3. Each side will do its best to avoid damage to the industry of the other side and will take into consideration the concerns of the other side in its industrial policy.
4. Both sides will cooperate in the prevention of deceptive practices, trade in goods which may endanger health, safety and the environment and in goods of expired validity.
5. Each side will take the necessary measures in the area under its jurisdiction to prevent damage which may be caused by its industry to the environment of the other side.
6. The Palestinians will have the right to export their industrial produce to external markets without restrictions, on the basis of certificates of origin issued by the Palestinian Authority.
7. The JEC will meet and review issues pertaining to this Article.

ARTICLE X: TOURISM

1. The Palestinian Authority will establish a Palestinian Tourism Authority which will exercise, *inter alia*, the following powers in the Areas.
 - a. Regulating, licensing, classifying and supervising tourist services, sites and industries.
 - b. Promoting foreign and domestic tourism and developing the Palestinian tourist resources and sites.
 - c. Supervising the marketing, promotion and information activities related to foreign and domestic tourism.
2. Each side shall, under its respective jurisdiction, protect, guard and ensure the maintenance and good upkeep of historical, archaeological, cultural and religious sites and all other tourist sites, to fit their status as well as their purpose as a destination for visitors.
3. Each side will determine reasonable visiting hours and days for all tourist sites in order to facilitate visits at a wide variety of days and hours, taking into consideration religious and national holidays. Each side shall publicize such opening times. Meaningful changes in the opening times will take into consideration tourist programs already committed to.
4. Tourist buses or any other form of tourist transport authorized by either side, and operated by companies registered and licensed by it, will be allowed to enter and proceed on their tour within the area under the jurisdiction of the other side, provided that such buses or other vehicles conform with the EEC technical specifications [I. currently adopted.] All such vehicles will be clearly marked as tourist vehicles.
5. Each side will protect the environment and the ecology around the tourist sites under its jurisdiction. In view of the importance of beaches and maritime activities for tourism, each side will do its best efforts to ensure that development and construction on the Mediterranean coast, and especially at ports (such as Ashqelon or Gaza), will be planned and carried out in a manner that will not adversely affect the ecology, environment or the functions of the coastline and beaches of the other side.
6. Tourism companies and agencies licensed by either side shall enjoy equal access to tourism - related facilities and amenities in border points of exit and entry according to the regulations of the authority operating them.
7.
 - a. Each side will license, according to its own rules and regulations, travel agents, tour companies, tour guides and other tourism businesses (hereinafter - tourism entities) within its jurisdiction.
 - b. Tourism entities authorized by either side, will be allowed to conduct tours that include the area under the jurisdiction of the other side, provided that their authorization as well as their operation will be in accordance with rules, professional requirements and standards agreed upon by both sides in the sub-committee mentioned in para 9. Pending that agreement, existing tourism entities in the Areas which are currently allowed to conduct tours that include Israel, will be allowed to continue to do so, and Israeli authorized tourism entities will continue to be allowed to conduct tours that include the Areas. In addition, any tourism entity of one side that the tourism authorities of the other side will certify as fulfilling all its rules, professional requirements and standards, will be allowed to conduct tours that include that other side.
8. Each side will make its own arrangement for compensation of tourists for bodily injury and property damages caused by political violence in the areas under its respective jurisdiction.
9. The JEC or a tourism sub-committee established by it shall meet upon the request of either side in order to discuss the implementation of the provisions of this Article and resolve problems that may arise. The sub-committee will also discuss and consider tourist issues of benefit to both sides, and will promote educational programs for tourism entities of both sides in order to further their professional standards and their ethics. Complaints of one side against the behaviour of tourism entities of the other side will be channelled through the committee.

Note: It is agreed that the final wording in the last sentence in para 4 will be adopted according to the final wording in the relevant provisions of the Agreement.

ARTICLE XI: INSURANCE ISSUES

1. The authorities, powers and responsibilities in the insurance sphere in the Areas, including *inter alia* the licensing of insurers, insurance agents and the supervision of their activities, will be transferred to the Palestinian Authority.

2. a. The Palestinian Authority will maintain a compulsory absolute liability system for road accident victims with a ceiling on the amount of compensation based upon the following principles:
 - (1) Absolute liability for death or bodily injury to road accident victims, it being immaterial whether or not there was fault on the part of the driver and whether or not there was fault or contributory fault on the part of others, each driver being responsible for persons travelling in his vehicle and for pedestrians hit by his vehicle.
 - (2) Compulsory insurance for all motor vehicles, covering death or bodily injury to all road accident victims, including drivers.
 - (3) No cause of action in tort for death or bodily injury resulting from road accidents.
 - (4) The maintenance of a statutory fund (hereinafter - the Fund) for compensation of road accident victims who are unable to claim compensation from an insurer for the following reasons:
 - (i) the driver liable for compensation is unknown;
 - (ii) the driver is not insured or his insurance does not cover the liability involved; or
 - (iii) the insurer is unable to meet his liabilities.
- b. Terms in this Article will have the same meaning as in the legislation prevailing at the date of signing of the Agreement concerning compulsory motor vehicle insurance and compensation of road accident victims.
- c. Any change by either side in the rules and regulations regarding the implementation of the above mentioned principles will require prior notice to the other side. A change which might substantially affect the other side will require prior notice of at least three months.
3. a. Upon the signing of the Agreement the Palestinian Authority will establish a Fund for the Areas (hereinafter - the Palestinian Fund) for the purposes detailed in para 2(a)(4) above and for the purposes detailed below. The Palestinian Fund will assume the responsibilities of the statutory Road Accident Victims Compensation Fund in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (hereinafter - the Existing Fund) regarding the Areas, according to the prevailing law at that time. Accordingly, the Existing Fund will cease to be responsible for any liability regarding accidents occurring in the Areas from the date of signing of the Agreement.
- b. The Existing Fund will transfer to the Palestinian Fund, after the assumption of the above mentioned responsibilities by it, the premiums paid to the Existing Fund by the insurers for vehicles registered in the Areas, pro-rata to the unexpired period of each insurance policy.
4. a. Compulsory motor vehicle insurance policies issued by insurers licensed by either side will be valid in the territories of both sides. Accordingly, a vehicle registered in one side covered by such a policy will not be required to have an additional insurance coverage for travel in the areas under the other side's jurisdiction. These insurance policies will cover all the liabilities according to the legislation of the place of the accident.
- b. In order to cover part of the liabilities which may incur due to road accidents in Israel by uninsured vehicles registered in the Palestinian Authority, the Palestinian Fund will transfer to the Israeli Fund, on a monthly basis, for each insured vehicle, an amount equal to 30% of the amount paid to the Israeli Fund by an insurer registered in Israel, for the sat-ne type of vehicle, for the same period of insurance (which will not be less than 90 days).
5. In cases where a victim of a road accident wishes to claim compensation from an insurer registered by the other side or from the Fund of the other side or in cases where a driver or an owner of a car is sued by a victim, by an insurer or by the Fund of the other side, he may nominate the Fund of his side as his proxy for this purpose. The Fund so nominated may address any relevant party from the other side directly or through the other sides' Fund.
6. In the case of a road accident in which neither the registration number of the vehicle nor the identity of the driver are known, the Fund of the side which has jurisdiction over the place of the accident will compensate the victim, according to its own legislation.
7. The Fund of each side will be responsible towards the victims of the other side for any liability of the insurers of its side regarding the compulsory insurance and will guarantee their liabilities.
8. Each side will guarantee its Fund's liabilities according to this Article.
9. The two sides will negotiate within three months from the date of the signing of the Agreement a cut-off agreement between the Existing Fund and the Palestinian Fund concerning accidents which occurred in the Areas prior to the date of the signing of the Agreement, whether claims have been re-

- ported or not. The cut-off agreement will not include compensation for Israeli victims involved in accidents which occurred in the Areas prior to the date of the signing of the Agreement.
10. a. The two sides will establish immediately upon the signing of the Agreement, a sub-committee of experts (hereinafter - the Sub-Committee) which will deal with issues regarding the implementation of this Article, including:
- (1) Procedures concerning the handling of claims of victims of the one side from insurers or from the Fund of the other side;
 - (2) Procedures concerning the transfer of the amounts between the Funds of both sides as mentioned in para 4(b) above-
 - (3) The details of the cut-off agreement between the Existing Fund and the Palestinian Fund, as set out in para 9 above;
 - (4) Any other relevant issue raised by either side.
- b. The Sub-Committee will act as a continuous committee for issues regarding this Article.
- c. The two sides will exchange, through the Sub-Committee, the relevant information regarding the implementation of this Article, including police reports, medical information, relevant statistics, premiums, etc. The two sides will provide each other with any other assistance required in this regard.
11. Each side may require the re-examination of the arrangements set out in this Article a year after the date of the signing of the Agreement.
12. Insurers from both sides may apply for a license to the relevant authorities of the other side, according to the rules and regulations regarding foreign insurers in the latter side. The two sides agree not to discriminate against such applicants.

Done in Paris, this twenty ninth day of April, 1994

For the Government of Israel:
Finance Minister Avraham Shohat

For the PLO:
Abu Ala (Ahmed Qre'i)



**DRAFT BASIC LAW FOR THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY
IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, 1 MAY 1994**

[This was the third draft, which at the time of its publication was still under discussion and had not yet been presented to the PLO Central Council for consideration and approval].

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL PROVISIONS

- ARTICLE 1: The Palestinian people are the source of all authority which shall be exercised, during the transitional period, through the legislative, executive and judicial authorities in the manner provided for in this Basic Law.
- ARTICLE 2: The government of Palestine shall be based on parliamentary democracy and pluralism, with consideration by the majority for the rights and interests of the minority and respect by the minority of the decisions of the majority.
- ARTICLE 3: The Arabic language shall be the official language of Palestine.
- ARTICLE 4: The flag of Palestine shall be of the following colors and dimensions: Its length twice its width, divided horizontally into three equal parallel parts, the upper black, the middle white and the lower green, thereon placed from the base a red triangle whose base and height equal the breadth and half the length of the flag, respectively.
- ARTICLE 5: Jerusalem shall be the capital of Palestine. During the transitional period the Palestinian Authorities may set up the Government Headquarters in any other place in Palestine.
- ARTICLE 6: Sovereignty over the national resources in Palestine is vested in the Palestinian people, and shall be exploited and disposed of in the interests of the Palestinian people according to law.

ARTICLE 7: (1) This Basic Law shall be the Supreme Law of Palestine in the Transitional Period and any other law which is inconsistent with any of its provisions shall be null and void.

(2) Subject to Articles 48 and 106, this Basic Law may not be amended except by a two thirds majority of the elected legislature.

CHAPTER TWO: I. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

ARTICLE 8: Palestine recognises and respects the fundamental human rights and freedoms prescribed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and other Conventions and Covenants which secure such rights and freedoms. Palestinian authorities shall adhere to the said international agreements.

ARTICLE 9: Every person has the right to life.

ARTICLE 10: Women and men shall have equal fundamental rights and freedoms without any discrimination.

ARTICLE 11: All persons are equal in human dignity. No person shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no person shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation. No effect shall be given to any statement obtained as a result or under the threat of torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

ARTICLE 12: Every person shall have the right to participate in public life and to nominate himself to public office in accordance with the law.

ARTICLE 13: Every person has the right to liberty and security of person. No person shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No person shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedures as are established by law.

ARTICLE 14: Every person shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and expression and publication of his opinion either orally, in writing or in the form of art or through any other form of expression, subject to observance of restrictions imposed by law for the respect of the rights or reputations of others, the protection of national security or of public order or of public health or morals.

ARTICLE 15: The freedom of formation of political parties is guaranteed provided that their aims and activities do not conflict with the basic principles prescribed in this Basic Law and that they conduct their activities in a peaceful manner. The law shall set out the rules governing the formation of political parties.

ARTICLE 16: Subject to the provisions of Article 14 of this Basic Law, the freedom of the press, printing, publication and media is guaranteed. Censorship of the press is prohibited, and no newspaper shall be subject to warning, suspension or termination through governmental or administrative action.

ARTICLE 17: No person shall be subject to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, or to unlawful attacks on his honor or reputation. The law shall provide protection against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 18: Security of the home is guaranteed; it may not be entered or inspected except in pursuance of a reasoned judicial order and in accordance with the law.

ARTICLE 19: Every person is entitled to own private property, interference in which shall be prohibited except in accordance with the law and for the public interest. Private property may not be expropriated except for public interest in consideration of fair compensation and in accordance with the procedure laid down in the law.

ARTICLE 20: Freedom of economic activity is guaranteed. The law shall set out the rules and extent of supervision in pursuance of the requirements of public interest.

ARTICLE 21: The families of martyrs, the injured and the handicapped have the right to care and rehabilitation, which shall be provided by the Palestinian authorities.

ARTICLE 22: Motherhood, childhood, the family, the young and the youth have the right to protection and to the availability of proper opportunities for the development of their talents. Such protection is a duty on society to be discharged by the Palestinian authorities within the limits stipulated by law.

ARTICLE 23: The law shall set out the rules pertaining to social security.

ARTICLE 24: Work is a right, duty and honor. The Palestinian authorities shall endeavor to provide equal opportunities to citizens to enable them to exercise this right under laws which provide for social justice.

No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour except in the following circumstances:

- (1) Any service of a military character or any national service required by law, save for conscientious objectors;
- (2) Any service exacted in cases of emergency or calamity threatening the life or well-being of the community;
- (3) Any work or service which forms part of normal civil obligations.

ARTICLE 25: (1) Every person has the right to education which shall be free and compulsory until the secondary stage in public institutions. The Palestinian authorities shall endeavor to provide education at all stages;

- (2) Minorities, religious or otherwise, and others who meet the conditions prescribed by law shall have the right to establish private schools and educational institutions, provided they observe the general conditions laid down in the law;
- (3) The education authorities shall supervise all education. Universities and centres of scientific research shall enjoy respect and autonomy in the manner provided in the law.

ARTICLE 26: The right to peaceful assembly is recognised. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

ARTICLE 27: (1) The right to freedom of association with others is recognised to all persons, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of their rights;

- (2) No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. This Article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on members of the security forces and the police in their exercise of this right.

ARTICLE 28: No Palestinian may be deported, deprived of his nationality, prevented or prohibited from returning to or leaving Palestine or surrendered to any foreign authority except in accordance with extradition agreements.

ARTICLE 29: The surrender of persons granted political asylum by the Palestinian authorities in accordance with international law is prohibited.

ARTICLE 30: Every person has the right to address the public authorities on personal matters of concern to him or on public matters.

ARTICLE 31: Jerusalem is a city holy to the three divine religions. In compliance by Palestine with its spiritual heritage, Palestinian authorities shall provide conditions for tolerant co-existence between religions in Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine.

ARTICLE 32: Freedom of belief and worship and exercise of religious functions are guaranteed, subject to non-violation of public order or morality.

ARTICLE 33: Freedom of access and visit to holy places and religious buildings and sites are guaranteed for all, citizens and non-citizens, without discrimination. Freedom of worship for the followers of such places is also guaranteed. The exercise of the foregoing, freedoms shall be subject to the requirements of public security, order and morality.

II. PROTECTION OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

ARTICLE 34: Every person whose fundamental rights or freedoms, as provided in this Chapter and Chapter Three, have been violated shall have the right to challenge the violation before courts of law and to demand compensation, where appropriate.

ARTICLE 35: An independent Commission for Human Rights with juridical personality shall be established by law to monitor and ensure the observance of human rights and freedoms in Palestine. Its formation, functions and powers shall be defined by law and shall be without prejudice to any

powers given to individuals, to the Attorney General, to the Audit Office and to the Courts under this Basic Law or any other law.

CHAPTER THREE: THE RULE OF LAW

ARTICLE 36: The rule of law is the basis of government in Palestine.

ARTICLE 37: All Palestinian authorities and organs as well as all individuals and persons in Palestine shall be subject to the law and shall be accountable for its violation. The independence of the judiciary, its immunity, respect for and execution of its decisions are basic guarantees for the protection of rights and freedoms and the establishment of the rule of law.

ARTICLE 38: All persons shall be equal before the courts and the law, and are entitled to the equal protection of the law without discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, birth or other status.

ARTICLE 39: The right of recourse to the courts is guaranteed for everyone and no administrative act or decision may exclude its review by the courts.

ARTICLE 40: Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty in a lawful trial in which he has been afforded guarantees to defend himself. Every person charged with a serious criminal offence shall have a lawyer to defend him.

ARTICLE 41: (1) Punishment is personal, and no one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time when the criminal offence was committed. If, subsequent to the commission of the offence, provision is made by law for the imposition of the lighter penalty, the offender shall benefit thereby. No one shall be liable to be tried or punished again for an offence for which he has already been finally convicted or acquitted in accordance with the applicable law and penal procedure;

(2) Collective punishment is prohibited.

ARTICLE 42: Except in cases of flagrante delicto, no person may be arrested, searched, detained or have his liberty restricted in any manner or prevented from free movement, except by order given by a competent court or the prosecution service in accordance with the law and only where such is required for the needs of the investigations and security of society. The law shall determine the period of detention on remand.

No detention or imprisonment is permitted except in places which are subject to laws regulating prisons.

ARTICLE 43: Except where otherwise is provided by law, criminal actions shall only be instituted by order of a judicial body.

ARTICLE 44: All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.

ARTICLE 45: Every person who has been arrested or detained shall be informed promptly on his arrest of the cause thereof, and shall, without delay, be informed in detail and in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him. He shall be given adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence and to communicate with a lawyer of his own choosing. He shall be tried without undue delay in his presence in a manner which guarantees defence through a lawyer of his own choosing.

ARTICLE 46: Judgements shall be given and executed in the name of the people. It shall be a criminal offence subject to prosecution and punishment in the manner provided in the law for any public official required by law to execute decisions of the courts to refuse or suspend such execution. In this event, the person in whose favor judgement has been given shall have the direct right to bring a criminal action before the competent court.

CHAPTER FOUR: LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

ARTICLE 47: The Council of National Authority created by this Basic Law shall exercise legislative authority during the transitional period until the election of a Legislature which thereupon shall exercise the legislative authority.

ARTICLE 48: The Legislature shall lay down its rules of procedure and shall prescribe the rules relating to the enactment of laws and its relationship with the Executive Authority and the formation of the Government and such law shall be treated as a sequel to this Basic Law.

ARTICLE 49: The legislative authority may not be suspended nor may the immunity of its members be affected.

CHAPTER FIVE: EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY

I. The President

ARTICLE 50: The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (hereinafter referred to as the _PLO_) shall be the President and the head of the National Authority and shall exercise the powers prescribed for him in the Basic Laws of the PLO, the resolutions of the Palestine National Council, the Central Council of the PLO and the Executive Committee of the PLO as well as the powers prescribed in this Basic Law.

ARTICLE 51: Before assuming office, the President shall take the following oath in the presence of the Bureau of the Presidency of the Palestine National Council: "I swear by Almighty God to be faithful to the Nation of Palestine and to its national heritage and to preserve this Basic Law and the law, serve the Palestinian People and faithfully carry out the duties entrusted to me according to law."

ARTICLE 52: The term of the Presidency shall be five (5) years and no person may be President for more than two consecutive terms. The first term of the first President and any successor in the transitional period shall expire with the expiry of the transitional period.

ARTICLE 53: If the office of the President becomes vacant or if the President becomes permanently incapacitated, the Chairman of the Palestine National Council shall assume his powers and duties in a caretaker capacity until a new President takes office, which shall be no more than 60 days from the date of occurrence of the vacancy or the proof of permanent incapacity.

ARTICLE 54: The President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Palestinian forces.

ARTICLE 55: The President shall sign and promulgate the laws within 30 days after their approval by the Legislative Authority, and if not signed within the said period, such shall be deemed promulgated.

ARTICLE 56: The President may grant a special pardon and commute sentences. General pardon shall be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 57: The President shall exercise his powers through Resolutions and Decrees in the manner prescribed by law.

II. The Council of National Authority

ARTICLE 58: (1) A council to be known as the Council of National Authority (hereinafter referred to as the "Council") is hereby established. It shall be appointed by the Executive Committee of the PLO, which shall be the Council's reference authority in the matters falling within the Council's competence;

(2) The Council shall continue in office until the first elections and thereafter in a caretaker capacity until a government is formed in accordance with the law, rules and regulations to be established in that regard by the Legislature in accordance with Article 48.

ARTICLE 59: The Council shall generally be responsible for the government and administration of the affairs of the country.

ARTICLE 60: (1) The Council shall be composed of a Chief Minister and such other Ministers as the public interest may require. The resolution of appointment shall designate a Department for which the Minister shall be responsible;

(2) A Minister may hold more than one portfolio, as may be determined in the resolution of appointment;

(3) The President shall perform the powers and duties of the Chief Minister until elections are held and a government is formed in accordance with Articles 48 and 58(2).

ARTICLE 61: The Chief Minister and Ministers of the Council shall, before assuming office, take the oath provided for in Article 51 of this Basic Law in the presence of the President.

ARTICLE 62: Neither the Chief Minister nor any Ministers of the Council may purchase or lease any government property, not even through public auction, nor may any one of them have a financial in-

terest in any contract concluded with government bodies, nor may he, while being a member of the Council, be a member of the board of directors of any company or carry on a trade or practice a profession or receive a salary or any other remuneration from any company or any other source.

ARTICLE 63: The Chief Minister and Ministers of the Council are jointly responsible to the Executive Committee of the PLO for the general policy of the country as is within the competence of the Council and each Minister is responsible to the Executive Committee for the actions of his Department.

ARTICLE 64: The Chief Minister of the Council in addition to such powers as may be granted to him by law, shall direct the work of the Council, supervise the implementation of its resolutions and the activities of the various Departments and their exercise of the powers allocated to them and the implementation of the policy determined by the Council.

ARTICLE 65: powers of the various Department shall be determined by regulations made by the Council and endorsed by the President.

ARTICLE 66: (1) Every Minister shall be the head of his Department and shall be responsible for all matters pertaining to his Department;

(2) The Chief Minister of the Council shall deal with matters falling within his competence and powers and shall refer all other matters for decisions by the Council.

ARTICLE 67: Without prejudice to the generality of Article 59 of this Basic Law, the Council shall have the following powers:

(1) To lay down the general policy within the powers entrusted to the Council in the light of submissions by Ministers;

(2) Implementation of the general policies laid down by the appropriate Palestinian authorities;

(3) Preparation and approval of the general budget;

(4) Supervision of the administrative organs;

(5) Follow up on the implementation of laws and ensuring observance thereof;

(6) Follow up performance of their duties and powers by the various Departments and all other units of the administrative organ;

(7) Consideration of the proposals and policies of the various Departments in respect of the performance of their powers;

(8) Any other powers entrusted to the Council by this Basic Law or any other law, including the legislative power in the manner set out in Article 47 of this Basic Law.

ARTICLE 68: The Council shall meet regularly at the invitation of the President or the Chief Minister of the Council. A simple majority shall form a legal quorum. Resolutions of the Council shall be signed by the Chairman of the Meeting and the Ministers and shall be implementing by them, each within his competence. The Chairman of the Meeting shall be the President if he attends, or if he does not attend, the Chief Minister.

ARTICLE 69: The Council shall have a Secretary General who shall organize its meetings, prepare the agenda and minutes of the meetings, follow up the implementation of its resolutions and keep the papers and files of the Council. The Secretary General shall be appointed by resolution of the Council and shall carry out his duties in accordance with instructions given by the Council or its Chairman, as the case may be. The Secretary General shall attend meetings of the Council. However, he may not participate in the deliberations unless so requested and he shall not have the right to vote on resolutions of the Council.

ARTICLE 70: Every Minister shall have the following powers within his [sic] Department:

(1) Propose the general policy of the Department and supervise its implementation after its approval;

(2) Supervise the conduct of affairs in his Department and give the necessary instructions in that respect;

(3) Implement the budgetary provisions pertaining to his Department;

(4) Propose legislation pertaining to his Department;

(5) Delegate, as need be, some of his powers to the Under-Secretary of the Department, heads of divisions or senior officials of the Department;

(6) Any other powers entrusted to him by laws, regulations and resolutions made in pursuance thereof.

ARTICLE 71: Each Department shall have an Under-Secretary appointed by the Council. The Under-Secretary shall administer the affairs of the Department under the supervision of the Minister con-

cerned and in accordance with his instructions. In particular, he shall supervise the officials and employees of the Department and its divisions and shall follow up the implementation of the policy and plans approved for the Department. The Under-Secretary shall also carry out such powers as may be delegated to him by the Minister concerned in pursuance of Article 70 (5) of this Basic Law.

ARTICLE 72: Each Department shall comprise the Minister and his office, the Under-Secretary and divisions as may be determined in the structural organization of the Department. The divisions shall be directly responsible to the Under-Secretary. Each Department must have central administration for financial and administrative affairs, and, where necessary, for legal affairs. These central units shall serve the whole Department as well as the councils and specialized institutions attached to the Department.

ARTICLE 73: Divisions in each Department shall be established and canceled by the Minister concerned within the budgetary allocations for his Department. The resolution establishing the division shall determine its competence.

ARTICLE 74: Each Minister shall submit to the Council detailed reports on the activities of his Department, its policies, plans and achievements compared with the aims set out for the Department in the general plan, and shall also submit the Department's proposals and recommendations as to its future policy. These reports shall be submitted on a regular basis so that the Council would be fully informed of the activities and policies of each Department.

ARTICLE 75: The appointment of officials and their terms of employment shall be in accordance with the laws in force in that respect.

ARTICLE 76: In the provision of administrative services and attending to the rights of individuals, simplification of procedures, expeditiousness and propriety in performance shall be observed within the limits of the law and public interest.

ARTICLE 77: The executive authority shall avail the widest opportunity for the participation of citizens, political parties, trade unions and other organizations in the discussion of policies before their determination, through announcing such policies and consultation with the said bodies.

ARTICLE 78: The Council, its Chief Minister and Ministers shall exercise the powers and competence provided for their predecessors in legislation in force on the effective date of this Basic Law, until such laws are amended or replaced, as the case may be.

III. Security Forces and the Police

ARTICLE 79: (1) Security forces and the police are a regular force created for the service of the people, protection of society and to maintain security and public order. It shall perform its duties within the limits provided by law with full respect of rights and freedoms without prejudice or discrimination. All persons must cooperate with and assist the police in the performance of their duties.

(2) Security forces and the police shall be regulated by law.

IV. Public Councils and Institutions

ARTICLE 80: Specialized public councils and institutions shall be established by resolutions of the Council to assist the Council in formulating policies within the general fields of activity. Such councils and institutions may be autonomous bodies enjoying juridical personality exercising activities entrusted to them under their respective resolutions; in which case they shall be established by law.

V. Local Government

ARTICLE 81: For purposes of local government the country shall, by law, be divided into administrative units and municipalities enjoying juridical personality. Each unit shall have a popular council directly elected in the manner provided in the law. The law shall determine the competence of such administrative units, their financial resources, relations with the central authority, their role in the preparation and implementation of the development plans and supervision of the various fields of activity. Division shall be, as far as possible, on the basis of number of inhabitants and their concentration.

VI. General Provisions

ARTICLE 82: No administrative unit or any official thereof may sign or undertake a financial obligation except within the allocations provided for in law, and no effect shall be given to any disposition in contravention of this provision.

ARTICLE 83: No administrative unit or any official thereof may take decisions or issue instructions or regulation in contravention of laws in force, and no effect shall be given to decisions, instructions or regulations made in contravention of the said laws.

ARTICLE 84: Each administrative unit shall be entitled to exercise the powers, carry out the duties and issue resolutions, instructions and regulations for that purpose within the mandate prescribed to it by law.

ARTICLE 85: Appointment to public offices and specialized councils and institutions shall be on the basis of competence, experience and ability to perform in accordance with the nature of the public office and functions and aims of the council or institution.

VII Finance

ARTICLE 86: General taxes and duties may not be imposed, amended or repealed except by law, and no total or partial exemption may apply except in the circumstances provided for in the law.

ARTICLE 87: The law shall set out the rules pertaining to the preparation of the general budget and for the disposition of funds allocated therein.

ARTICLE 88: The law shall set out the rules governing the collection of public funds and the procedure for spending therefrom.

ARTICLE 89: The beginning of the financial year shall be determined by law. If the budget law is not passed before the commencement of the new financial year, spending shall continue on the basis of monthly allocations of one twelfth of the previous budget for each month.

ARTICLE 90: All that is received in taxes and other revenue must be paid to the public treasury and included in the budget. No part of the funds of the general budget may be allocated or spent for any purpose whatsoever except in accordance with the law.

ARTICLE 91: An Audit Office shall be established and its autonomy shall be guaranteed by law. The Office shall be attached to the Council, and shall assist the administrative organ in supervising the collection of public revenue and spending therefrom within the limits set out by the budget. The Audit Office shall submit to the Council an annual report regarding its activities, observations showing financial violations, if any, and the responsibility arising therefrom. The Audit Office, after the establishment of the Legislative Council, shall become attached to the said Council and shall submit its report to the said Council and to the government.

The law shall provide for the immunity of the head of the Audit Office and shall give him the powers necessary for him to carry out his duties in the best possible manner.

ARTICLE 92: Public loans shall be confirmed by law. A public loan may be concluded or guaranteed by a law or within the allocations prescribed for that purpose in the budget law.

ARTICLE 93: Banks shall be regulated by law.

CHAPTER SIX: THE JUDICIAL AUTHORITY

I. The Judiciary

ARTICLE 94: The judicial authority shall be an independent authority to be exercised by the Supreme Court and other Courts in accordance with this Basic Law and any other law.

ARTICLE 95: Judges shall be independent and, in their judicial function, shall be subject only to the law. No other authority may interfere in individual cases or in the administration of justice.

ARTICLE 96: There shall be a Chief Justice of Palestine who, in that capacity, shall be the Head of the Judicial Authority and President of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice shall be a judge of the Supreme Court appointed by Presidential Decree with the approval of the High Judiciary Court except that the first Chief Justice appointed in pursuance of this Article shall not require such approval.

ARTICLE 97: A High Judiciary Council shall be established by law with the Chief Justice as Chairman. The law shall establish the composition and powers of this Council as well as its rules of procedure. The opinion of the Council shall be taken in respect of draft legislation pertaining to the organization of the judicial authority, including the public prosecution.

ARTICLE 98: (1) The law shall provide for the rules governing the appointment, transfer, secondment and promotion of judges and other matters pertaining to the judiciary;

(2) Judges shall be irremovable, and the law shall regulate their disciplinary accountability.

ARTICLE 99: A Supreme Court shall be established by law comprising:

- (1) A High Constitutional Court which shall have exclusive jurisdiction of judicial review of constitutionality of laws and regulations and construction of legal provisions in the manner prescribed by law;
- (2) A Court of Cassation in criminal, civil and commercial matters in the manner prescribed by law;
- (3) A High Court of Justice which shall have jurisdiction over administrative and other disputes in the manner prescribed by law.

The law shall determine the types of other courts, their organization, jurisdiction and procedure. No law, administrative order or action may be excluded from review by the judiciary.

ARTICLE 100: Hearings shall be in public, unless the court determines otherwise in the interests of public order or morality, and in all cases judgements shall be pronounced in open Court.

II. Attorney-General and public prosecutions

ARTICLE 101: Public and Government cases shall be conducted by the Attorney-General in the name of the people.

ARTICLE 102: (1) The appointment, transfer and dismissal of the Attorney-General and public attorneys in his office shall be in the manner and subject to the conditions prescribed by law;

(2) The law shall determine the powers, competence and formation of the service.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUDING AND TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 103: This Basic Law shall apply during the transitional period, but shall not affect the powers and duties of the Palestine Liberation Organization and its organs including its powers to represent the Palestinian people in foreign and international relations and relations with foreign governments and international organizations.

ARTICLE 104: Laws shall be promulgated in the name of the Palestinian people, and shall be published in the Official Gazette after signature and promulgation by the President. They shall come into force 30 days from publication unless the law provides otherwise.

ARTICLE 105: The provisions of laws and legislative resolutions shall not apply except to matters occurring as from the date on which they come into force. Where required and in non-criminal matters, laws may provide otherwise.

ARTICLE 106: None of the fundamental rights and freedoms enshrined in this Basic Law may be suspended, and such rights and freedoms shall remain governed by the provisions of this Basic Law and the laws enacted in pursuance thereof.

ARTICLE 107: Laws, regulations and decisions in force in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank before the coming into effect of this Basic Law shall remain in force to the extent that they do not conflict with the provisions of this law, until they are amended, repealed or replaced in pursuance of this or any other law.

ARTICLE 108: This Basic Law shall be published in the Official Gazette and shall come into force on the date of appointment of the Council of National Authority.



GAZA-JERICHO AUTONOMY AGREEMENT (CAIRO AGREEMENT or OSLO I), CAIRO, 4 MAY 1994

[See also Map 1 in the Annex]

The Government of the State of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (hereinafter "the PLO"), the representative of the Palestinian people,

PREAMBLE

Within the framework of the Middle East peace process initiated in Madrid in October 1991;

Reaffirming their determination to live in peaceful coexistence, mutual dignity and security, while recognizing their mutual legitimate and political rights;

Reaffirming their desire to achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement through the agreed political process;

Reaffirming their adherence to the mutual recognition and commitments expressed in the letters dated September 9, 1993, signed by and exchanged between the Prime Minister of Israel and the Chairman of the PLO;

Reaffirming their understanding that the interim self-government arrangements, including the arrangements to apply in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area contained in this Agreement, are an integral part of the whole peace process and that the negotiations on the permanent status will lead to the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338;

Desirous of putting into effect the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements signed at Washington, DC on September 13, 1993, and the Agreed Minutes thereto (hereinafter "the Declaration of Principles"), and in particular the Protocol on withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area;

Hereby agree to the following arrangements regarding the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area:

Article I: Definitions

For the purpose of this Agreement:

- (a) the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area are delineated on map Nos. 1 and 2 attached to this Agreement;
- (b) "the Settlements" means the Gush Katif and Erez settlement areas, as well as the other settlements in the Gaza Strip, as shown on the attached map No. 1.
- (c) "the Military Installation Area" means the Israeli military installation area along the Egyptian border in the Gaza Strip, as shown on the attached map No. 1; and
- (d) the term "Israelis" shall also include Israeli statutory agencies and corporations registered in Israel.

Article II: Scheduled Withdrawal of Israeli Military Forces

1. Israel shall implement an accelerated and scheduled withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and from the Jericho Area to begin immediately with the signing of this Agreement. Israel shall complete such withdrawal within three weeks from this date'.
2. Subject to the arrangements included in the Protocol concerning Withdrawal of Israeli Military Forces and Security Arrangements attached as Annex 1, the Israeli withdrawal shall include evacuating all military bases and other fixed installations to be handed over to the Palestinian police, to be established pursuant to Article IX below (hereinafter "the Palestinian Police").
3. In order to carry out Israel's responsibility for external security and for internal security and public order of settlements and Israelis, Israel shall, concurrently with the withdrawal, redeploy its remaining military forces to the Israeli settlements and Military Installation Area, in accordance with the provisions of this agreement. Subject to the provisions of this Agreements, this redeployment shall constitute full implementation of Article XIII of the Declaration of Principles with regard to the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area only.
4. For the purpose of this Agreement, "Israeli military forces" may include Israeli police and other Israeli security forces.
5. Israelis, including Israeli military forces, may continue to use roads freely within the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area. Palestinians may use public roads crossing the settlements freely, as provided for in Annex I.
6. The Palestinian Police shall be deployed and shall assume responsibility for public order and internal security of Palestinians in accordance with this Agreement and Annex I.

Article III: Transfer of Authority

1. Israel shall transfer authority as specified in this Agreement from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Palestinian Authority, hereby established, in accordance with Article V of this Agreement, except for the authority that Israel shall continue to exercise as specified in this Agreement.
2. As regards the transfer and assumption of authority in civil spheres, powers and responsibilities shall be transferred and assumed as set out in the Protocol Concerning Civil Affairs attached as Annex II.

3. Arrangements for a smooth and peaceful transfer of the agreed [powers and responsibilities are set out in Annex II.
4. Upon the completion of the Israeli withdrawal and the transfer of powers and responsibilities as detailed in Annex II, the Civil Administration in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area will be dissolved and the Israeli military government will be withdrawn. The withdrawal of the military government shall not prevent it from continuing to exercise the powers and responsibilities specified in this Agreement.
5. A Joint Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee (hereinafter "the CAC") and two Joint Regional Civil Affairs Sub-Committees for the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area respectively shall be established in order to provide for coordination and cooperation in civil affairs between the Palestinian Authority and Israel, as detailed in Annex II.
6. The offices of the Palestinian Authority shall be located in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area pending the inauguration of the Council to be elected pursuant to the Declaration of Principles.

Article IV: Structure and Composition of the Palestinian Authority

1. The Palestinian Authority will consist of one body of 24 members which shall carry out and be responsible for all the legislative and executive powers and responsibilities transferred to it under this Agreement, in accordance with this Article, and shall be responsible for the exercise of judicial functions in accordance with Article VI, sub-paragraph 1 b. of this Agreement.
2. The Palestinian Authority shall administer the departments transferred to it and may establish, within its jurisdiction, other departments and subordinate administrative units as necessary for the fulfillment of its responsibilities. It shall determine its own internal procedures.
3. The PLO shall inform the Government of Israel of the names of the members of the Palestinian Authority and any change of members. Changes in the membership of the Palestinian Authority will take effect upon an exchange of letters between the PLO and the Government of Israel.
4. Each member of the Palestinian Authority shall enter into office upon undertaking to act in accordance with this Agreement.

Article V: Jurisdiction

1. The authority of the Palestinian Authority encompasses all matters that fall within its territorial, functional and personal jurisdiction, as follows:
 - (a) The territorial jurisdiction covers the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area territory, as defined in Article I, except for settlements and the military installation area.
 - (b) Territorial jurisdiction shall include land, subsoil and territorial waters, in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.
 - (c) The functional jurisdiction encompasses all powers and responsibilities as specified in this Agreement. This jurisdiction does not include foreign relations, internal security and public order of settlements and the Military Installation Area and Israelis, and external security.
 - (d) The personal jurisdiction extends to all persons within the territorial jurisdiction referred to above, except for Israelis, unless otherwise provided in this Agreement.
2. The Palestinian Authority has, within its authority, legislative, executive and judicial powers and responsibilities, as provided for in this agreement.
3. a) Israel has authority over the settlements, the military installation area, Israelis, external security, internal security and public order of settlements, the military installation area and Israelis, and those agreed powers and responsibilities specified in this Agreement.
b) Israel shall exercise its authority through its military government, which, for that end, shall continue to have the necessary legislative, judicial and executive powers and responsibilities, in accordance with international law. This provision shall not derogate from Israel's applicable legislation over Israelis *in personam*.
4. The exercise of authority with regard to the electromagnetic sphere and airspace shall be in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.
5. The provisions of this Article are subject to the specific legal arrangements detailed in the Protocol Concerning Legal Matters attached as Annex III. Israel and the Palestinian Authority may negotiate further legal arrangements.

6. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall cooperate on matters of legal assistance in criminal and civil matters through the Legal Sub-committee of the CAC.

Article VI: Powers and Responsibilities of the Palestinian Authority

1. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement, the Palestinian Authority, within its jurisdiction:
 - (a) has legislative powers as set out in Article VII of this Agreement, as well as executive powers;
 - (b) will administer justice through an independent judiciary;
 - (c) will have, *inter alia*, power to formulate policies, supervise their implementation, employ staff, establish department, authorities and institutions, sue and be sued and conclude contracts; and
 - (d) will have, *inter alia*, the power to keep and administer registers and records of the population, and issue certificates, licenses and documents.
2. (a) In accordance with the Declaration of Principles, the Palestinian Authority will not have powers and responsibilities in the sphere of foreign relations, which sphere includes the establishment abroad of embassies, consulates or other types of foreign missions and posts or permitting their establishment in the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area, the appointment of or admission of diplomatic and consular staff, and the exercise of diplomatic functions.
- (b) Notwithstanding the provisions of this paragraph, the PLO may conduct negotiations and sign agreements with states of international organizations for the benefit of the Palestinian Authority in the following cases only:
 - (1) economic agreements, as specifically provided in Annex IV of this Agreement;
 - (2) agreements with donor countries for the purpose of implementing arrangements for the provision of assistance to the Palestinian Authority;
 - (3) agreements for the purpose of implementing the regional development plans detailed in Annex IV of the Declaration of Principles or in agreements entered into in the framework of the multilateral negotiations; and
 - (4) cultural, scientific and educational agreements.
- (c) Dealings between the Palestinian Authority and representatives of foreign states and international organizations, as well as the establishment in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area of representative offices other than those described in subparagraph 2.a. above, for the purpose of implementing the agreements referred to in subparagraph 2.b. above, shall not be considered foreign relations.

Article VII: Legislative Powers of the Palestinian Authority

1. The Palestinian Authority will have the power, within its jurisdiction, to promulgate legislation, including basic laws, laws, regulations and other legislative acts.
2. Legislation promulgated by the Palestinian Authority shall be consistent with the provisions of this Agreement.
3. Legislation promulgated by the Palestinian Authority shall be communicated to a legislation sub-committee to be established by the CAC (hereinafter 'the Legislation Sub-Committee'). During a period of 30 days from the communication of the legislation, Israel may request that the Legislation Sub-Committee decide whether such legislation exceeds the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority or is otherwise inconsistent with the provisions of this Agreement.
4. Upon receipt of the Israeli request, the Legislation Sub-committee shall decide, as an initial matter, on the entry into force of the legislation pending its decision on the merits of the matter.
5. If the Legislation Sub-committee is unable to reach a decision with regard to the entry into force of the legislation within 15 days, this issue will be referred to a board of review. This board of review shall be comprised of two judges, retired judges or senior jurists (hereinafter "Judges"), one from each side, to be appointed from a compiled list of three Judges proposed by each. In order to expedite the proceedings before this board of review, the two most senior Judges, one from each side, shall develop written informal rules of procedure.
6. Legislation referred to the board of review shall enter into force only if the board of review decides that it does not deal with a security issue which falls under Israel's responsibility, that it does not seriously threaten other significant Israeli interests protected by this Agreement, and that the entry into force of the legislation could not cause irreparable damage or harm.

7. The Legislation Sub-committee shall attempt to reach a decision on the merits of the matter within 30 days from the date of the Israeli request. If this Sub-committee is unable to reach such a decision within this period of 30 days, the matter shall be referred to the joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee referred to in Article XV below (hereinafter "the Liaison Committee"). This Liaison Committee will deal with the matter immediately and will attempt to settle it within 30 days.
8. Where the legislation has not entered into force pursuant to paragraphs 5 or 7 above, this situation shall be maintained pending the decision of the Liaison Committee on the merits of the matter, unless it has decided otherwise.
9. Laws and military orders in effect in the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area prior to the signing of this Agreement shall remain in force, unless amended or abrogated in accordance with this Agreement.

Article VIII: Arrangements for Security and Public Order

1. In order to guarantee public order and internal security for the Palestinians of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, the Palestinian Authority shall establish a strong police force as set out in Article IX below. Israel shall continue to carry the responsibility for defense against external threats, including the responsibility for protecting the Egyptian border and the Jordanian line, and for defense against external threats from the sea and from the air, as well as the responsibility for overall security of Israelis and settlements, for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order, and will have all the powers to take the steps necessary to meet this responsibility.
2. Agreed security arrangements and coordination mechanisms are specified in Annex I.
3. A joint Coordination and Cooperation Committee for Mutual Security Purposes (hereinafter "the JSC"), as well as three joint District Coordination and Cooperation Offices for the Gaza district, the Khan Yunis district, and the Jericho district respectively (hereinafter "the DCOs") are hereby established as provided for in Annex I.
4. The security arrangements provided for in this Agreement and in Annex I may be reviewed at the request of either Party and may be amended by mutual agreement of the Parties. Specific review arrangements are included in Annex I.

Article IX: The Palestinian Directorate of Police Force

1. The Palestinian Authority shall establish a strong police force, the Palestinian Directorate of Police Force (hereinafter "the Palestinian Police"). The duties, functions, structure, deployment and composition of the Palestinian Police, together with provisions regarding its equipment and operation, are set out in Annex 1, Article III. Rules of conduct governing the activities of the Palestinian Police are set out in Annex 1, Article VIII.
2. Except for the Palestinian police referred to in this Article and the Israeli military forces, no other armed forces shall be established or operate in the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area.
3. Except for the arms, ammunition and equipment of the Palestinian police described in Annex I, Article III, and those of the Israeli military forces, no organisation or individual in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall manufacture, sell, acquire, possess, import or otherwise introduce into the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area any firearms, ammunition, weapons, explosives, gunpowder or any related equipment, unless otherwise provided for in this Agreement.

Article X: Passages

Arrangements for coordination between Israel and the Palestinian Authority regarding the Gaza-Egypt and Jericho-Jordan passages, as well as any other agreed international crossings, are set out in Annex I, Art.X.

Article XI: Safe Passage between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area

Arrangements for safe passage of persons and transportation between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area are set out in Annex I, Article IX.

Article XII: Relation Between Israel and the Palestinian Authority

1. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall seek to foster mutual understanding and tolerance and shall accordingly abstain from incitement, including hostile propaganda against each other and,

without derogating from the principle of freedom of expression, shall take legal measures to prevent such incitement by any organizations, groups or individuals within their jurisdiction.

2. Without derogating from other provisions of this Agreement, Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall cooperate in combatting criminal activity which may affect both sides, including offenses related to trafficking in illegal drugs and psychotropic substances, smuggling, and offenses against property, including offenses related to vehicles.

Article XIII: Economic Relations

The economic relations between the two sides are set out in the Protocol on Economic Relations signed in Paris on April 29, 1994 and the Appendices hereto, certified copies of which are attached as Annex IV, and will be governed by the relevant provisions of this Agreement and its Annexes.

Article XIV: Human Rights and the Rule of Law

Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall exercise their powers and responsibilities, pursuant to this Agreement, with due regard to internationally accepted norms and principles of human rights and the rule of law.

Article XV: The Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee

1. The Liaison Committee established pursuant to Article X of the Declaration of Principles shall ensure the smooth implementation of this Agreement. It shall deal with issues requiring coordination, other issues of common interest and disputes.
2. The Liaison Committee shall be composed of an equal number of members from each Party. It may add other techniques and experts as necessary.
3. The Liaison Committee shall adopt its rules of procedure, including the frequency and place or places of its meetings.
4. The Liaison Committee shall reach its decisions by agreement.

Article XVI: Liaison and Cooperation with Jordan and Egypt

1. Pursuant to Article XII of the Declaration of Principles, the two Parties shall invite the governments of Jordan and Egypt to participate in establishing further liaison and cooperation arrangements between the government of Israel and the Palestinian representatives on the one hand, and the governments of Jordan and Egypt on the other hand, to promote cooperation between them. These arrangements shall include the constitution of a Continuing Committee.
2. The Continuing Committee shall decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder.
3. The Continuing Committee shall deal with other matters of common concern.

Article XVII: Settlement of Differences and Disputes

Any difference relating to the application of this Agreement shall be referred to the appropriate coordination and cooperation mechanism established under this Agreement. The provisions of Article XV of the Declaration of Principles shall apply to any such difference which is not settled through the appropriate coordination and liaison mechanism, namely:

1. Disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of this Agreement or any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period shall be settled by negotiations through the Liaison Committee.
2. Disputes which cannot be settled by negotiations may be settled by a mechanism of conciliation to be agreed between the Parties.
3. The Parties may agree to submit to arbitration disputes relating to the interim period, which cannot be settled through conciliation. To this end, upon the agreement of both Parties, the Parties will establish an Arbitration Committee.

Article XVIII: Prevention of Hostile Acts

Both sides shall take all measures necessary in order to prevent acts of terrorism, crime and hostilities directed against each other, against individuals falling under the other's authority and against their property, and shall take legal measures against offenders. In addition, the Palestinian side shall take all

measures necessary to prevent such hostile acts directed against the settlement, the infrastructure serving them and the military installation area, and the Israeli side shall take all measures necessary to prevent such hostile acts emanating from the settlements and directed against Palestinians.

Article XIX: Missing Persons

The Palestinian Authority shall cooperate with Israel by providing all necessary assistance in the conduct of searches by Israel within the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area for missing Israelis, as well as by providing information about missing Israelis. Israel shall cooperate with the Palestinian Authority in searching for, and providing necessary information about, missing Palestinians.

Article XX: Confidence Building Measures

With a view to creating a positive and supportive public atmosphere to accompany the implementation of this Agreement, and to establish a solid basis of mutual trust and good faith, both Parties agree to carry out confidence building measures as detailed herewith:

1. Upon the signing of this Agreement, Israel will release, or turn over, to the Palestinian Authority within a period of 5 weeks, about 5,000 Palestinian detainees and prisoners, residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Those released will be free to return to their homes anywhere in the West Bank or the Gaza Strip. Prisoners turned over to the Palestinian Authority shall be obliged to remain in remainder of their sentence.
2. After the signing of this Agreement, the two Parties shall continue to negotiate the release of additional Palestinian prisoners and detainees, building on agreed principles.
3. The implementation of the above measures will be subject to the fulfillment of the procedures determined by Israeli law for the release and transfer of detainees and prisoners.
4. With the assumption of Palestinian authority, the Palestinian side commits itself to solving the problem of those Palestinians who were in contact with the Israeli authorities. Until an agreed solution is found, the Palestinian side undertakes not to prosecute these Palestinians or to harm them in any way.
5. Palestinians from abroad whose entry into the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area is approved pursuant to this Agreement, and to whom the provisions of this Article are applicable, will not be prosecuted for offenses committed prior to September 13, 1993.

Article XXI: Temporary International Presence

1. The Parties agree to a temporary international or foreign presence in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area (hereinafter "the TIP"), in accordance with the provisions of this Article.
2. The TIP shall consist of 400 qualified personnel, including observers, instructors and other experts, from 5 or 6 of the donor countries.
3. The two Parties shall request the donor countries to establish a special fund to provide finance for the TIP.
4. The TIP will function for a period of 6 months. The TIP may extend this period, or change the scope of its operation, with the agreement of the two Parties.
5. The TIP shall be stationed and operate within the following cities and villages: Gaza, Khan Yunis, Rafah, Deir El-Balah, Jabaliya, Abasan, Beit Hanun and Jericho.
6. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall agree on a special Protocol to implement this Article, with the goal of concluding negotiations with the donor countries contributing personnel within two months.

Article XXII: Rights, Liabilities and Obligations

1.
 - (a) The transfer of all powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian Authority, as detailed in Annex II, includes all related rights, liabilities and obligations arising with regard to acts or omissions which occurred prior to the transfer. Israel will cease to bear any financial responsibility regarding such acts or omissions and the Palestinian Authority will bear all financial responsibility for these and for its own functioning.
 - (b) Any financial claim made in this regard against Israel will be referred to the Palestinian Authority.

- (c) Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with the information it has regarding pending and anticipated claims brought before any court or tribunal against Israel in this regard.
 - (d) Where legal proceedings are brought in respect of such a claim, Israel will notify the Palestinian Authority and enable it to participate in defending the claim and raise any arguments on its behalf.
 - (e) In the event that an award is made against Israel by any court or tribunal in respect of such a claim, the Palestinian Authority shall reimburse Israel the full amount of the award.
 - (f) Without prejudice to the above, where a court or tribunal hearing such a claim finds that liability rests solely with an employee or agent who acted beyond the scope of the powers assigned to him or her, unlawfully or with willful malfeasance, the Palestinian Authority shall not bear financial responsibility.
2. The transfer of authority in itself shall not affect rights, liabilities and obligations of any person or legal entity, in existence at the date of signing of this Agreement.

Article XXIII: Final Clauses

- 1. This Agreement shall enter into force on the date of its signing.
- 2. The arrangements establishing by this Agreement shall remain in force until and to the extent superseded by the Interim Agreement referred to in the Declaration of Principles or any other agreement between the Parties.
- 3. The five-year interim period referred to in the Declaration of Principles commences on the date of the signing of this Agreement.
- 4. The Parties agree that, as long as this Agreement is in force, the security fence erected by Israel around the Gaza Strip shall remain in place and that the line demarcated by the fence, as shown on attached map No. 1, shall be authoritative only for the purpose of this Agreement.
- 5. Nothing in this Agreement shall prejudice or preempt the outcome of the negotiations on the Interim Agreement or on permanent status to be conducted pursuant to the Declaration of Principles. Neither Party shall be deemed by virtue of having entered into this Agreement, to have renounced or waived any to its existing rights, claims or positions.
- 6. The two sides view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, the integrity of which will be preserved during the interim period.
- 7. The Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall continue to be an integral part of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and their status shall not be changed for the period of this Agreement. Nothing in this Agreement shall be considered to change this status.
- 8. The Preamble to the Agreement, and all Annexes, Appendices and maps hereto, shall constitute and integral part hereof.

Done in Cairo this forth day of May 1994.

For the Government of the State of Israel:
Yitzhak Rabin

For the PLO
Yasser Arafat

Witnessed by: *The United States of America / The Russian Federation / The Arab Republic of Egypt*

ANNEX I: PROTOCOL CONCERNING WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI
MILITARY FORCES AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

ARTICLE I: Arrangements for Withdrawal of Israeli Military Forces

- 1. Subject to the provisions of this Annex, withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and from the Jericho Area shall begin on the date of the signing of this Agreement and shall be completed within three weeks (21 days) from that date.
- 2. (a) The Joint Security Coordination and Cooperation Committee set up under Article II hereunder shall develop a plan to ensure full coordination between the Israeli military forces and the Palestinian Police during the withdrawal phases and the entry and deployment of the Palestinian Police.

- (b) This coordination will be implemented through the District Coordination Offices set up under Article II hereunder, that shall start functioning on the date of the signing of this Agreement.
- (c) The plan will include arrangements for the entry of the Palestinian Police, the introduction of police arms, ammunition and equipment and related matters, as well as arrangements intended to facilitate a smooth transfer of responsibility, including the transfer of civil authority, so that no vacuum in authority exists.

ARTICLE II: Coordination and Cooperation In Security Matters

1. Joint Security Coordination and Cooperation Committee:

- a. A joint Security Coordination and Cooperation Committee for Mutual Security Purposes (hereinafter "the JSC") is hereby established.
- b. The JSC shall:
 - (1) recommend security policy guidelines for the approval of the Joint Israeli- Palestinian Liaison Committee and implement such approved guidelines;
 - (2) deal with security issues raised by either side;
 - (3) provide the proper channel for exchanging information between the two sides, needed to solve security problems; and
 - (4) provide directives for the District Coordination Offices.
- c. The JSC shall comprise between five and seven members from each side. Decisions of the JSC will be reached by agreement between the two sides.
- d. The JSC shall determine its rules of procedure. Meetings of the JSC shall be held every two weeks. In the event that either side requests a special meeting, it shall be convened within forty-eight (48) hours.
- e. Unless otherwise agreed by the two sides, JSC meetings will be hosted by each of the sides alternately.

2. District Coordination Offices:

- a. Three (3) District Coordination Offices are hereby established, one each for the districts of Gaza, Khan Yunis and Jericho (hereinafter "the DCOs").
- b. The DCOs shall:
 - (1) monitor and manage the matters requiring coordination as determined by the JSC, according to the policy and guidelines established by the JSC;
 - (2) monitor and manage all matters of a joint nature within the specific district of each DCO, including the coordination of activities by one side which may affect the other side;
 - (3) review, investigate and report to the JSC on the overall situation within the DCO's respective district, with special regard to specific events, incidents and activities occurring in the district;
 - (4) direct the Joint Patrols and Joint Mobile Units as defined in this Article, operating within the DCO's respective district; and
 - (5) direct the Liaison Bureau established under Article X below, operating at passages and crossing points as detailed in Article VII and X below, in conjunction with the Joint Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee set up under Annex II to the Agreement (hereinafter the "CAC").
- c. Each DCO will be continuously staffed by a team of up to six officers from each side, comprising one commander and five duty officers.
- d. The DCOs will be operated jointly by both sides, 24 hours a day. At least one duty officer from each side will be present during each eight-hour shift, as well as the necessary number of assistants.
- e. With a view to preventing friction and to enabling the two sides to deal with possible incidents, both sides shall ensure that the relevant DCO shall immediately be notified of any of the following events:
 - (1) routine, scheduled or irregular activity or deployment by the Israeli military forces or the Palestinian Police that directly affect the other side. This includes activity or deployment in the proximity of Settlements or Palestinian villages, as the case may be;
 - (2) events that pose a threat to public order;
 - (3) activities which disturb the regular flow of traffic on the main roads, including roadblocks and road works;

- (4) incidents involving both Israelis and Palestinians, such as road accidents, rescue of casualties or persons in mortal danger, engagement steps or any incident in which a weapon is used;
 - (5) a terrorist action of any kind and from any source;
 - (6) infiltrations across the lines of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area; and
 - (7) all cases in which Israelis are hospitalized in the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area or in which Palestinians of the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area are hospitalized in Israel.
- f. Each DCO shall notify the relevant Israeli and Palestinian headquarters, as well as the Joint Patrols and Joint Mobile Units operating in the relevant district, of the occurrence of any of the events listed in subparagraph e. above.
 - g. The JSC may modify the content of the list of events outlined in subparagraph e. above.
 - h. Any event involving injury to Israelis, at any location within the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area, shall be immediately reported to Israel through the relevant DCO. Israel may employ any means necessary for the evacuation and treatment of such injured persons, and will coordinate such activity through the relevant DCO.
 - i. The DCOs shall be equipped with the necessary means of communication to enable direct and immediate contact both with the Joint Patrols and the Joint Mobile Units, as well as with the respective district headquarters.

3. *Joint Patrols:*

- a. The mission of the Joint Patrols is to ensure free, unimpeded and secure movement along the roads and in the areas described in Articles IV and V of this Annex.
- b. Unless the JSC decides otherwise, the Joint Patrols shall each be composed of two 4-wheel drive vehicles, one Palestinian and one Israeli. The vehicles shall be marked so as to be easily distinguishable from all other vehicles in the area. There will be four persons in each vehicle: an officer, a signal operator, a driver and a guard.
- c. The Joint Patrols will patrol 24 hours a day, in vehicles and on foot, along their routes of activity and on the adjacent sides of the roads upon which the security of traffic along these roads is dependent, or as directed by the DCO.
- d. In roads under Israeli security responsibility, the Israeli vehicle will be the leading vehicle. In roads under Palestinian security responsibility, the Palestinian vehicle will be the leading vehicle. The Joint Patrol will be under the direction of the relevant DCO.
- e. The Joint Patrols shall monitor continuously movement within their area of operation with a view to preventing incidents that may threaten or endanger persons using the roads. They shall report any such incident or threat thereof to the relevant DCO, and to the Israeli and Palestinian district headquarters.
- f. On reaching the scene of an incident, the Joint Patrol will provide as much assistance as possible. Where the incident is dealt with by the authorities functioning in the area, the Joint Patrol shall verify that the appropriate measures have been taken and report to the relevant DCO accordingly.
- g. Immediately upon becoming aware of the occurrence of one of the events listed in subparagraph 2.e above, the Joint Patrols shall report the event to the relevant DCO, as well as to the respective headquarters of the two sides.

4. *Joint Mobile Units*

- a. The mission of the Joint Mobile Units is to provide rapid response in the event of incidents and emergency situations, in order to ensure free, unimpeded and secure movement at the junctions where they are located, as well as along their designated routes of activity.
- b. The composition of the Joint Mobile Units shall be similar to that of the Joint Patrols.
- c. The duties of the Joint Mobile Units are:
 - (1) to monitor movement along designated roads from stationary locations on agreed junctions, from where they may patrol at random on agreed roads as directed by the relevant DCO, in which case their duties shall be the same as those of Joint Patrols; and
 - (2) in the event of an incident involving both Israelis and Palestinians, to reach the site of the incident in order to provide assistance and to investigate.

5. Review of Security Arrangements:

The JSC shall meet six months after the signing of this Agreement, and at six-month intervals thereafter, to review the security arrangements and to recommend changes. Amendments will be adopted by mutual agreement based, among other factors, on the regular reports and recommendations received from the DCOs.

ARTICLE III: The Palestinian Directorate of Police Force

1. General: The Palestinian Directorate of Police Force (hereinafter "the Palestinian Police") shall function in accordance with the following principles:

- a. It will be responsible for public order and internal security within the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority in accordance with Article V of the Agreement.
- b. Movement of Palestinian policemen between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area will be conducted in accordance with Article IX of this Annex.

2. Duties and Functions:

- a. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement, in the areas under Palestinian jurisdiction the duties of the Palestinian Police shall be as follows:
 - (1) performing normal police functions, including maintaining internal security and public order;
 - (2) protecting the public and its property and acting to provide a feeling of security and safety;
 - (3) adopting all measures necessary for preventing crime in accordance with the law; and
 - (4) protecting public installations and places of special importance.

3. Structure and Composition

- a. The Palestinian Police shall consist of one integral unit under the control of the Palestinian Authority. It shall be composed of four branches:
 - (1) Civil Police (Al Shurta);
 - (2) Public Security;
 - (3) Intelligence; and
 - (4) Emergency Services and Rescue (Al Difa'a Al Madani).In each district, all members of the four Police branches shall be subordinate to one central command.
- b. The Palestinian Police will establish a Palestinian Coastal Police unit (hereinafter the "Palestinian Coastal Police") in accordance with Article XI of this Annex.
- c. The Palestinian Police will be comprised of up to 9,000 policemen in all its branches.

4. Recruitment

- a. The Palestinian Police shall consist of policemen recruited locally, and from abroad (from among individuals holding Jordanian passports or Palestinian documents issued by Egypt). The number of Palestinian recruits from abroad shall not exceed 7,000 of whom 1,000 will arrive three months after the signing of the Agreement.
- b. Palestinians recruited from abroad should be trained as policemen. The employment of policemen who have been convicted of serious crimes or have been found to be actively involved in terrorist activities subsequent to their employment will be immediately terminated. The list of Palestinians recruited, whether locally or from abroad, shall be agreed on by both sides.
- c. Palestinian policemen coming from abroad may be accompanied by spouse and children.

5. Arms, Ammunition and Equipment

- a. Uniformed policemen, as well as other policemen on duty who hold special accreditation, may carry arms.
- b. The Palestinian Police will possess the following arms and equipment:
 - (1) 7,000 light personal weapons.
 - (2) Up to 120 machine guns of 0.3" or 0.5" caliber.
 - (3) Up to 45 wheeled armored vehicles of a type to be agreed on between the two sides, and of which 22 will be deployed in protecting Palestinian Authority installations. The use of wheeled armored vehicles in the Security Perimeter, on the Lateral Roads and on their adjacent sides, or in the vicinity of the Settlements shall be approved through the relevant

DCO. Movement of such vehicles along the central North-South road (Road No. 4) in the Gaza Strip may take place only after providing notification to the relevant DCO.

(4) Communication systems, subject to Article II of Annex II of this Agreement.

(5) Distinctive uniforms, identification badges and vehicle markings.

- c. Relevant police equipment and infrastructure funded from the budget of the Civil Administration shall be transferred to the Palestinian Police.

6. Introduction of Arms and Equipment and Foreign Assistance

- a. All foreign contributions and other forms of assistance to the Palestinian Police must comply with the provisions of this Agreement.
- b. The introduction into the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area of arms, ammunition or equipment for the Palestinian Police, from all sources, shall be coordinated through the JSC.

7. *Deployment:* The Palestinian Police shall be initially deployed in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area as shown on attached maps Nos. 4 and 5. Any changes to this deployment will be agreed on in the JSC.

ARTICLE IV: Security Arrangements in the Gaza Strip

1. The Delimiting Line

For the purpose of the present Agreement only, and without prejudice to the final status, the line delimiting the northern and eastern edge of the Gaza Strip follows the fence on the ground, as delineated on attached map No. 1 by an unbroken green line (hereinafter "the Delimiting Line") and shall have no other effect.

2. Security Perimeter

- a. There will be a security perimeter along the Delimiting Line inside the Gaza Strip as delineated on attached map No. 1 by a broken green line (hereinafter "the Security Perimeter").
- b. In accordance with the provisions of this Agreement, the Palestinian Police will be responsible for security in the Security Perimeter.
- c. The Palestinian Police will enforce special security measures aimed at preventing infiltrations across the Delimiting Line or the introduction into the Security Perimeter of any arms, ammunition or related equipment, except for the arms, ammunition or equipment of the Palestinian Police, authorized through the relevant DCO.
- d. Activities of the Palestinian Police inside the Security Perimeter will be coordinated through the relevant DCO. Security activities in Israel in the vicinity of the Delimiting Line that directly affect the other side will be coordinated with the Palestinian Police through the relevant DCO.

3. The Israeli Settlements

- a. In accordance with the Declaration of Principles, during the interim period, the Gush Katif and Erez settlement areas, as well as the other settlements in the Gaza Strip, as delineated on attached map No. 1 by a blue line, will be under Israeli authority.
- b. Palestinians will be free to move along the coast road and along the road from the Netzarim Junction to the seashore.

4. The Yellow Areas

- a. In the areas delineated by a broken red line and shaded in yellow on attached map No. 1 (hereinafter "the Yellow Areas") and without derogating from Palestinian authority, responsibility will be shared as follows: The Israeli authorities will have the overriding responsibility and powers for security, and the Palestinian Authority will have the responsibility and powers for civil affairs, subject to this Agreement. In addition, with regard to the Yellow Areas, cooperation and coordination in security matters, including joint patrols, as agreed, will be implemented.
- b. Entry of Palestinian policemen into the Yellow Areas and their activity therein may take place as agreed upon through the relevant DCO.

5. The Mawasi Area

- a. Two joint patrols will operate in the Mawasi area, the fishermen's wharves of Rafah and Khan Yunis, and along the coast road led by the Israeli vehicle.

- b. Access of Palestinians to the Mawasi Area, as delineated on attached map No. 1, will be by the following roads:
 - (1) Rafah - Tel Sultan - Mawasi;
 - (2) Khan Yunis - El Bahr Village; and
 - (3) Deir El Ballah - along the beach to the Mawasi.
- c. The Mawasi Beach
 - (1) Notwithstanding Israeli authority over the Gush Katif settlement area, the Palestinian Authority may operate sections of the Mawasi beach extending to the east up to the coast road, totalling, together with the Rafah and Khan Yunis wharves, five (5) kilometers.
 - (2) Upon the completion of the withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, Israel will notify the Palestinian Authority of the locations of these sections.
 - (3) These sections may be used for the following purposes: a) sport and recreation, including boat hire facilities; b) operating food establishments; c) enlarging the wharves; and d) expanding the facilities for fishermen, such as offices, warehouses and cold storage facilities.
 - (4) In these sections, the Palestinian Authority, in exercising its civil authority, will be able to grant licenses for businesses, collect fees and taxes, set and enforce public health standards and develop and manage the tourist sector.
 - (5) In each of the fishermen's wharves, the Palestinian Authority may have an office building which shall be protected.
 - (6) There will be not be any construction by Israelis of new sites along the beach.
 - (7) During a period of three months from the signing of this Agreement, Israel may consider, in light of the security situation, the use by the Palestinian Authority of additional beach sections.

6. *The Egyptian Border*

The Military Installation Area along the Egyptian border in the Gaza Strip as delineated on attached map No. 1 by a blue line and shaded in pink, will be under Israeli authority.

The village of Dahaniya will remain part of the Military Installation Area pending a declaration of a general amnesty for the residents of the village, and provision having been made for their protection. Upon realization of the above amnesty and protection, the village of Dahaniya will become part of the Yellow Area.

7. *Lateral Roads to the Settlements*

- a. Without derogating from Palestinian authority and in accordance with the Declaration of Principles:
 - (1) On the three lateral roads connecting the Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip to Israel, namely: the Kissufim-Gush Katif road; the Sufa-Gush Katif road; and the Karni-Netzarim road, as delineated by a light blue line on attached map no. 1, including the adjacent sides upon which the security of traffic along these roads is dependent (hereinafter "the Lateral Roads"), the Israeli authorities will have all necessary responsibilities and powers in order to conduct independent security activity, including Israeli patrols.
 - (2) Joint Israeli-Palestinian patrols will operate along the Lateral Roads. Such joint patrols will be led by the Israeli vehicle.
 - (3) Where the Israeli authorities carry out engagement steps, they will do so with a view to transferring, at the earliest opportunity, the continued handling of the incidents falling within Palestinian responsibility, to the Palestinian Police.
 - (4) Overpasses will be constructed on intersections between the Lateral Roads and the central North-South road (Road No. 4).
 - (5) These arrangements will be reviewed by the JSC one year after the date of the signing of this Agreement.
- b. Where the Lateral Roads overlap the Security Perimeter the two sides, in the exercise of their respective powers and responsibilities, will fully coordinate their activity in order to prevent friction.

8. *The Central North-South Road (Road No. 4):* A joint patrol led by the Palestinian vehicle will be operated along the central North-South road (Road No. 4) in the Gaza Strip between Kfar Darom and Wadi Gaza.

9. *Joint Mobile Units*

- a. Joint Mobile Units will be located at the following junctions:
 - (1) the Nissanit junction;

- (2) the Netzarim junction;
 - (3) the Deir el-Ballah junction; and
 - (4) the Sufa-Morag junction.
- b. At the Netzarim junction, the Israeli side of this Joint Mobile Unit will check Israeli vehicles, which will then be able to continue their journey without interference. This Joint Mobile Unit will also operate as a Joint Patrol between the Netzarim Junction and Wadi Gaza under the direction of the relevant DCO.

10. Coordination and Cooperation in the Gaza Strip: Two DCOs will function in the Gaza Strip as follows:

- a. A DCO for the Gaza district, located at the Erez crossing point with subordinate Joint Liaison Bureaus at the Erez and Nahal Oz crossing points.
- b. A DCO for the Khan Yunis district, located at the Nuriya Camp with subordinate Joint Liaison Bureaus at the Sufa crossing point and at the Rafah terminal.

ARTICLE V: Security Arrangements in the Jericho Area

1. *Clarifications Concerning the Jericho Area:* With regard to the definition of the Jericho Area, as delineated on attached map No. 2, it is hereby clarified that Route No. 90 crossing Auja from South to North and the East-West road connecting Route No. 90 with Yitav, and their adjacent sides, shall remain under Israeli authority. For the purpose of this Article, the width of each such road and its adjacent sides, as shown on attached map No. 2, shall extend at least 12 meters on each side measured from its center.

2. A *Joint patrol* led by the Palestinian vehicle shall operate along the main North-South road crossing Jericho (Route No. 90)

3. Joint Mobile Units

- a. A Joint Mobile Unit shall be located at the Auja junction being the intersection of Route No. 90 and the road to Yitav. This unit shall be led by the Israeli vehicle, and may be directed by the DCO to deal with certain incidents occurring on the road between Auja and Jericho in which Palestinians are involved.
- b. A Joint Mobile Unit shall be located at the Nahal Elisha junction on the road from Jericho to the Mousa Alami project.

4. *Coordination and Cooperation in the Jericho Area:* A DCO located at the Vered Yericho crossing point will function in the Jericho Area and will maintain a subordinate Joint Liaison Bureau in the Allenby Terminal.

- 5. a. Pending the entry into force of the interim agreement, the holy site of Nebi Mousa will be under the auspices of the Palestinian Authority, for religious purposes.
 - b. During religious events that take place three times a year and other special occasions that will be coordinated with the Israeli authorities, Palestinians will have the right to religious pilgrimage to the al-Maghtas under the Palestinian flag.
 - c. Palestinian private projects, as well as joint ventures in accordance with the Declaration of Principles, will be located as agreed on the shore of the Dead Sea.
 - d. Safe passage will be provided from the Jericho Area to Nebi Mousa, al-Maghtas and the projects and ventures as agreed in subparagraph c. above on the shore of the Dead Sea for the aforementioned purposes.
6. Within three months of the signing of this Agreement, Israel may consider, in light of the security situation, the possibility of widening of the Jericho Area.

ARTICLE VI: Security Arrangements Concerning Planning, Building and Zoning

- 1. Notwithstanding the provisions relating to planning, building and zoning set out elsewhere in this Agreement, the provisions of this Article shall apply with respect to the areas specified below.
- 2. These arrangements will be reviewed within a period of six months from the signing of this Agreement and, thereafter, every six months, with a view to modifying them, with due consideration to Palestinian plans for establishing economic projects, and to the security concerns of both sides.

3. The limitations set out below on the construction of buildings and installations in specific areas shall not require the demolition or removal of existing buildings or installations.
4. The existing buildings, installations and natural and artificial culture in the Gaza Strip within a distance of 100 meters from the Delimiting Line shall remain as they are at present.
5. Within the next 500 meters of the Security Perimeter, and within the Yellow Areas, buildings or installations may be constructed, provided that:
 - a. one building or installation may be constructed on each plot, the size of which shall not be less than 25 dunams; and
 - b. such building or installation shall not exceed two floors, of a size not exceeding 180 sq. m per floor. The Palestinian Authority shall maintain the predominantly agricultural character of the remaining areas of the Security Perimeter.
6. Buildings or installations shall not be constructed on either side of the Lateral Roads up to a distance of 75 meters from the center of these Roads.
7. In the Jericho Area, no bridges or other structures will be built above Route No. 90 which may prevent the movement on this road of vehicles with a height of up to 5.25 meters.
8. For the purpose of enforcing this Article, the United States will provide both sides with satellite photographs of the Gaza Strip depicting the buildings, installations and natural and artificial culture existing at the time of the signing of this Agreement.

ARTICLE VII: The Crossing Points

1. General

- a. Israel declares that work to relocate the Erez, Nahal Oz and Sufa crossing points currently within the Gaza Strip, to a location within Israel adjacent to the Delimiting Line, is underway. Israel will attempt to complete this work not later than 12 months from the date of the signing of this Agreement with regard to the Erez crossing point, and not later than 8 months from the date of the signing of this Agreement with regard to the Nahal Oz and Sufa crossing points. Pending the completion of this work, Israel shall retain control over these crossing points and operate them in accordance with the provisions of this Article.
- b. Israelis entering the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall carry Israeli documentation (if they are above the age of 16) and, if driving a vehicle, a driving license and vehicle registration documentation recognized in Israel. Tourists to Israel entering the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall carry their passports and other relevant documentation.
- c. Entry of residents of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area to Israel shall be subject to Israeli laws and procedures regulating entry into Israel, and such residents shall be required to carry the identity card as agreed upon in this Agreement, as well as documentation specified by Israel and notified through the CAC to the Palestinian Authority.
- d. The provisions of this Agreement shall neither prejudice the use of safe passage nor Israel's right, for security and safety considerations, to close the crossing points to Israel and to prohibit or limit the entry into Israel of residents and of vehicles from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.

2. Passage between the Gaza Strip and Israel

- a. Passage between the Gaza Strip and Israel will be via one or more of the following crossing points:
 - (1) the Erez crossing point;
 - (2) the Nahal Oz crossing point; and
 - (3) the Sufa crossing point.
- b. The Palestinian Authority may set up a checkpoint, within the Gaza Strip, on the road leading to the Erez crossing point and on the road leading to the Nahal Oz crossing point, at locations to be coordinated between the two sides, for the purpose of inspection and identification of passengers and vehicles. Israelis and tourists to Israel passing through these checkpoints may be only required to identify themselves by presenting Israeli documentation or a passport, as set out in subparagraph 1.b. above. The above requirements shall not apply to uniformed members of the Israeli military forces.
- c. The Palestinian Authority may set up a checkpoint, within the Gaza Strip, on the road leading to the Sufa crossing point, at a location acceptable to both sides, for the purpose of inspection and identification of Palestinian passengers and vehicles. Israeli vehicles may bypass this checkpoint unimpeded.

- d. Passage of Israelis, and tourists to Israel, between the Gaza Strip and Israel may, in addition, be via the following crossing points:
 - (1) the Karni crossing point;
 - (2) the Kisufim crossing point;
 - (3) the Kerem Shalom crossing point; and
 - (4) the Elei Sinai crossing point.
 - e. Israelis, and tourists to Israel, who have passed through any of the above crossing points into the Gaza Strip shall not be required to undergo any inspection, identification or other requirement in addition to the stated provisions for entry into the Gaza Strip outlined in this Article. Tourists to the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area from countries having diplomatic relations with Israel, who have passed through an international crossing, will not be required to pass any additional entry control before entry to Israel.
 - f. Arrangements for the movement of goods between the Gaza Strip and Israel through the crossing points are set out in Annex IV.
 - g. A Palestinian liaison officer will be present at each of the crossing points on the Lateral Roads.
3. *Passage to and from the Jericho Area*
- a. Passage between the Jericho Area and the rest of the West Bank shall be governed by the same rules regulating the movement of persons and vehicles within the West Bank, and shall not need to be effected through designated crossing points.
 - b. Passage between the Jericho Area and Israel via the West Bank shall be governed by the currently applicable rules regulating the movement of persons and vehicles between the West Bank and Israel.

ARTICLE VIII: Rules of Conduct in Security Matters

1. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement, the security and public order personnel of both sides shall exercise their powers and responsibilities pursuant to this Agreement with due regard to internationally-accepted norms of human rights and the rule of law and shall be guided by the need to protect the public, respect human dignity and avoid harassment.
2. In the Yellow Areas and on the Lateral Roads and their adjacent sides, vehicles bearing Israeli license plates shall not be stopped, obstructed or delayed by the Palestinian Police, and no identification shall be required.
3. On the central North-South road (Road No. 4) in the Gaza Strip between the Netzarim Junction and Kfar Darom, and on the main North-South road crossing the Jericho Area (Route No. 90), vehicles bearing Israeli license plates may be stopped for identification by a Joint Patrol or a Joint Mobile Unit. The Israeli side of such a patrol or unit may carry out identity and vehicle documentation checks.
4. Without prejudice to the provisions of this Article regarding the areas mentioned in paragraphs 2 and 3 above, the following rules of conduct shall apply throughout the rest of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area:
 - a. Vehicles bearing Israeli license plates may be stopped by the Palestinian Police for the purpose of checking the driving license, and passengers' identity documentation (if above the age of 16).
 - b. Israelis shall under no circumstances be apprehended, arrested or placed in custody or prison by Palestinian authorities. However, where an Israeli is suspected of having committed of an offense, he or she may be detained in place by the Palestinian Police while ensuring his or her protection, in accordance with the provisions of Annex III, until the arrival of a Joint Patrol or Joint Mobile Unit, called immediately by the Palestinian Police, or of other Israeli representatives dispatched by the relevant DCO.
5. Pedestrians may be required to produce identity documentation (if above the age of 16). Thereafter, they shall be treated in accordance with the provisions of this Article.
6. Uniformed members of the Israeli military forces, as well as vehicles of the Israeli military forces, shall not be stopped by the Palestinian Police in any circumstances, and shall not be subject to any identification requirements. Without derogating from the above, in the event of suspicion regarding such a person or vehicle, the Palestinian Police may notify the Israeli authorities through the relevant DCO, in order to request appropriate assistance.

7. Notwithstanding the provisions of this Article, persons who are subject to identification pursuant to this Article and who claim to be Israelis but cannot present appropriate identification documentation may be detained in place by the Palestinian Police, in accordance with the provisions of Annex III, until the arrival of a Joint Patrol or Joint Mobile Unit, called by the Palestinian Police, or of other Israeli representatives dispatched by the relevant DCO.
8. a. Each side shall enforce upon civilians subject to its authority a prohibition on possession or carrying weapons without a license.
 - b. The Palestinian Authority may grant licenses to possess or carry pistols for civilian use. The modalities for granting such licenses, as well as categories of persons who may be granted such licenses, will be agreed upon in the JSC.
9. Rules of Engagement:
 - a. For the purpose of this Article, "engagement" shall mean an immediate response to an act or an incident constituting a danger to life or property that is aimed at preventing or terminating such an act or incident, or at apprehending its perpetrators.
 - b. Within the territory under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority, in places where Israeli authorities exercise their security functions in accordance with this Annex, and in their immediate vicinities, the Israeli authorities may carry out engagement steps in cases where an act or an incident requires such action. In such cases, the Israeli authorities will take any measures necessary to bring to an end such an act or incident with a view to transferring, at the earliest opportunity, the continued handling of the incident falling within the Palestinian responsibility to the Palestinian Police. The Palestinian Authority will immediately be notified, through the relevant DCO, of such engagement steps.
 - c. Engagement with the use of firearms shall not be allowed, except as a last resort after all attempts at controlling the act or the incident such as warning the perpetrator or shooting in the air have failed. Use of firearms should be aimed at deterring and not at killing the perpetrator. The use of firearms shall cease once the danger is past.
 - d. Any activity involving the use of firearms other than for immediate operational purposes shall be subject to prior notification to the relevant DCO.
10. If a person is injured or otherwise in need of assistance, such assistance will be provided by the side that first reaches the site. If such a person is under the authority of the other side, the assisting side shall notify the relevant DCO and the appropriate provisions of Article II of this Annex, as well as the provisions of Annex II, Article II, regarding arrangements for treatment and hospitalization, shall be applied.

ARTICLE IX: Arrangements for Safe Passage Between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area

1. General

- a. There shall be safe passage between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area for residents of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area and visitors to these areas from abroad, as detailed in this Article.
- b. Israel will ensure safe passage during daylight hours (from sunrise to sunset) for persons and transportation.
- c. Safe passage will be effected via the following designated crossing points:
 - (1) the Erez crossing point; and
 - (2) the Vered Yericho crossing point.
- d. Israel will make safe passage available through one or more of the routes delineated on attached map no. 3.

2. The usage of safe passage

- a. As detailed below, persons using safe passage shall carry, in addition to the personal and vehicle documentation, the following documents:
 - (1) a safe passage card; and
 - (2) for drivers only: a vehicle safe passage permit.Arrangements for implementation of safe passage, as well as modalities for the issuance by Israel of safe passage cards and vehicle safe passage permits, shall be discussed and agreed in the CAC.

- b. Residents of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area in possession of a permit enabling them to enter Israel will be able to use this permit as a safe passage card.
- c. Safe passage cards and vehicle safe passage permits shall be stamped by the Israeli authorities at the crossing point with the time of departure from the crossing point and the estimated time of arrival.
- d. Residents of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area who are denied entry into Israel may be permitted by Israel to use safe passage in accordance with special arrangements to be made in each individual case through the JSC.
- e. Special arrangements will apply with respect to passage of Palestinian leaders, senior Palestinian Authority officials and distinguished personalities. The CAC will define the scope and nature of these special arrangements, in consultation with the JSC.
- f. The mode of passage of Palestinian policemen on duty, between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, will be coordinated through the JSC.
- g. Any additional matters relating to the usage of safe passage will be coordinated through the JSC.

3. Passage and Mode of Transit

- a. Persons and vehicles in transit under these arrangements shall neither break their journey nor depart from the designated routes, and shall complete the transit within the designated time stamped on their safe passage cards and permits, unless a delay is caused by a medical emergency or a technical breakdown.
- b. Persons using safe passage shall be subject to the laws and regulations applicable in Israel and in the West Bank respectively.
- c. Persons and vehicles using safe passage shall not carry explosives, firearms or other weapons or ammunition, except for special cases that will be agreed to in the JSC.

4. General Provisions Regarding the Routes

- a. The above arrangements shall in no way affect the status of the routes used for safe passage.
- b. Routes used for safe passage shall be closed on Yom Kippur, Israel's Memorial Day and Israel's Independence Day.
- c. Without prejudice to the use of safe passage, Israel may, for security or safety reasons, temporarily modify the arrangements for safe passage. Notice of such temporary modification shall be given to the Palestinian authority through the JSC. At least one route of safe passage shall, however, remain open.
- d. Israel shall notify the Palestinian Authority of incidents involving persons using safe passage.

ARTICLE X: Passages

1. General

- a. While Israel remains responsible during the interim period for external security, including along the Egyptian border and the Jordanian line, border crossing shall take place according to the arrangements included in this Article. These arrangements aim at creating a mechanism that facilitates the entry and exit of people and goods, reflecting the new reality created by the Declaration of Principles, while providing full security for both sides.
- b. The arrangements included in this Article shall apply to the following border crossings:
 - (1) the Allenby Bridge crossing; and
 - (2) the Rafah crossing.
- c. The same arrangements will be applied by the Parties, with the necessary adjustments, to agreed seaports, airports or other international crossings, such as the Abdullah and Damya bridges.
- d. The two sides are determined to do their utmost to maintain the dignity of persons passing through the border crossings. To this end, the mechanism created will rely heavily on brief and modern procedures.
- e. In each border crossing there will be one terminal, consisting of two wings. The first wing will serve Palestinian residents of the Gaza Strip and West Bank and visitors to these areas (hereinafter "the Palestinian Wing"). The second wing will serve Israelis and others (hereinafter "the Israeli Wing"). There will be a closed Israeli checking area and a closed Palestinian checking area, as set out below.

- f. Special arrangements will apply to VIPs crossing through the Palestinian Wing. The liaison bureau to be established pursuant to paragraph 5 below (hereinafter "the Liaison Bureau") will define the scope and the nature of these special arrangements.

2. Control and Management of the Passages

- a. For the purpose of this Article, "passage" is defined to mean the area from the crossing barrier at the Egyptian border or the Allenby Bridge, passing through and including the terminal and:
 - (1) with regard to the Allenby Bridge crossing, from the terminal up to the Jericho Area; and
 - (2) with regard to the Rafah crossing, from the terminal up to the outer limit of the Israel military location along the Egyptian border.
- b. (1) Israel will have the responsibility for security throughout the passage, including for the terminal.
 - (2) An Israeli director-general will have the responsibility for the management and security of the terminal.
 - (3) The director-general will have two deputies who will report to him:
 - (a) an Israeli deputy who will be the manager of the Israeli Wing. Israel will have exclusive responsibility for the management of the Israeli Wing; and
 - (b) a Palestinian deputy, appointed by the Palestinian Authority, who will be the manager of the Palestinian Wing.
 - (4) Each deputy will have an assistant for security and an assistant for administration. The assignments of the Palestinian deputies for security and administration will be agreed upon by the two sides.
 - (5) There will be maximum coordination between the two sides. Both sides will maintain cooperation and coordination on matters of mutual concern.
 - (6) The director-general will continue to use Palestinian contractors to provide bus services and other administrative and logistical services.
 - (7) Palestinian policemen present at the terminal will be armed with handguns. Their deployment will be decided upon by the two sides. Other Palestinian officials present at the terminal will be unarmed.
 - (8) The details of management and security and Liaison Bureau issues will be dealt with by the two sides.
 - (9) The two sides will work together in order to seek ways for additional arrangements in the Rafah terminal.
 - (10) Both sides will review these procedures in a year's time.
- c. Except for the arrangements included in this Article, the current procedures and arrangements applicable outside the terminal shall continue to apply throughout the passage.
- d. (1) Once incoming passengers have crossed the terminal, they will proceed to the Jericho Area or the Gaza Strip, as appropriate, without any interference from Israeli authorities (safe passage).
 - (2) Outgoing passengers may proceed to the terminal without any interference from Israeli authorities after joint verification that such passengers hold the necessary documentation for exiting the area to Jordan or Egypt, as set out in this Agreement.

3. Arrangements for Entry from Egypt and Jordan Through the Palestinian Wing:

- a. At the entrance to the Palestinian Wing there will be a Palestinian policeman and a raised Palestinian flag.
- b. Before entering the Palestinian Wing, passengers will identify their personal luggage and it will be placed on a conveyor belt. Each side will be able to inspect such luggage inside its own checking area, using its own personnel and, if necessary, may open the luggage for inspection in the presence of the owner and a Palestinian policeman.
- c. Persons entering the Palestinian Wing will pass through a magnetic gate. An Israeli policeman and a Palestinian policeman will be posted on each side of this gate. In the event of suspicion, each side will be entitled to require a physical inspection to be conducted in inspection booths to be located adjacent to the gate. Passengers will be inspected by a Palestinian policeman in the presence of an Israeli policeman. Accompanying personal belongings may also be inspected at this point.
- d. Having completed the above phase, persons entering the Palestinian Wing will pass through one of three lanes for the purpose of identification and document control, as follows:

- (1) The first lane will be used by Palestinian residents of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area. These passengers will pass via a Palestinian counter, where their documents and identity will be checked. Their documents will be checked by an Israeli officer who will also check their identity indirectly in an invisible manner.
 - (2) The second lane will serve other Palestinian residents of the West Bank. These passengers will first pass via a Palestinian counter, where their documents and identity will be checked. Then they will continue via an Israeli counter, where their documents and identity will be checked. The two counters will be separated by tinted glass and a revolving door.
 - (3) The third lane will serve visitors to the Gaza Strip and West Bank. An identical procedure as in paragraph 3.d 2) above will apply to such visitors, except that they will first pass via the Israeli counter, and then continue via the Palestinian counter.
- e. In the event of suspicion regarding a passenger in any of the three lanes described in subparagraph d. above, each side may question such passenger in its closed checking area. Suspicion justifying questioning in the closed checking area may be one of the following:
- (1) the passenger was involved, directly or indirectly, in criminal or planned criminal activity, in terrorist or planned terrorist activity and is not a beneficiary of the amnesty provisions of this Agreement.
 - (2) the passenger conceals arms, explosives or related equipment;
 - (3) the passenger holds forged or non-valid documentation or the details included in the documentation are inconsistent with those included in the population registry (in case of a resident) or in the data base (in case of a visitor), except that questions relating to such inconsistency will initially be raised at the counter and the passenger will be questioned in the closed checking area only if the suspicion has not been removed; or
 - (4) the passenger acts in an obviously suspicious behavior during the passage via the terminal. If, at the conclusion of this questioning, the suspicion has not been removed, such passenger may be apprehended, after the other side has been notified. In case of a Palestinian suspect being apprehended by the Israeli side, a Palestinian policeman will be asked to meet with the suspect. Following notification to the Liaison Bureau, any further treatment of the apprehended person will be in accordance with Annex III.
- f. In the Palestinian Wing, each side will have the authority to deny the entry of persons who are not residents of the Gaza Strip and West Bank. For the purpose of this Agreement, "residents of the Gaza Strip and West Bank" means persons who, on the date of entry into force of this Agreement, are registered as residents of these areas in the population registry maintained by the military government of the Gaza Strip and West Bank, as well as persons who have subsequently obtained permanent residency in these areas with the approval of Israel, as set out in this Agreement.
- g. Following the above procedure, the passengers will collect their luggage and proceed to the customs area as described in Annex IV.
- h. The Palestinian side will provide passengers whose entry is approved with an entry permit stamped by the Palestinian side and attached to their documents. At the conclusion of the direct and indirect checking of the documents and identity of passengers passing via the first lane and stamping their entry permits, the Palestinian officer will provide the passenger with a white card issued by the Israeli officer. A Palestinian official posted at the exit of the Palestinian Wing will verify that the passenger holds such a white card and will collect the cards with indirect and invisible Israeli checking. For passengers going through the second and third lanes, the Israeli officer will provide the passengers with a blue card, after checking their documents and identity, and verifying their entry permits. An Israeli and a Palestinian official posted at the exit of the Palestinian Wing will verify and collect the cards. White and blue cards collected will be checked by Israeli and Palestinian officials. In cases where either side denies the entry of a non-resident passenger, that passenger will be escorted out of the terminal and sent back to Jordan or Egypt, as appropriate, after notifying the other side.

4. Arrangements for Exit to Egypt and Jordan Through The Palestinian Wing

Passengers exiting to Egypt or Jordan through the Palestinian Wing will enter the terminal without their luggage. Thereafter, the same procedures described in paragraph 3 above will apply to them, except that the order of passing via the Israeli and Palestinian counters will be reversed.

5. Liaison Bureau

- a. There will be a liaison bureau at each crossing point in order to deal with matters arising regarding passengers passing through the Palestinian Wing, issues requiring coordination, and differences regarding the implementation of these arrangements. Without derogating from Israel's responsibility for security, the bureau will also deal with incidents.
- b. This bureau will be comprised of an equal number of representatives from each side and will be located at a specified location inside each terminal.
- c. This bureau will be subordinate to the relevant subcommittee of the CAC.

6. Miscellaneous

- a. Special arrangements will be agreed upon by the two sides regarding the passage of goods, buses, trucks and privately-owned vehicles. Pending this agreement, the current arrangements will continue to apply.
- b. Israel will attempt to complete the structural alterations on the Rafah and Allenby Bridge terminals not later than the date of the completion of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area. If these structural alterations are not completed by that time, the arrangements described in this Article shall apply, except for those arrangements that cannot be implemented without the structural alterations.
- c. In order to cross through the crossing points into and out of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, residents of these areas will use documents as detailed in Annex II. Pending the entry into force of the Interim Agreement, other West Bank residents will continue to use the existing documents issued by the military government and its Civil Administration.

ARTICLE XI: Security Along the Coastline and in the Sea of Gaza

1. Maritime Activity Zones

- a. Extent of Maritime Activity Zones: The sea off the coast of the Gaza Strip will be divided into three Maritime Activity Zones, K, L, and M as shown on map No. 6 attached to this Agreement, and as detailed below:
 - (1) Zones K and M: a) Zone K extends to 20 nautical miles in the sea from the coast in the northern part of the sea of Gaza and 1.5 nautical miles wide southwards; b) Zone M extends to 20 nautical miles in the sea from the coast, and one (1) nautical mile wide from the Egyptian waters; c) Subject to the provisions of this paragraph, Zones K and M will be closed areas, in which navigation will be restricted to activity of the Israel Navy.
 - (2) Zone L: a) Zone L bounded to the south by Zone M and to the north by Zone K extends 20 nautical miles into the sea from the coast; b) Zone L will be open for fishing, recreation and economic activities, in accordance with the following provisions:
 - i) Fishing boats will not exit Zone L into the open sea and may have engines of up to a limit of 25 HP for outboard motors and up to a maximum speed of 15 knots for in-board motors. The boats will neither carry weapons nor ammunition nor will they fish with the use of explosives.
 - ii) Recreational boats will be permitted to sail up to a distance of 3 nautical miles from the coast unless, in special cases, otherwise agreed within the Maritime Coordination and Cooperation Center as referred to in paragraph 3 below. Recreational boats may have engines up to a limit of 10 horsepower. Marine motor bikes and water jets will neither be introduced into Zone L nor be operated therein.
 - iii) Foreign vessels entering Zone L will not approach closer than 12 nautical miles from the coast except as regards activities covered in paragraph 4 below.
- b. General Rules of the Maritime Activity Zones
 - (1) The aforementioned fishing boats and recreational boats and their skippers sailing in Zone L shall carry licenses issued by the Palestinian Authority, the format and standards of which will be coordinated through the JSC.
 - (2) The boats shall have identification markings determined by the Palestinian Authority. The Israeli authorities will be notified through the JSC of these identification markings.
 - (3) Residents of Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip fishing in Zone L will carry Israeli licenses and vessel permits.

- (4) As part of Israel's responsibilities for safety and security within the three Maritime Activity Zones, Israel Navy vessels may sail throughout these zones, as necessary and without limitations, and may take any measures necessary against vessels suspected of being used for terrorist activities or for smuggling arms, ammunition, drugs, goods, or for any other illegal activity. The Palestinian Police will be notified of such actions, and the ensuing procedures will be coordinated through the Maritime Coordination and Cooperation Center.

2. The Palestinian Coastal Police

- a. The Palestinian Coastal Police may function in Zone L, up to a distance of 6 nautical miles from the coast. In special cases, it may also exercise control over Palestinian fishing boats fishing in Zone L in an additional area of 6 nautical miles, up to the limit of 12 nautical miles from the coastline, after clearance and coordination through the Maritime Coordination and Cooperation Center.
- b. The Palestinian Coastal Police shall have up to 8 boats with a displacement of up to 30 tons. They will sail at a speed of up to 20 knots.
- c. The boats shall carry weapons of up to a 7.62 mm caliber.
- d. Boats of the Palestinian Coastal Police may fly a Palestinian flag, have police identification markings and shall operate identification lights.
- e. The Parties shall cooperate on all sea matters, including mutual help at sea, and pollution and environmental issues.
- f. The boats of the Palestinian Coastal Police will initially use the Gaza Wharf.
- g. Boats belonging to Israelis are solely subject to the control, authority and jurisdiction of Israel and the Israel Navy.

3. Maritime Coordination and Cooperation Center

- a. A Maritime Coordination and Cooperation Center (hereinafter "the MC") shall function as part of the JSC, to coordinate civil maritime activities and coastal police affairs off the coast of the Gaza Strip.
- b. The MC shall function within the relevant DCO, and will determine its own rules of procedure.
- c. The MC shall function 24 hours a day.
- d. The MC shall be staffed by members of the Israel Navy and the Palestinian Coastal Police, each providing a liaison officer and an assistant liaison officer.
- e. A direct radio telephone link (hot line) shall be set up between the Israel Navy vessels and the Palestinian Coastal Police vessels.
- f. The role of the MC is to coordinate:
 - (1) assistance between the Coastal Police and the Israel Navy as may be necessary to deal with incidents arising at sea;
 - (2) Coastal Police training involving the use of firearms;
 - (3) joint activities between the Coastal Police and the Israel Navy when pre-planning is operationally necessary;
 - (4) radio contact between Coastal Police and Israel Navy vessels in the event that "hot line" communication between vessels of the two sides was not established;
 - (5) search and rescue operations; and
 - (6) maritime activities related to an agreed port, when established in the Gaza Strip.

4. Gaza Strip Port

- a. Plans for the establishment of a port in the Gaza Strip in accordance with the Declaration of Principles, its location, and related matters of mutual interest and concern, as well as licenses for vessels and crews sailing on international voyages will be discussed and agreed upon between Israel and the Palestinian Authority taking into consideration the provisions of Article X of this Agreement. To this end a special committee will be established by the two sides.
- b. The Gaza Sea Port Authority referred to in the Declaration of Principles, shall act on behalf of the Palestinian Authority in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.
- c. Pending construction of a port, arrangements for entry and exit of vessels, passengers and goods by sea, as well as licenses for vessels and crews sailing on international voyages in transit to the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, shall be through Israeli ports in accordance with the relevant rules and regulations applicable in Israel and in accordance with the provisions of Annex IV.

ARTICLE XII: Security of the Airspace

1. Operation of aircraft for the use of the Palestinian Authority in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall be initially as follows: a) Two (2) transport helicopters for VIP transportation within and between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area; b) Four (4) up to twenty persons capacity fixed-wing transport aircraft, for transporting persons between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.
2. Changes in the number, type and capacity of aircraft may be discussed and agreed upon in a Joint Aviation Subcommittee (hereinafter "the JAC") to be established within the JSC.
3. The Palestinian Authority may immediately establish and operate in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area provisional airstrips for the helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft referred to in subparagraphs 1.a and 1.b above, in accordance with arrangements and modalities to be discussed and agreed upon in the JAC.
4. All aviation activity or usage of the airspace by any aerial vehicle in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall require prior approval of Israel. It shall be subject to Israeli air traffic control including, *inter alia*, monitoring and regulation of air routes as well as relevant regulations and requirements to be implemented in accordance with the Israel Aeronautical Information Publication, the relevant parts of which will be issued after consultation with the Palestinian Authority.
5. Aircraft taking off from, and landing in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall be registered and licensed in Israel or in other states members of ICAO. Air crews of such aircraft shall be licensed in Israel or in such other states, provided that such licenses have been approved and recommended by the Palestinian Authority and validated by Israel.
6. Aircraft referred to in this Article shall not carry firearms, ammunition, explosives or weapons systems, unless otherwise approved by both sides. Special arrangements for armed guards escorting high-ranking officials, will be agreed upon in the JAC.
7. The location of navigational aids and other aviation equipment will be approved by Israel through the JAC.
8. a. The Palestinian Authority shall ensure that only the aviation activity in accordance with this Agreement will take place in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.
b. Further powers and responsibilities may be transferred to the Palestinian Authority through the JAC.
c. The Palestinian Authority may establish a Palestinian Civil Aviation Department to act on its behalf in accordance with the provisions of this Article and of this Agreement.
9. a. Aviation activity by Israel will continue to be operated above the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, with the same limitations applicable in Israel regarding civil and military flights over densely-populated areas.
b. Israel will notify the Palestinian Authority of emergency rescue operations, searches and investigations of aerial accidents carried out in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area. Searches and investigations of civilian aircraft accidents will be conducted by Israel with the participation of the Palestinian Authority.
10. Commercial, domestic and international air services to, from and between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area may be operated by Palestinian, Israeli or foreign operators approved by both sides, certified and licensed in Israel or in ICAO member states maintaining bilateral aviation relations with Israel. Arrangements for such air services, beginning with a service between Gaza and Cairo using two (2) fixed-wing aircraft with capacity up to fifty passengers each, as well as arrangements regarding the establishment and operation of airports and air terminals in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, will be discussed and agreed upon by the two sides in the JAC. Any such international commercial air services will be carried out in accordance with Israel's bilateral aviation agreements. The implementation phase will be discussed and agreed upon in the JAC.

ANNEX II: PROTOCOL CONCERNING CIVIL AFFAIRS

ARTICLE I: Liaison and Coordination in Civil Matters

A. Joint Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee

1. A Joint Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee (hereinafter "the CAC") is hereby established.

2. The functions of the CAC are to coordinate between the Palestinian Authority on one hand, and Israel and the Civil Administration that shall continue to function in the rest of the West Bank on the other hand, concerning the following day-to-day matters:
 - a. Civil matters, including issues concerning the transfer of powers and responsibilities from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Palestinian Authority.
 - b. Matters arising with regard to roads, power lines and other infrastructure which require coordination according to this Agreement.
 - c. Questions regarding passage to and from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area and safe passage between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, including crossing points and international crossings.
 - d. Day-to-day contacts between the two sides as regards matters such as employment permits, hospitalization, transportation licensing, transfer of information, etc.
 - e. Joint projects, matters of mutual interest and other matters requiring coordination and cooperation.
3. The CAC shall be comprised of an equal number of representatives from Israel and from the Palestinian Authority, and shall convene at least once a month unless otherwise agreed. Each side may initiate the convening of a special meeting on short notice.
4. The CAC shall determine by agreement its mode of procedure.
5. Matters of principle and policy not settled within the CAC shall be passed on to the Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee.

B. Joint Regional Civil Affairs Subcommittees

1. The CAC shall establish two Joint Regional Civil Affairs Subcommittees (hereinafter "the Subcommittees") for the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area respectively.
2. Each Subcommittee shall deal with the day-to-day civil affairs matters as detailed in paragraph A.2 above.
3. The Jericho Area Subcommittee shall also coordinate the relations between the Palestinian Authority and the military government and Civil Administration in the rest of the West Bank.
4. Each Subcommittee may establish ad hoc working groups if and when the need arises.
5. Each Subcommittee shall be comprised of an equal number of representatives from Israel and from the Palestinian Authority and shall convene no less than once every two weeks.

C. General

1. Means of communication shall be set up with a view to ensuring efficient and direct contact 24 hours a day, in order to deal with any urgent matter arising in the civil affairs field.
2. Each side shall inform the other of its representatives to each committee prior to a meeting. Meetings of the CAC and its subcommittees shall be organized and hosted by the two sides alternately unless otherwise agreed.
3. The provisions detailed above shall not impede daily contacts between representatives of Israel and of the Palestinian Authority in all matters of mutual concern.

ARTICLE II: Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities of the Civil Administration

A.

1. The transfer of powers and responsibilities from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Palestinian Authority shall be coordinated through the CAC and implemented in accordance with the following arrangements in a smooth, peaceful and orderly manner.
2. Preparations for the transfer of such powers and responsibilities shall commence immediately upon the signing of this Agreement, and shall be completed within 21 days.
 - (a) The Israeli authorities shall provide all necessary assistance to the Palestinian Authority, including access to offices, registers, records, systems and equipment and all necessary information, data and statistics required for the transfer of powers and responsibilities.
 - (b) Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with all the details as described in subparagraph 38 below.
3. On the date fixed for the transfer of powers and responsibilities, Israel shall transfer from the possession of the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Palestinian Authority offices, budgetary allocations, financial funds and accounts, equipment, registers, files, computer programs and other movable property necessary for its functioning.

B. All powers and responsibilities of the Civil Administration shall be transferred to the Palestinian Authority in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, in accordance with the following provisions:

1. Interior Affairs:

This sphere includes, *inter alia*, municipal affairs, licensing of newspapers and publications, censorship of films and plays and appointment of Mukhtars. In the Gaza Strip, this sphere shall also include fire fighting and Ottoman Societies.

2. Fisheries:

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, licensing of fishermen, marine agriculture and vessels' permits.
- b. Security restrictions are dealt with in Annex I, Article XI.

3. Surveying:

This sphere includes, *inter alia*, licensing of surveyors and performing surveys in areas falling within the Palestinian Authority's jurisdiction.

4. Statistics:

- a. The transfer of powers and responsibilities in this sphere includes *inter alia* transfer of research reports and publications prepared by the Department of Statistics.
- b. The application and validity of censuses which may be conducted by the Palestinian Authority shall be subject to the provisions of subparagraph 27.1 below.
- c. Methods of cooperation regarding the collection of data on the movement of goods, services and labor between Israel and the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area is dealt with in Annex IV.

5. Comptrol

6. Civil Administration Employees:

The Palestinian Authority assures that it shall keep employing the present Palestinian Civil Administration employees in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area and shall maintain their rights.

7. Legal Administration:

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, administration of the Palestinian judiciary system in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, licensing of lawyers, registration of companies and registration of patents and trademarks in these areas.
- b. Legal issues regarding commercial and civil jurisdiction, as well as legal assistance, are dealt with in Annex III.

8. Labor:

- a. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall establish agreed procedures for mutual recognition of professional certificates and diplomas.
- b. Restrictions regarding supervision and licensing of the production and use of explosives and gunpowder shall be in accordance with Annex I, Article VIII, paragraph 8.

9. Education:

Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall ensure that their respective education systems contribute to the peace between Israel and the Palestinian people and peace in the entire region.

10. Social Welfare: This sphere includes, *inter alia*, registration and supervision of charitable societies.

11. Assessments

12. Housing

13. Tourism:

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, the licensing of hotels, souvenir shops and travel agents.
- b. Tourism policy in general, and coordination between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, are dealt with in Annex IV.

14. Parks:

Transfer of powers and responsibilities in this sphere is without prejudice to the provisions applying to religious and archaeological sites.

15. *Religious Affairs:*

- a. The Palestinian Authority shall ensure free access to all holy sites in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area determined by the respective religious sects and shall protect these sites.
- b. The above is without prejudice to the arrangements with regard to archaeological sites as set out in subparagraph 30 below.
- c. Visitors to holy sites shall behave according to accepted rules of behavior in holy sites.
- d. Religious sects shall inform the Palestinian Authority of their respective holy sites in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area. For the purposes of this paragraph, the relevant authority regarding Jewish holy sites shall be the Israeli Government.
- e. A list of the existing Jewish holy sites is attached as Appendix A attached to this Annex.
- f. Israel declares that no property (including lands, buildings and institutions) belonging to the Islamic Waqf in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area was taken by the military government or its Civil Administration, except such property that might have been put to use for public purposes such as schools and public roads.
- g. Pending the entry into force of the Interim Agreement the holy site of Nebi Mousa shall be under the auspices of the Palestinian Authority for religious purposes.
- h. During religious events that take place three times a year and other special occasions that shall be coordinated with the Israeli authorities, Palestinians shall have the right to religious pilgrimage to the al-Maghtas under the Palestinian flag.
- i. Religious affairs in the "Shalom Al Israel" synagogue in Jericho shall be under the auspices of the Israeli authorities.

16. *Employee Pensions:*

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, the pension rights of employees of the Civil Administration as well as employees of other bodies who are entitled to pensions from the Civil Administration in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.
- b. As part of its powers and responsibilities, the Palestinian Authority shall assume the Civil Administration's statutory and contractual obligations to Palestinian employees, regarding pensions and their payment.
- c. In the Gaza Strip, upon the transfer of powers and responsibilities, the Palestinian Authority shall assume prevailing powers and obligations, according to the existing pension system. Israel shall transfer to the Palestinian Authority, or to a Pension and Insurance Fund if established, the net income of the Fund (all payments plus interest after deduction of pension payments and running expenses) as accumulated at the Israel Ministry of Finance.
- d. In the Jericho Area, the Palestinian Authority shall assume responsibility for payment of a budgetary pension.
- e. After the transfer of authorities in this sphere, if Israel is sued by any employee or his/her heirs for any sums due to him/her as a pension, the Palestinian Authority shall reimburse Israel the full amount awarded the employee or his/her heirs by any court or tribunal.
- f. Where legal proceedings are brought in respect of such a claim, Israel will notify the Palestinian Authority and enable it to participate in defending the claim.

17. *Commerce and Industry:*

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, licensing of crafts and industries, supervision of commodities and services and of weights and measures, and the regulation of commerce.
- b. The Palestinian Authority shall make arrangements to ensure safety conditions for the production, use and transportation of fuel and gas.
- c. The production and use of weapons, ammunition or explosives are dealt with in Annex I, Article VIII, paragraph 8.
- d. The economic relations between Israel and the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, and questions relating to imports to and exports from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, are dealt with in Annex IV.
- e. Matters regarding the environment are dealt with in subparagraph 35. Below.

18. *Health:*

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, the health insurance system.
- b. The Palestinian Authority shall apply the present standards of vaccination of Palestinians and shall improve them according to internationally-accepted standards in the field.

- c. The Palestinian Authority shall inform Israel of any Israeli hospitalized in a Palestinian hospital as outlined in Annex I, Article II. Arrangements for moving such hospitalized Israelis shall be agreed upon in the CAC.
- d. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall agree on arrangements regarding treatment and hospitalization of Palestinians in Israeli hospitals.
- e. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall exchange information regarding epidemics and contagious diseases and shall develop methods for exchange of medical files and documents.
- f. Import of pharmaceuticals to the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area through Israeli sea ports and airports shall be in accordance with general arrangements concerning imports, as dealt with in Annex IV.

19. *Transportation:*

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, licensing of public transportation.
- b. In exercising its powers and responsibilities, the Palestinian Authority shall make appropriate arrangements for the continued operation of existing Israeli public transportation lines to the Settlements.
- c. High and appropriate international transportation standards shall be applied in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.
- d. Regulations in the transportation sphere shall continuously adapt to improvements in international standards due to the dynamics of technology and environmental considerations. Due consideration shall be given to compatibility between the standards of the Palestinian Authority and of Israel.
- e. Regulations in the transportation field, including traffic signalization, shall be applied with a view to assuring the safety of all persons, to contributing to economic growth and to protecting the common environment.
- f. Regarding meteorology, there shall be mutual assistance and cooperation between the Israeli and the Palestinian weather forecasting offices.
- g. The issue of establishing transport and communication lines to and from the Jericho Area and the Gaza Strip to Israel and the West Bank is dealt with in Appendix B attached to this Annex.
- h. The arrangements regarding the transfer of authorities concerning maritime activity and aviation are dealt with in Annex I.

20. *Agriculture:*

- a. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall do their utmost to preserve and improve the veterinary standards.
- b. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall take all measures to reach equivalent and compatible standards regarding animal disease control, including mass vaccination of animals and avians, quarantines, "stamping out" measures and residue control standards.
- c. Mutual arrangements shall be made to prevent the introduction and spread of plant pests and diseases, for their eradication, as well as arrangements concerning residue control standards in plant products.
- d. The veterinary and the plant protection authorities of Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall co-ordinate and regularly exchange information regarding animal diseases, as well as plant pests and diseases, and shall establish a mechanism for immediate notification of the outbreak of such diseases.
- e. Economic relations in the agricultural sphere between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, including transfer of agricultural goods, are dealt with in Annex IV.
- f. Experts from both sides shall discuss the details of the arrangements regarding veterinary and plant protection within the CAC.

21. *Employment:*

- a. Procedures for distributing employment permits to work in Israel and in the Settlements shall be agreed upon between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.
- b. Arrangements concerning the rights of employees and workers from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area working in Israel are dealt with in Annex IV.

22. *Land Registration:* All powers and responsibilities regarding land registration will be transferred to the Palestinian Authority, except the Settlements and the Military Installation Area.

23. *Nature Reserves:*

- a. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall safeguard and preserve nature in general and shall protect species of animals, plants and flowers of special breeds.
- b. The Palestinian Authority shall respect the existing status of declared nature reserves and shall safeguard them.

24. *Electricity:*

- a. The Palestinian Authority shall continue, as appropriate, to buy electric power from the Jerusalem Electricity Company for the Jericho area.
- b. Pending the establishment by the Palestinian Authority of an alternative system for the Gaza Strip, it shall temporarily buy electric power from the Israel Electric Company (IEC) and to that end shall enter into a commercial agreement with the IEC. This Agreement shall relate to the settling of debts; to IEC property; and to the maintenance of lines to Palestinian customers.
- c. Without derogating from the powers and responsibilities transferred to the Palestinian Authority above, the Palestinian Authority shall enable the supply of electricity to the Gush Katif settlement area and the Kfar Darom settlement by the IEC, as well as the maintenance by the IEC of the electricity lines to these locations and of the electricity lines crossing the Jericho Area. The means of supplying electricity and the modalities of maintenance of lines to the Gush Katif settlement area and the Kfar Darom settlement shall be arranged by means of a commercial agreement between the Palestinian Authority and the IEC.
- d. Environmental matters relating to electricity shall be governed by the provisions regarding environmental protection as set forth in subparagraph 35. below.

25. *Public Works:*

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, the Housing Department in the Gaza Strip.
- b. In principle, maintenance and repairs of the Lateral Roads leading to the Settlements and the Military Installation Area shall be carried out by the Palestinian Authority.
- c. Where such maintenance and repairs have not been effected by the Palestinian Authority within a reasonable time, the Palestinian Authority shall request, through the CAC, that Israel effect such maintenance and repairs.
- d. The Palestinian Authority shall notify and update Israel through the CAC of any activity which may disturb the regular flow of traffic on roads, including road works, repairs and large-scale construction in close proximity to roads.

26. *Postal Services:*

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, the management of post offices and postal delivery in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.
- b. The Palestinian Authority may issue postage stamps, postal stationery (hereinafter "stamps") and date stamps, subject to the following provisions:
 - (1) Stamps shall include only the term "the Palestinian Authority", the face value and the subject.
 - (2) The face value shall be stated only in the agreed legal currency circulating in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area as detailed in Annex IV.
 - (3) The design, symbols and subjects of stamps, postal stationery and date stamps issued by the Palestinian Authority will be in accordance with the principles outlined in Article XII of the Agreement.
 - (4) The date stamp shall include only the name of the office responsible for the cancelling of the stamp and the date of that operation.
- c. Both sides will coordinate and cooperate in establishing postal rates for international postal services in such a way as to prevent mutual economic harm to each other.
- d. The modalities and arrangements for sending and receiving all postal items, including parcels, between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area and Israel and the West Bank will be arranged by

means of a commercial agreement between the Israel Postal Authority and the Civil Administration respectively on one side, and the Palestinian Authority on the other.

- e. The modalities and arrangements for sending and receiving all postal items, including parcels, between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area and other countries will be arranged by means of a commercial agreement between the Israel Postal Authority and the Palestinian Authority, further modalities will be discussed in the CAC.
- f. The customs principles detailed in Annex IV shall also apply to postal items, including parcels, transmitted to the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.

27. *Population Registry and Documentation:*

- a. The Palestinian Authority shall receive the existing population registry in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, as well as files pertaining to the residents of these areas.
- b. The existing identity card of the present residents of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, as well as of new residents therein, shall be substituted by a new identity card.
- c. Possession of the aforementioned identity card and, whenever necessary, of an Israeli entrance permit, shall be required for entry into Israel by residents of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.
- d. Safe passage between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area of residents of these areas shall require the possession of the aforementioned identity card and any other necessary documents.
- e. In order to ensure efficient passage procedures and to avoid discrepancies, the Palestinian Authority shall update Israel on a regular basis, through the CAC, of every change in its registry, with a view to enabling Israel to maintain an updated and current registry.
- f. Exit abroad through the passages or through Israeli points of exit by residents of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall only be possible by means of an agreed passport/travel document. This title shall be written on the cover in letters of equal size.
- g. (1) Persons from countries not having diplomatic relations with Israel who visit the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area shall be required to obtain a special visitor's permit to be issued by the Palestinian Authority and cleared by Israel. Requests for such permits shall be filed by a relative of the visitor residing in the areas, through the Palestinian Authority, or by the Palestinian Authority itself. (2) Visitors to the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall be permitted to remain in these areas for a period of up to three months granted by the Palestinian Authority and cleared by Israel. The Palestinian Authority may extend this three month period for an additional period of up to four months and shall inform Israel about the extension. Any further extensions require the approval of Israel.
- h. Persons from countries having diplomatic relations with Israel who visit the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall either be required to obtain the aforementioned visitor's permit or to hold a valid passport and an Israeli visa, when required.
- i. Entry into the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area of non-resident Palestinians who are visitors to these areas shall be handled by the Palestinian Authority in accordance with subparagraphs g. and h. above.
- j. The Palestinian Authority shall ensure that visitors referred to above shall not overstay the duration of their entry permit and authorized extensions.
- k. Special VIP certificates may be issued as detailed in Annex I.
- l. The Palestinian Authority may grant permanent residency in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area with the prior approval of Israel.
- m. The format of the aforementioned identity card and passport/travel document as well as arrangements of the implementation of the provisions set forth in this Article are detailed in Appendix C attached to this Annex.

28. *Government and Absentee Land and other Immovables:*

- a. All powers and responsibilities of the Custodian of Absentee Land and Immovables and powers and responsibilities for governmental land and other immovables in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall be transferred to the Palestinian Authority in accordance with the following.
- b. During the interim period, the transfer of powers and responsibilities of the Custodians of Absentee and Government Property in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, other than those re-

lating to movable property, shall not apply to land and other immovables within the Settlements and the Military Installation Area. The issue shall be dealt with within the permanent status negotiations.

- c. The status of land and other immovables which, prior to June 1967 were in the custody of the Jordanian Custodian of Enemy Property in the West Bank or under the management of the Director General appointed in accordance with Order no. 25 of 31.3.50 in the Gaza Strip, shall be dealt with in the permanent status negotiations. Pending those negotiations, the *status quo* of such land and other immovables shall be maintained.

29. Telecommunications:

a. The Electromagnetic Sphere

- (1) The frequencies detailed in the telecommunications technical schedule attached to this Annex as Appendix D are assigned for the use of the Palestinian Authority in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, to satisfy its present needs.
- (2) Conditions for the use of these frequencies as well as details concerning power, timing, direction, antenna radiation pattern and transmission methods, are also formulated in the aforementioned Appendix.
- (3) The frequencies shall serve, *inter alia*, a television network and a radio network.
- (4) The Palestinian Authority shall ensure that only the above frequencies shall be used and that it shall not disturb or interfere with Israel radio communications activity, and Israel shall ensure that there shall be no disturbance or interference with those frequencies.
- (5) The compatibility of the standards of electromagnetic and telecommunications systems and equipment imported or installed for use in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, as well as the standards of operation of such equipment, are as agreed upon and formulated in the attached Appendix D.
- (6) The CAC shall establish, as the need arises, a joint committee of technical experts from both sides to discuss and deal with any issue arising out of this Agreement including the fulfillment of future needs of the Palestinian Authority.

b. Telecommunications

- (1) Pending the establishment by the Palestinian Authority of an alternative telecommunications system in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, the existing system of telephone and other related communication services including international telecommunications in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall continue through "Bezeq - the Israel Telecommunications Corp. Ltd." (Hereinafter "Bezeq") and to that end, the Palestinian Authority shall enter into a commercial agreement with Bezeq.
- (2) Without derogating from the powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian Authority, the Palestinian Authority shall enable the supply of telecommunications services to the Settlements and the Military Installation area by Bezeq, as well as the maintenance by Bezeq of the telecommunications infrastructure serving them or infrastructure crossing the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.

30. Archaeology:

- a. The Palestinian Authority shall protect and guard all archaeological sites in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, respect academic freedom in particular the freedom publishing research work based on excavations and shall take all necessary steps against theft of archaeological artifacts and illegal trade in them.
- b. The CAC shall establish a joint committee of experts from both sides to deal with all archaeological issues of common interest. Actions which may affect the sites detailed in Appendix A shall also be referred to this committee for discussion and recommendation. The Palestinian Authority shall respect such recommendations. Disagreements on this matter within the joint committee of experts shall be referred to the CAC to be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.
- c. Subject to academic considerations, and in accordance with the law, when the Palestinian Authority grants excavation licenses to archaeologists, researchers and academics interested in excavating in the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area, it shall do so without discrimination.

- d. The Palestinian Authority shall ensure free access to archaeological sites.
- e. With due consideration to the Palestinian demand that Israel shall return all archaeological artifacts found in the Gaza Strip and Jericho area since 1967, this issue shall be dealt with in the negotiations on the final status. For this purpose, Israel shall provide a list of archaeological sites for which excavation licenses were granted since 1967, including, where available, a general description of the artifacts found therein, and their location.

31. *Water and Sewage:*

- a. All water and sewage (hereinafter referred to as "water") systems and resources in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall be operated, managed and developed (including drilling) by the Palestinian Authority, in a manner that shall prevent any harm to the water resources.
- b. As an exception to subparagraph a., the existing water systems supplying water to the Settlements and the Military Installation Area, and the water systems and resources inside them continue to be operated and managed by Mekoroth Water Co.
- c. All pumping from water resources in the Settlements and the Military Installation Area, shall be in accordance with existing quantities of drinking water and agricultural water. Without derogating from the powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian Authority, the Palestinian Authority shall not adversely affect these quantities. Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with all data concerning the number of wells in the Settlements and the quantities and quality of the water pumped from each well, on a monthly basis.
- d. Without derogating from the powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian Authority, the Palestinian Authority shall enable the supply of water to the Gush Katif settlement area and the Kfar Darom settlement by Mekoroth, as well as the maintenance by Mekoroth of the water systems supplying these locations and of water lines crossing the Jericho Area.
- e. The Palestinian Authority shall pay Mekoroth for the cost of water supplied from Israel and for the real expenses incurred in supplying water to the Palestinian Authority.
- f. All relations between the Palestinian Authority and Mekoroth shall be dealt with in a commercial agreement.
- g. The Palestinian Authority shall take the necessary measures to ensure the protection of all water systems in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.
- h. Upon the signing of this Agreement, the two Parties shall establish a subcommittee to deal with all issues of mutual interest including the exchange of all data relevant to the management and operation of the water resources and systems and mutual prevention of harm to water resources.
- i. The subcommittee shall agree upon its agenda and upon the procedures and manner of its meetings, and may invite experts or advisers as it sees fit.

32. *Planning and Zoning:*

- a. Authorities, powers and responsibilities in this sphere, except in the Settlements and the Military Installation Area, shall be transferred to the Palestinian Authority subject to the following.
- b. Planning schemes, bylaws and regulations in effect in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area prior to the signing of this Agreement shall remain in force, unless amended or abrogated in accordance with this Agreement.
- c. The Palestinian Authority may amend, abrogate or promulgate planning schemes, and issue licenses and exemptions within its jurisdiction, provided that such acts are consistent with the provisions of this Agreement.
- d. As part of its procedure, the Palestinian Authority shall publish planning schemes in the form of law. The Palestinian Authority shall provide the CAC with a copy of it.
- e. If Israel considers such a plan to be inconsistent with the terms of this Agreement, including Annex I, it may, within thirty (30) days of the receipt by the CAC of such a plan, bring it for consideration by a special subcommittee of the CAC and/or request additional information regarding the plan. The Palestinian Authority shall respect the recommendations of the subcommittee. Pending the completion of such a consideration process, and due settlement of the matter in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement, the planning procedures shall not be finalized.

33. *Direct Taxation:*

This sphere includes, *inter alia*, income tax on individuals and corporations, property taxes, municipal taxes and fees, as formulated in Annex IV.

34. *Indirect Taxation:*

This sphere includes, *inter alia*, VAT, purchase taxes on local production and import taxes, as formulated in Annex IV.

35. *Environmental Protection:*

- a. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall act for the protection of the environment and prevention of environmental risks, hazards and nuisances.
- b. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall respectively adopt, apply and ensure compliance with internationally-recognized standards concerning acceptable levels of land, air, water and sea pollution, and acceptable levels of treatment and disposal of solid and liquid wastes; for the use and handling of hazardous substances, including pesticides, insecticides and herbicides, and standards for the prevention and abatement of noise, odor, pests and other nuisances which may affect each side and the Settlements and the Military Installation Area.
- c. The Palestinian Authority shall take the appropriate measures to prevent the uncontrolled discharge in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area of sewage and effluence to water sources including underground and surface water and rivers, and to promote the proper treatment of sanitary and industrial waste water.
- d. In the event that Israel or the Palestinian Authority considers that there might be a threat to its environment, any relevant information concerning the development activity and its environmental impact shall be provided by the relevant side.
- e. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall respectively operate an emergency warning system in order to respond to events or accidents which may generate environmental pollution, damage or hazards. A mechanism for mutual notification and coordination in cases of such events or accidents shall be established.
- f. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall cooperate in implementing agreed principles and standards concerning the protection of the Mediterranean Sea, the protection of the ozone layer, the control of movement of hazardous wastes and their disposal, the restriction of trade in endangered species of wild fauna and flora, and the conservation of migratory species of wild animals.
- g. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall establish within the CAC an Environmental Experts Committee for the coordination of environmental issues, to be convened when the need arises.

36. *Gas and Petroleum:*

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, distribution, supply, licensing, sales, exploration and production of gas and petroleum in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.
- b. In authorizing the construction or operation of gas and petroleum facilities (including gas and petrol stations), a safety distance from the Settlements and the Military Installation Area shall be observed by the Palestinian Authority.
- c. The color of all gas cylinders in use in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall be different than that in use in Israel.
- d. Israel and the Palestinian Authority agree to cooperate concerning the exploration and production of oil and gas in cases of joint geological structures lying partly in Israel or the West Bank and partly in the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area.
- e. Transfer of gas or fuel products through or to Israel and the West Bank shall be in accordance with Israeli standards concerning safety, security and environmental protection, and in accordance with the arrangements regarding entry into Israel.
- f. Policies of pricing, taxation, import and marketing regarding gas and petroleum are dealt with in Annex IV.

37. *Insurance:*

- a. This sphere includes, *inter alia*, licensing of insurance companies, insurance agents and supervision of their activity.
- b. Arrangements regarding the compulsory insurance of motor vehicles and the compensation of road accident casualties, in view of transportation between the Gaza and the Jericho area, are dealt with in Annex IV.

38. *Treasury:*

- a. In view of the need for a smooth transfer of powers and responsibilities, Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority, through a team of Palestinian auditors, with all the details concern-

ing the Civil Administration budget allocated for the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area and the revenues, expenses and accounts. It shall also provide details regarding the Civil Administration's existing financial system in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area.

- b. (1) Israel shall transfer to the Palestinian Authority all the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area Civil Administration funds and bank accounts as well as movable property. (2) Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with a list of the Civil Administration departments and their immovable offices, storerooms, warehouses, etc. (3) Where such immovables are situated on private property, including property owned by absentees, Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with the contracts between the Civil Administration and the owners of such property.
- c. (1) Israel shall bring to an end all the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area Civil Administration service contracts detailed in Appendix E attached to this Annex. Upon the transfer of powers and responsibilities, Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with copies of confirmations from the contractors declaring that they have no claim or demand concerning these contracts. (2) Civil Administration development contracts, the duration of which extends beyond the transfer of powers and responsibilities, as detailed in Appendix E, shall be transferred to the Palestinian Authority and shall remain in force. (3) Civil Administration contracts concerning leasing or renting Waqf, absentee or private property shall be transferred to the Palestinian Authority and shall remain in force. (4) All contracts entered into by the Custodian of Absentee and Governmental Property for renting and leasing land shall be transferred to the Palestinian Authority, and Israel shall give notice of such to the tenants and lessees. It is understood that following the transfer of such contracts the Palestinian Authority shall have full discretion to take any decision regarding these contracts.
- d. After the transfer of authorities, powers and responsibilities in this sphere, if Israel is sued with regard to the contracts and obligations referred to in subparagraph c. above, the Palestinian Authority shall reimburse Israel for the full amount awarded by any court or tribunal.
- e. Where legal proceedings are brought in respect of such a claim, Israel will notify the Palestinian Authority and enable it to participate in defending the claim.
- f. Upon the transfer of powers and responsibilities, the Palestinian Authority shall be solely responsible for any claim regarding its actions pursuant to the transfer.
- g. Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with copies of the contracts listed in Appendix E in order to enable it to make a decision on new contracts which it may conclude. If such contracts are not written in Arabic, Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with a translation into Arabic.

APPENDIX A: 1. The Naaran Synagogue (Ein Diuk)
 2. The Jewish Cemetery in Tel Sammarat
 3. Shalom Al Israel" Synagogue in Jericho
 4. The Jewish Synagogue in Gaza city

APPENDIX B: To be added in the future.

APPENDIX C: Technical Schedule Regarding Population Registry and Documentation (Note: The following is only part of this Appendix. Other sections of this Appendix shall be added in the future).

1. Passport/travel document format

a. General specifications:

- (1) Languages: Arabic and English.
- (2) External color: green.
- (3) Front cover titles will be Palestinian Authority, Passport/Travel Document (shall be written in letters of equal size)
- (4) Each person, without reference to age, will hold his/her own document.
- (5) The validity of the document shall be up to 3 years.
- (6) The number of pages: not less than 32 pages (to be checked by international standards).
- (7) Perforation of the Passport/Travel Document number shall be in at least half of the pages.

b. Internal page of external cover

- (1) The same title as external.
- (2) Text: in Arabic and English as follows: "This Passport/Travel Document is issued pursuant to the

- (3) Palestinian Self Government Agreement according to the Oslo Agreement signed in Washington on September 13, 1993."
- (4) The rest of the text: as usual.
- (5) Bottom of page: < signature + seal > of the Palestinian Authority.
- c. Page number 1: Number of the Passport/Travel Document.
- d. Page number 2 - the sticker:
 - (1) Same information as today. Format: to be discussed.
 - (2) Each name shall be titled for ease of reading (first name, family name, etc.)
- e. Page number 3: (1) Address of holder.
 - (2) Text: "The bearer of this document ... "
- f. Visa pages: No comments.
- g. Last page (32 or other): The text of para. 1 will be: *"This passport/travel document, as long as it is valid, will enable its bearer on return from abroad, to enter the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area."* (Note: The aforementioned is meant to enable passage through Israeli border control without the need of an entrance visa).

APPENDIX D: Technical Schedule: Telecommunications

Pursuant to the telecommunications principles agreed upon on February 23rd, 1994, the following modalities and technical details have been determined by the two sides:

1. General:

The Palestinian Authority shall use or reassign within its jurisdiction sections of frequencies covering all its required services within the bands L.F., M.F., H.F., V.H.F. and U.H.F. up to 960 MHz, to satisfy its present and future needs, as specified in the principles referred to above. The growing communication needs of the Palestinian Authority in the spheres of administration, police and civilian sectors in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area will be satisfied within a framework of coordination and cooperation. To that end, the Palestinian Authority shall present its requirements through the Joint Subcommittee of Technical Experts. Frequencies or sections of frequencies in the aforementioned bands will be assigned, or an alternative thereto providing the required service within the same band, or the best possible alternative thereto, acceptable by the Palestinian side and agreed upon by Israel in the Joint Subcommittee of Technical Experts.

2. Technical Details of the Initial Requirements

The following is the first batch of initial requirements of immediate concern coinciding with the entry of the Palestinian Police and establishment of the Palestinian Authority. Further details and additional requirements will be presented through the Joint Subcommittee of Technical Experts at a later stage.

- a. Wireless:
 - (1) DCO - will operate frequencies within a 410 to 430 MHz band.
 - (2) PDPF
 - (3) Cellular telephones
- b. Radio and Television
- c. Microwave: Palestinian requirements for microwave communications above the frequency 1 GHz will be satisfied using the same modality and will adhere to the technical parameters outlined in paragraph B.2 of the above principles of February 23rd, 1994.

APPENDIX E: (List of Service and Development Contracts)

ANNEX III: PROTOCOL CONCERNING LEGAL MATTERS

ARTICLE I: Criminal Jurisdiction

- 1. The criminal jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority covers all offenses committed in the areas under its territorial jurisdiction (hereinafter, for the purposes of this Annex, "the Territory") subject to the provisions of this Article.
- 2. Israel has sole criminal jurisdiction over the following offenses:
 - a. offenses committed in the Settlements and the Military Installation Area subject to the provisions of this Annex; and
 - b. offenses committed in the Territory by Israelis.

3. In exercising their criminal jurisdiction, each side shall have the power, *inter alia*, to investigate, arrest, bring to trial and punish offenders.
4. In addition, and without derogating from the territorial jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority, Israel has the power to arrest and to keep in custody individuals suspected of having committed offenses which fall within Israeli criminal jurisdiction as noted in paragraphs 2 and 7 of this Article, who are present in the Territory, in the following cases:
 - a. The individual is an Israeli, in accordance with Article II of this Annex; or
 - b. (1) The individual is a non-Israeli suspected of having just committed an offense in a place where Israeli authorities exercise their security functions in accordance with Annex I, and is arrested in the vicinity in which the offense was committed. The arrest shall be with a view to transferring the suspect, together with all evidence, to the Palestinian Police at the earliest opportunity.
 - (2) In the event that such an individual is suspected of having committed an offense against Israel or Israelis, and there is a need for further legal proceedings with respect to that individual, Israel may retain him or her in custody and the question of the appropriate forum for prosecuting such a suspect shall be dealt with by the Legal Committee on a case-by-case basis.
5. In the case of an offense committed in the Territory by a non-Israeli against Israel or an Israeli, the Palestinian Authority shall take measures to investigate and prosecute the case, and shall report to Israel on the result of the investigation and any legal proceedings.
6. a. Tourists in transit to or from Israel through the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area, who are present on the Lateral Roads or on the main North-South road crossing the Jericho Area (Route No. 90) may be arrested and questioned only by the Israeli authorities which shall notify the Palestinian Authority. Where the Israeli authorities conclude that an offense under the prevailing law has been committed, and that further legal proceedings in respect of the tourist are required, such proceedings shall be taken by the Palestinian Authority.
- b. Where such a tourist present outside these areas is detained or arrested by the Palestinian Authority, it shall notify the Israeli authorities immediately and shall enable them at the earliest opportunity to meet the detainee and to provide any necessary assistance, including consular notification, requested by the detainee.
7. Nothing in this Article shall derogate from Israel's criminal jurisdiction in accordance with its domestic laws over offenses committed outside Israel (including in the Territory) against Israel or an Israeli with due regard to the principle that no person can be tried twice for the same offense. The exercise of such jurisdiction shall be subject to the provisions of this Annex and without prejudice to the criminal jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority.

ARTICLE II: Legal Assistance In Criminal Matters

1. General

- a. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall cooperate and provide each other with legal assistance in criminal matters. Such cooperation shall include the arrangements detailed in this Article.
- b. For the purpose of this Article, "Israeli military forces" may include Israel Police and other Israeli security forces.
- c. Documents served by one Party in the territory under the responsibility of the other, shall be accompanied by a certified translation into the official language of the other Party.

2. Cooperation in Criminal Matters

- a. The Israel Police and the Palestinian Police shall cooperate in the conduct of investigations. Subject to detailed arrangements to be agreed upon, such cooperation shall include the exchange of information, records and fingerprints of criminal suspects, vehicle ownership registration records, etc.
- b. Where an offense is committed in the Territory by an Israeli acting jointly with an individual under Palestinian personal jurisdiction, the Israeli military forces and the Palestinian Police will cooperate in conducting an investigation.
- c. The Palestinian authorities shall not arrest or detain Israelis or place them in custody. Israelis can identify themselves by presenting Israeli documentation. However, where an Israeli commits a crime against a person or property in the Territory the Palestinian Police upon arrival at the scene of the offense shall immediately notify the Israeli authorities through the relevant DCO. Until the arrival of

the Israeli military forces the Palestinian Police may, if necessary, detain the suspect in place while ensuring his protection and the protection of all those involved and shall prevent interference with the scene of the offense, collect the necessary evidence and conduct preliminary questioning.

- d. Without derogating from the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority over property located or transported within the Territory, where the property is being transported or carried by an Israeli, the following procedure shall apply: The Palestinian authorities have the power to take any measures necessary in relation to Israeli vehicles or personal belongings where such vehicle or belongings have been used in commission of a crime and present an immediate danger to public safety or health. When such measures are taken the Palestinian authorities shall immediately notify the Israeli authorities through the relevant DCO, and shall continue to take the necessary measures until their arrival.
3. a. When an Israeli is suspected of committing an offense and is present in the Territory, the Israeli military forces shall be able to arrest, search and detain the suspect as required, in the presence of and with the assistance of the Palestinian Police.
- b. When an Israeli commits an offense and is present in the Yellow Areas or on the Lateral Roads and their adjacent sides as defined in Annex I, the Israeli military forces may, without derogating from the territorial jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority, arrest, search and detain the offender and shall notify the Palestinian Police immediately, provide it with all necessary information, and coordinate wherever possible.
4. When an offense is committed inside a Settlement, and all those involved are Palestinians of the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area or their visitors, the Israeli military forces shall notify the Palestinian Police immediately and shall hand over the offender and the collected evidence to the Palestinian Police unless the offense is security-related.
5. *Restraining Orders*: Each side shall execute orders issued by the competent organ of the other side restraining a person under the jurisdiction of that side from travelling abroad.

6. *Summons and Questioning of Witnesses*

- a. Where the statement of a witness who is an Israeli or other person present in Israel is required for a Palestinian investigation, the statement shall be taken by the Israel Police in the presence of a Palestinian Police officer in an Israeli facility at an agreed location.
- b. Where the statement of a non-Israeli witness present in the Territory is required for an Israeli investigation, the statement shall be taken by the Palestinian Police in the presence of an Israeli police officer in a Palestinian facility at an agreed location.
- c. In exceptional cases, each side may take a statement requested by the other side itself, without the presence of the requesting side.

7. *Transfer of Suspects and Defendants*

- a. Where a non-Israeli suspected of, charged with or convicted of an offense that falls within Palestinian criminal jurisdiction is present in Israel, the Palestinian Authority may request Israel to arrest and transfer the individual to the Palestinian Authority.
- b. Where an individual suspected of, charged with or convicted of an offense that falls within Israeli criminal jurisdiction is present in the Territory, Israel may request the Palestinian Authority to arrest and transfer the individual to Israel.
- c. Requests under subparagraphs a. and b. above shall specify the grounds for the request and shall be supported by an arrest warrant issued by a competent court.
- d. Where the request is for the transfer of a suspect who is not a Palestinian requested by the Palestinian Authority:
 - (1) the arrest warrant shall only be issued pursuant to an application made by or on behalf of the Attorney-General, confirming that there is reasonable evidentiary basis that the offense was committed by the suspect;
 - (2) the offense must be punishable by not less than 7 years imprisonment under the law of the requesting side.
- e. (1) Individuals suspected of offenses punishable by less than 7 years imprisonment shall be interrogated by the investigating side in a facility of the other side or at an agreed location.
- (2) Interrogation shall take place in the presence of a police officer of the other side.

- (3) Upon the request of the investigating side the other side may detain the suspect in custody pending and during the questioning.
 - (4) Where the presence of the suspect is required for an objective reason such as confronting witnesses and identification of site, the suspect shall be transferred for that purpose only.
 - f. (1) Both sides, upon receipt of a request in accordance with this Article, shall effect the arrest and transfer requested.
 - (2) If the individual requested is detained in custody or is serving a prison sentence, the side receiving the request may delay the transfer to the requesting side for the duration of the detention or imprisonment.
 - g. No person shall be transferred in respect of an offense punishable by capital punishment unless the requesting side undertakes that capital punishment shall not be imposed in the case.
 - h. (1) Both sides shall take all necessary measures to ensure that the treatment of individuals transferred under this Article complies with the applicable legal arrangements in Israel and in the Territory and with internationally-accepted norms of human rights regarding criminal investigations.
 - (2) Suspects transferred under this paragraph shall have the right to be assisted during the investigation period by an advocate of their own choice.
 - i. Each side may, upon the request of the other side, detain, for no more than seven days, an individual in respect of whom a request for arrest and transfer is to be made, pending the submission of such a request.
 - j. The transfer of foreigners by Israel to the Palestinian Authority under this Article shall be subject to the applicable conventions to which Israel is a party and in coordination with the foreigner's state of origin.
 - k. Both sides may agree that an individual convicted in the courts of one side shall serve his sentence in a prison of the other side, subject to arrangements and conditions to be agreed between the sides.
8. *Assistance in the Execution of Court Orders for the Purposes of Investigation*
- a. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall execute orders issued by each others' courts for the purposes of investigations (e.g., search warrants, orders for the production of documents and seizure orders), subject to the provisions of local law.
 - b. Where, for the purposes of an investigation, Israel or the Palestinian Authority requires that tests or examinations (such as fingerprinting or blood analysis) be effected in relation to an item situated in territory under the responsibility of the other side, that side shall effect the tests or examinations required and transfer the results to the side conducting the investigation. Where these results are not sufficient for the purposes of the investigation, arrangements shall be made for the transfer of the item to the side conducting the investigation.
9. *Legal Assistance in the Conduct of Judicial Proceedings*
- a. Summons and subpoenas issued by an Israeli court in respect of defendants and witnesses present in the Territory, shall be effected through the Palestinian Authority which shall be responsible for the service of summons, and the execution of subpoenas by the Palestinian Police. Subpoenas issued in respect of an Israeli defendant or witness shall be executed by the Israeli military forces in the presence of and with the assistance of the Palestinian Police.
 - b. Summons or subpoenas issued by a Palestinian court in respect of defendants and witnesses present in Israel shall be effected through the Israel Police who shall be responsible for the service of summons and the execution of subpoenas.
 - c. Where the evidence of an Israeli witness is required in connection with proceedings conducted by a Palestinian court, the evidence of the witness shall be taken at a Palestinian court situated at an agreed location close to one of the crossing points, and the witness shall be accompanied by representatives of the Israeli military forces together with the Palestinian Police.
 - d. Where the evidence of a witness is required in connection with proceedings conducted by a court of one side, such a request will be notified to the authorities of the other side to summon the witness.

ARTICLE III: Civil Jurisdiction

1. The Palestinian courts and judicial authorities have jurisdiction in all civil matters, subject to this Agreement.

2. Israelis conducting commercial activity in the Territory are subject to the prevailing civil law in the Territory relating to that activity. Nevertheless, any enforcement of judicial and administrative judgments and orders issued against Israelis and their property shall be effected by Israel. Israel undertakes to execute such judgments and orders within a reasonable time.
3. The Palestinian courts and judicial authorities have no jurisdiction over civil actions in which an Israeli is a party, except for the following cases:
 - a. the subject matter of the action is an ongoing Israeli business situated in the Territory (the registration of an Israeli company as a foreign company in the Territory being evidence of the fact that it has an ongoing business situated in the Territory);
 - b. the subject matter of the action is real property located in the Territory;
 - c. the Israeli party is a defendant in the action and has consented to such jurisdiction by notice in writing to the Palestinian court or judicial authority;
 - d. the Israeli party is a defendant in an action the subject matter of which is a written agreement, and the Israeli party has consented to such jurisdiction by a specific provision in this agreement;
 - e. the Israeli party is a plaintiff who has filed an action in the Territory. If the defendant in the action is an Israeli, his consent to such jurisdiction in accordance with subparagraphs c. or d. above shall be required; or
 - f. actions concerning other matters as agreed between the Parties.
4. The jurisdiction of the Palestinian courts and judicial authorities does not cover actions against the State of Israel including its statutory entities, organs and agents.

ARTICLE IV: Legal Assistance in Civil Matters

1. *Service of Legal Documents:*

Israel and the Palestinian Authority will be responsible, in the areas under their respective territorial responsibility, for the service of legal documents, including subpoenas, issued by the judicial organs under the responsibility of the other Party.

2. *Interim Orders:*

- a. Interim orders (e.g., temporary orders of attachment, the appointment of a receiver, restraining orders) issued by judicial organs under the responsibility of either Party will not have effect in the areas under the territorial responsibility of the other Party.
- b. Judicial organs under the responsibility of both Parties will be authorized to issue interim orders which shall apply in the areas under their territorial responsibility, even in cases in which the primary action was filed with the judicial organs under the responsibility of the other Party.
- c. The judicial organs of each side may issue orders restraining an individual from travelling abroad when the order relates to a matter being tried by that organ, subject to the relevant provisions of the domestic laws.

3. *Taking of evidence:*

Israel and the Palestinian Authority will make arrangements for taking evidence from witnesses, when necessary, within the areas under their territorial responsibility, when such evidence is sought in connection with proceedings conducted by the judicial organs under the responsibility of the other side.

4. *Enforcement of judgements:*

- a. Israel and the Palestinian Authority will enforce judgements rendered by the judicial organs under the responsibility of the other Party, provided that the judicial organ concerned had the jurisdiction to render the judgement and further provided that the enforcement is not contrary to public policy. The execution office under the responsibility of Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall execute such judgements as if rendered by their own judicial organs.
- b. In executing any judgement against Israelis the Palestinian execution offices will be authorized to issue orders (e.g., attachments, receivership, eviction) against Israeli property within the Territory.
- c. Orders against the freedom of Israelis (e.g., imprisonment orders, restraining orders) shall only be issued by Israeli execution offices.

All orders issued by execution offices against Israelis or Israeli property within the Territory will be executed by the Israel Police with the assistance of the Palestinian Authority, or where the Israel Police notifies the Palestinian Authority that it has no objection, by the Palestinian Police.



GAZA-JERICHO AGREEMENT: EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND CHAIRMAN ARAFAT, 4 MAY 1994

A. LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN ARAFAT TO PRIME MINISTER RABIN

Mr. Prime Minister,

With regard to the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, signed in Cairo on May 4, 1994 (hereinafter "the Agreement"), the PLO hereby confirms the following:

1. The PLO undertakes to ensure that the Palestinian Authority, including the Palestinian Police and other Palestinian Authority agencies, will function in accordance with the Agreement, and that the Palestinian Authority will activate the coordination and cooperation mechanism in a timely manner.
2. The PLO undertakes to cooperate with Israel, and to assist it, in its efforts to locate and to return to Israel Israeli soldiers who are missing in action and the bodies of killed soldiers which have not been recovered.
3. The PLO undertakes to submit to the next meeting of the Palestinian National Council for formal approval the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant, as undertaken in the letter dated September 9, 1993 signed by the Chairman of the PLO and addressed to the Prime Minister of Israel.
4. When Chairman Arafat enters the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, he will use the title "Chairman (Ra'ees in Arabic) of the Palestinian Authority" or "Chairman of the PLO", and will not use the title "President of Palestine."
5. Neither side shall initiate or take any step that will change the status of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area pending the outcome of the permanent status negotiations.
6. Pursuant to Article IV, para. 3, of the Agreement, the PLO shall inform the Government of Israel of the names of the members of the Palestinian Authority in a letter that shall be provided within a week of signing the Agreement. The appointment of these members to the Palestinian Authority shall take effect upon an exchange of letters between the PLO and the Government of Israel. Changes in the membership of the Palestinian Authority will take effect upon an exchange of letters between the PLO and the Government of Israel.
7. Immediately after the conclusion of the Agreement, early empowerment negotiations will commence pursuant to Article VI of the Declaration of Principles, and the two sides will explore possible expansion of the scope of these negotiations beyond the five spheres.
8. The two sides will intensify the negotiations on the interim arrangements consistent with the Declaration of Principles and guided by its target date.
9. The two sides reiterate their commitment to commence permanent status negotiations as soon as possible, but no later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period, as provided for in Article V of the Declaration of Principles.
10. As regards the relations between Israel and the PLO, and without derogating from the commitments contained in the letters dated September 9, 1993 signed by and exchanged between the Prime Minister of Israel and the Chairman of the PLO, the two sides will apply between them the provisions contained in Article XII, paragraph 1, with the necessary changes.
11. The two Parties shall, within one month of signing the Agreement, invite the Governments of Jordan and Egypt to establish the Continuing Committee referred to in Article XII of the Declaration of Principles and in Article XVI of the Agreement.
12. The Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall pass all necessary legislation to implement the Agreement.

13. The two Parties shall continue discussions on the following issues:

- a. size of the Jericho Area;
- b. positioning of a Palestinian official at the bridge;
- c. additional arrangement in the Rafah passage;
- d. all outstanding issues specified in the Agreement

Sincerely,

Yasser Arafat, Chairman, The Palestinian Liberation Organization

B. LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER RABIN TO CHAIRMAN ARAFAT

Mr. Chairman,

The Government of the State of Israel has the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of today's date which reads as follows:

[...Citation of the above letter follows...]

The Government of the State of Israel acknowledges and confirms the undertakings and commitments contained in this letter.

Sincerely,

Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister of Israel



PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY, POLITICAL PROGRAMME, 28 MAY 1994

Nature, Definition, Mandate and Methodology of the Authority

The authority was established through a decision from the PLO - the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people - as an extenuation of the PLO. The authority will gain its legitimacy from the PLO, which will remain its political and legislative reference. The Palestinian authority is a temporary interim authority implementing its tasks until general democratic elections in the Palestinian land takes place. It is in charge of executing the interim programmes during the interim phase in order to achieve a national programme for connecting the interim period to the final solution.

The authority will temporarily exercise its executive and legislative mandate until the general elections. The Palestinian authority will form its internal system, which will define the methodology of implementing its programmes and tasks. The authority is commissioned to perform its tasks according to clear grounds and measures of national commitment and efficiency. This will be through its specialised institutions, systems, and framework, which the authority will establish by incorporating Palestinian capabilities wherever they exist.

Interim Authority Work Programme - Tasks and Mechanisms

1. Implementation and execution of authority in the Palestinian lands, starting with Gaza and Jericho, through its endorsed responsibilities and mandate and through a Palestinian definition of its legitimacy and obligations.
2. Ensuing all that is related to the authority's responsibilities which are issues postponed for subsequent negotiations, finalising them, and regaining the rest of the Occupied Territories.
3. Striving to achieve final release and return of all prisoners and expellees.
4. Composing and executing plans and special programmes for training... the prisoners, struggling cadres, and martyrs' families in addition to sanctioning a comprehensive national plan for the youth.
5. Comprising a special programme for the return of the expellees.
6. Preparing for legislative and municipal elections and ensuring their free nature and legitimacy.

7. Planning and formulating an active local governmental structure which includes a new framework for local, municipal, and village councils.
8. Following up on implementing the economic agreements and other agreements with the Arab states, especially Jordan, Egypt and Tunisia, with whom agreements have been signed.
9. Drafting... Laws, and decrees especially for the National Authority's institutions. These will regulate various aspects of life which will enhance the concepts and principles of democracy and elections. They will maintain the preservation of citizens' rights, general freedoms, independence of the judiciary system, separation of powers, achievement of male/female equality, and equality of opportunity and merit which will consolidate a foundation of free-market economics and guarantee the private sector a primary role.
10. Coordination with international institutions and donor countries in developmental programmes, in accordance with international procedures vis-à-vis the Authority's mandate.
11. The Authority is committed to follow up on all previous agreements concerning the authority and ensuring their implementation through laws and regulations in accordance with the public good.
12. Reorganisation of political life by licensing political parties and movements, and protection of political freedoms including the freedom of opinion and membership in political parties.
13. Reconstruction of the judiciary system, which will achieve judicial independence in order to function on a foundation of justice and guarantee the supremacy of law in all aspects of life.
14. Preparation of modern, efficient monetary system distinguished by its transparency, auditing, accountability, which will secure the usage of public money, and its administration.
15. Complementing and structuring primary institutions such as a treasury, development bank, employees bureau, accounting bureau, administrative monitor, economic council, and statistics bureau.
16. Accelerating implementation of developmental programmes by giving priority to infra-structural projects, creating job opportunities, and providing basic services in order to facilities an active incentive for the production sector.
17. Implementing an emergent developmental programme and drafting all capabilities and merits of the Palestinian people in this field. In addition to concentrating on the Gaza strip in implementing this emergency plan and giving priority to solving its problems and economic deficiencies.
18. Continuing guidance and organisation of the executive authority and its administration through the demarcation of its mandate and defining it in order to make it an incentive element for development and construction.
19. Reorganisation of the service sectors including development, elevation of its human resources, and promotion of educational levels and skills for the work force.
20. Supporting and energising the Palestinian community's institutions including the cultural and artistic institutions, and the protection ... of the Palestinian heritage and its identity.
21. Providing support and aid to lift the capabilities of the national security forces in order for it to protect the security of the citizens, their property, and individual freedom. In addition to maintaining stability and social security and preservation and implementation of the law while protecting its supremacy.
22. Sustaining the capabilities and incentives to ensure women's active participation in the economic, social and political fields, in addition to the preparation of training programmes and development of women's merit.
23. Forming the adequate mechanisms for implementing the cultural and economic agreements in addition to the artistic cooperation... with neighbouring, friendly states and international organisations.



**JOINT ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN STATEMENT ON THE PEACE PROCESS,
PARIS, 7 JULY 1994**

[Chairman Arafat, PM Rabin and FM Peres were in Paris to receive the 1994 UNESCO Peace Prize (named after late Ivory Coast Pres. Felix Houphouet Boigny). At the sidelines they held discussions on the next phases of the peace process and issued the following joint statement.]

On the occasion of their visit to Paris, during which Chairman Arafat, Prime Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Peres were awarded the Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize, Israeli and Palestinian delegations met and agreed on the following:

1. The Israeli and Palestinian delegations express their satisfaction with the ongoing implementation of the first stage of the DOP.
2. The two delegations agree that negotiations concerning the second stage of the DOP will commence in Cairo next week, on Monday, July 11.
3. This next stage will be carried out through the convening of two joint working groups.
4. The first working group shall deal with all outstanding issues in the Cairo Agreement of May 4, 1994 (such as the negotiations concerning the release of additional prisoners pursuant to Article XX of the Cairo Agreement, and the temporary international presence pursuant to Article XXI of the agreement).
5. The second working group shall deal with early empowerment in the rest of the West Bank, related financial matters and elections.
6. The two delegations have agreed to contact the governments of Egypt and Jordan regarding their participation at a high level in the continuing committee to be established pursuant to Article XVI of the Cairo Agreement.
7. The Palestinian delegation has asked that Israel consider the release of imprisoned women and special cases. The Israeli delegation has responded that it shall consider this request seriously.
8. The Chairman of the PLO has stated that he intends to convene the PNC in Gaza in the very near future in order to, *inter alia*, submit for formal approval the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant as undertaken in his letter dated May 4, 1994 addressed to the Prime Minister of Israel.



G7 SUMMIT, CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT, NAPLES, 10 JULY 1994 [EXCERPTS]

[...] 4. We have welcomed the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles and the signing of the Gaza-Jericho agreement as a first step in its implementation. We recognize the need to speed up the delivery of assistance and create the circumstances for a real improvement of living conditions. Progress on the other bilateral tracks and in the multilateral negotiations is now essential in order to achieve a lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israel' dispute and a wider process of peace and cooperation in the whole Middle East/Mediterranean region. We call upon the League of Arab States to end their boycott of Israel. We support the efforts of reconstruction of a prosperous and independent Lebanon. [...]



EUROPEAN UNION, COUNCIL REGULATION NO. 1734/94 ON FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, 11 JULY 1994

The Council of the European Union,

Having regard to the Treaty establishing the European Community, and in particular Article 130w thereof,

Having regard to the proposal from the Commission,

Acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 189c of the Treaty,

Whereas, having regard to the greater requirements that will be generated in the territories of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip, hereinafter referred to as the 'Occupied Territories', as a result of recent developments in the Middle East peace process, new measures in the form of economic and social cooperation should be implemented in the said Territories in order to foster sustainable economic and social development, taking account of the experience acquired by the Community as a major provider of aid to the Palestinian people;

Whereas to this end there should be a five-year programme (1994 to 1998); whereas this programme should be implemented with financing from the Community budget in the form of grants;

Whereas it is necessary to lay down the detailed arrangements and rules for administering the operations financed from the budget,

Has Adopted This Regulation:

Article 1: The Community shall implement financial and technical cooperation with the Occupied Territories under a five-year programme (1994 to 1998) with the aim of aiding their sustainable economic and social development.

Article 2:

1. The priority areas for projects and measures implemented under the programme referred to in Article 1 shall be: infrastructure, production, urban and rural development, education, health, the environment, services, foreign trade, the setting-up and improvement of institutions necessary for the proper working of the public administration and the advancement of democracy and human rights.
2. Community aid may be given for investment projects, feasibility studies, technical assistance and training.
3. Community financing for projects and operations covered by this Regulation shall be in the form of grants.
4. In order to ensure consistency of cooperation and to improve complementarity between operation, Member States, the Commission and the European Investment Bank, hereafter referred to as the “Bank” shall exchange any relevant information on financing that they envisage granting. Possibilities for co-financing shall be sought when information is exchanged.
5. Member States, the Commission and the Bank shall also communicate, within the framework of the Committee referred to in Article 5, information in their possession on other bilateral and multilateral aid for the Occupied Territories.
6. At least once a year, the Commission and the Bank shall send the Member States the information collected from the administration of the Occupied Territories concerning the sectors and projects already known which could be supported under this Regulation.

Article 3: The aid referred to in this Regulation may be combined with the Bank financing from own resources and may be used for co-financing with Member States, non-member countries in the region, multilateral bodies or the Occupied Territories themselves. Wherever possible, the Community nature of the aid shall be preserved.

Article 4:

1. Financing decisions on projects and operations under this Regulation shall be adopted in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 5.
2. Financing decisions on overall allocations for technical cooperation, training and trade promotion shall be adopted in accordance with the procedures laid down in Article 5. The Commission shall keep the Committee referred to in Article 5 regularly informed of the use made of these overall allocations.
3. Decisions amending decisions adopted in accordance with the procedure provided for in Article 5 shall be taken by the Commission where they do not entail any substantial amendments or additional commitments in excess of 20% of the original commitment.

Article 5:

1. The Commission shall be assisted by the MED Committee set up pursuant to Article 6 of Council Regulation (EEC) No 1762/92 of 29 June 1992 on the implementation of the Protocols on financial and technical cooperation concluded by the Community with Mediterranean non-member countries.
2. The representative of the Commission shall submit to the Committee a draft of the measures to be taken. The Committee shall deliver its opinion on the draft within a time limit which the chairman may lay down according to the urgency of the matter. The opinion shall be delivered by the majority laid down in Article 148 (2) of the Treaty in the case of the decisions which the Council is required to adopt on a proposal from the Commission. The votes of the representatives of the Member States within the Committee shall be weighted in the manner set out in that Article. The chairman shall not vote.
3. (a) The Commission shall adopt the measures envisaged if they are in accordance with the opinion of the Committee;
(b) if the measures envisaged are not in accordance with the opinion of the Committee, or if no opinion is delivered, the Commission shall, without delay, submit to the Council a proposal relating to the measures to be taken. The Council shall act by a qualified majority. If within

three months from the date on which the matter was referred to the Council, the Council has not acted, the proposed measures shall be adopted by the Commission.

Article 6:

1. The Commission shall take stock of the implementation of cooperation pursuant to this Regulation and report to the European Parliament and the Council once a year.
2. The Commission shall evaluate the main projects completed in order to establish whether the objectives fixed during the appraisal of these projects have been achieved and to establish guidelines of making future aid more effective. These evaluation reports shall be sent to the Member States and to the European Parliament.

Article 7: This Regulation shall enter into force on the third day following its publication in the *Official Journal of the European Communities*.

This Regulation shall be binding in its entirety and directly applicable in all Member States.

Done at Brussels, 11 July 1994.

For the Council: The President, Th. WAIGEL



EUROPEAN UNION, COUNCIL REGULATION NO. 1735/94 ON FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AMENDING REGULATION (EEC) NO 1763/92 CONCERNING FINANCIAL COOPERATION IN RESPECT OF ALL MEDITERRANEAN NON-MEMBER COUNTRIES, 11 JULY 1994

The Council of the European Union,

Having regard to the Treaty establishing the European Community, and in particular Article 130w thereof,

Having regard to the proposal from the Commission,

Acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 189c of the Treaty.

Whereas Regulation (EC) No 1734/94 established a programme of financial and technical cooperation with the territories of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip, hereinafter referred to as ‘the Occupied Territories’;

Whereas, with a view to promoting the economic and social development of the Occupied Territories on a sustainable basis and in view of the considerable requirements likely to be generated by recent developments in the Middle East peace process, this programme should be supplemented by additional measures, namely those provided for in Council Regulation (EEC) No 1763/92 of 29 June 1992 concerning financial cooperation in respect of all Mediterranean non-member countries;

Whereas the application of Regulation (EEC) No 1763/92 should be extended to cover the Occupied Territories,

Has Adopted This Regulation:

Article 1: The following sentence is added to Article 1 (2) of Regulation (EEC) No 1763/92:

‘It shall also apply to the territories of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip, referred to as the “Occupied Territories”.’

Article 2: The Regulation shall enter into force on the third day following its publication in the *Official Journal of the European Communities*.

This Regulation shall be binding in its entirety and directly applicable in all Member States.

Done at Brussels, 11 July 1994.

For the Council: The President, Th. WAIGEL



**JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ, 27TH ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING,
BANGKOK, 22-23 JULY 1994 [EXCERPTS]**

1. The Twenty-Seventh ASEAN Ministerial Meeting was held in Bangkok from 22 to 23 July 1994. [...]

INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL ISSUES

[...]

11. The Foreign Ministers welcomed the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements of 13 September 1993 and the Cairo Agreement of 4 May 1994 between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO). They urged Israel and the other parties directly involved in the Middle East question to intensify their engagement in the peace process to achieve an expeditious, just and peaceful settlement. [...]



**KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, ADDRESS TO A JOINT SESSION OF THE US CONGRESS,
WASHINGTON, DC, 26 JULY 1994 [EXCERPTS]**

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, honored guests, members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen,

It is an honor for me to stand before you, the representatives of the great American nation, on this historic occasion. We have now become partners in shaping the future of all our peoples. We seek for them a future of peace, stability and security, the prospects for which are growing before our eyes. It is a heartwarming sight for those of us who have continuously pursued this goal throughout our lives.

We in Jordan have always sought a bold peace. We have been conscious of our responsibilities towards the coming generations to ensure that they will have the certainty of leading a dignified and fulfilled life. We have sought a peace that can harness the creative energies to allow them to realize their true potential and build their future with confidence, devoid of fear and uncertainty. None of this can be achieved without establishing a direct dialogue at the highest level of leadership.

This meeting in Washington, at the invitation of President Clinton, represents the beginning of a new phase in our common journey towards peace between Jordan and Israel. It is a milestone on the road toward comprehensive peace in our region. This meeting was preceded by a trilateral Jordanian-American-Israeli meeting at which my brother, Crown Prince Hassan, represented myself and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres represented Israel.

The trilateral working group was established under an agreement completed at the meeting hosted by President Clinton at the White House in October 1993.

Following my recent visit to the United States, in light of the status of negotiations, I decided to share with my people the realities affecting our search for peace. In a meeting with members of our parliament, I addressed the entire Jordanian nation. I have been rewarded by their approval and support. Their expression of confidence has always been the foremost consideration in my life. All of Jordan is here with me today. We also remember today the three generations of gallant Jordanians and so many others who sacrificed themselves for the cause of Palestine. Every household in Jordan has sent a son to answer the Arab call. Many have not returned. Their sacrifice has made it possible for me to be here today.

My family has also paid a heavy price. My great grandfather, the leader of the great Arab revolt for freedom, independence and unity, lies buried next to the blessed Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. I was by the side of my grandfather, King Abdallah, at the doors of Al Aqsa Mosque when he was martyred. He was a man of peace who gave his life for this ideal. I have pledged my life to fulfilling his dream. He, too, is here today.

Mr. Speaker, at our meeting today I hope you will find a clear message to the American nation and to the world. We are, together, committed to work tirelessly, to banish forever the abnormal conditions which

have dominated our people's lives. We want normality and humanity to become the prevailing order. Although we have labored for so long under conditions of hostility, I am certain that we can see these conditions for what they are: emblems of an unnatural and sinister state. We have all known the portents of the state - the fear of death, the silence of isolation - and we have all felt the fear that has mesmerized us, preventing us from moving forward to create together a bright future for the coming generations. What we are witnessing today, God willing, is a progression from a state of war to a state of peace.

These unique circumstances allow us to take bold steps. Our meeting now represents a revolt against all that is unnatural. It is unnatural not to have direct and open meetings between our respective officials and their leaders in order to grapple with all aspects of the conflict and, God willing, to resolve them. It is unnatural not to wish to bridge this gulf across which we have all paid a shattering toll in blood and tears, the waste of our youth, and the grief of our forefathers. We have suffered this loss together, and it will leave its impact on all of us far into the future.

The two Semitic people, the Arabs and the Jews, have endured bitter trials and tribulations during the journey of history. Let us resolve to end this suffering forever and to fulfill our responsibilities as leaders of our peoples and our duty as human beings towards mankind. I come before you today fully conscious of the need to secure a peace for all the children of Abraham. Our land is the birthplace of the divine faiths and the cradle of the heavenly messages to all humanity.

I also come before you today as a soldier who seeks to bear arms solely in the defense of his homeland, a man who understands the fears of his neighbors and who wishes only to live in peace with them, a man who wishes to secure democracy, political pluralism and human rights for his nation.

I come before you today encouraged in the knowledge that the prime minister of Israel and his government have responded to the call for peace. They have recognized the Palestinian people and their rights and are negotiating with their chosen leadership in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. For our part, we will never forget Palestine, not for a moment. We in Jordan were the first to shoulder our responsibility, and we were the most adversely affected by the legacy of the Palestinian tragedy. And still our people in Jordan remain one united family irrespective of their origins, sharing equally, free to choose our political future and destiny.

My religious faith demands that sovereignty over the holy places in Jerusalem reside with God, and God alone. Dialogue between the faiths should be strengthened. Religious sovereignty should be accorded to all believers of the three Abrahamic faiths in accordance with their religions, and this way Jerusalem will become the symbol of peace and its embodiment as it must be for both Palestinians and Israelis when their negotiations determine the final status of Arab East Jerusalem.

I come before you today fully confident that progress will be made on the Syrian-Israeli and Lebanese-Israeli tracks of the peace process and towards achievement of comprehensive peace.



**EARLY EMPOWERMENT AGREEMENT: PREPARATORY TRANSFER
OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES SIGNED BETWEEN THE PNA AND ISRAEL,
GAZA, 29 AUGUST 1994 [EXCERPTS]**

The Government of the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (hereinafter 'the PLO'), the representative of the Palestinian people;

PREAMBLE

Within the framework of the Middle East peace process initiated at Madrid in October 1991;

Reaffirming their determination to live in peaceful coexistence, mutual dignity and security, while recognizing their mutual legitimate and political rights;

Reaffirming their desire to achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement through the agreed political process;

Reaffirming their adherence to the mutual recognition and commitments expressed in the letters dated 9 September 1993, signed by and exchanged between the Prime Minister of Israel and the Chairman of the PLO;

Reaffirming their understanding that the interim self-government arrangements, including the preparatory arrangements to apply in the West Bank contained in this Agreement, are an integral part of the whole peace process and that the negotiations on the permanent status will lead to the implementation of Security Council Security resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973);

Following the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area as signed at Cairo on 4 May 1994 (hereinafter 'the Gaza-Jericho Agreement');

Desirous of putting into effect into effect the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements as signed at Washington, DC, on 13 September 1993 (hereinafter 'the Declaration of Principles'), and in particular Article VI regarding preparatory transfer of powers and responsibilities and the Agreed Minutes thereto;

Hereby agree to the following arrangements regarding the preparatory transfer of powers and responsibilities in the West Bank:

Article I: Definitions

For the purposes of this Agreement, unless otherwise indicated in the attached Protocols:

- a. the term 'the Palestinian Authority' means the Palestinian Authority established in accordance with the Gaza-Jericho Agreement;
- b. the terms 'Joint Liaison Committee' means the Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee established pursuant to Article X of the Declaration of Principles;
- c. the term 'Interim Agreement' means the Interim Agreement referred to in Article VII of the Declaration of Principles; and
- d. the term 'Israelis' also includes Israeli agencies and corporations registered in Israel.

Article II: Preparatory Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities

1. Israel shall transfer and the Palestinian Authority shall assume powers and responsibilities from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration in the West Bank in the following Spheres: education and culture, health, social welfare, tourism, direct taxation and Value Added Tax on local production (hereinafter 'VAT'), as specified in this Agreement (hereinafter 'the Spheres').
2. For the purposes of this Agreement, the Palestinian Authority shall constitute the authorized Palestinians referred to in Article VI of the Declaration of Principles.
3. The Parties will explore the possible expansion of the transfer of powers and responsibilities to additional Spheres.

Article III: Scope of the Transferred Powers and Responsibilities

1. The scope of the powers and responsibilities transferred in each Sphere, as well as specific arrangements regarding the exercise of such powers and responsibilities, are set out in the Protocols attached as Annexes I through VI.
2. In accordance with the Declaration of Principles, the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority with regard to the powers and responsibilities transferred by this Agreement will not apply to Jerusalem, settlements, military locations and, unless otherwise provided for in this Agreement, Israelis.
3. The transfer of powers and responsibilities under this Agreement does not include powers and responsibilities in the Sphere of foreign relations, except as indicated in Article VI(2)(b) of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement.

Article IV: Modalities on Transfer

1. The transfer of powers and responsibilities in the Sphere of education and culture pursuant to this Agreement will be implemented on 29 August 1994. The transfer of powers and responsibilities in the remaining Spheres will be implemented in accordance with Article XI below.

2. The transfer of powers and responsibilities shall be coordinated through the Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee referred to in Article X below and shall be implemented in accordance with the arrangements set out in this Agreement in a smooth, peaceful and orderly manner.
3. Upon the signing of this Agreement, the Israeli side shall provide the Palestinian side with, or enable free access to, all information that is necessary for an effective and smooth transfer.
4. On the date of the transfer of powers and responsibilities, Israel shall also transfer all movable and immovable property which exclusively serves the Offices of the Civil Administration in the Spheres, including premises, whether government-owned or rented, equipment, registers, files and computer programs. The treatment of property which serves the offices transferred to the Palestinian Authority as well as offices which are not so transferred will be as mutually agreed between the two sides, such as on the basis of sharing or exchange.
5. The coordination of the transfer of powers and responsibilities pursuant to this Article shall also include a joint review of the Civil Administration contracts the duration of which extend beyond the date of the transfer with a view to deciding which contracts will remain in force and which will be terminated.

Article V: Administration of the Transferred Offices

1. The Palestinian Authority shall be full responsible for the proper functioning of the offices included in the Spheres and for the management of their personnel in all aspects, including employment and placement of employees, payment of their salaries and pensions and ensuring other employee rights.
2. The Palestinian Authority will continue to employ Palestinian Civil Administration employees currently employed in the offices included in each Sphere and shall maintain their rights.
3. The main office of each of the Spheres will be situated in the Jericho Area or in the Gaza Strip. The Palestinian Authority will operate the existing subordinate offices in the West Bank. The two side may agree on the establishment of additional subordinate offices in the West Bank, if necessary, in such locations as mutually agreed.
4. The Palestinian Authority has the right to coordinate its activities in each of the Spheres with other Spheres in which it is empowered.

Article VI: Relations Between the Two Sides

1. With regard to each Sphere, the Palestinian Authority shall coordinate with the Civil Administration on issues relating to other Spheres in which the Palestinian Authority is not empowered.
2. The military government and its Civil Administration shall assist and support the Palestinian Authority in promoting the effective exercise of its powers and responsibilities. In addition, the military government and its Civil Administration shall, in exercising their own powers and responsibilities, take into account the interests of the Palestinian Authority and do their utmost to remove obstacles to the effective exercise of powers and responsibilities by the Palestinian Authority.
3. The Palestinian Authority shall prevent any activities with a military orientation within each of the Spheres and will do its maintain decorum and discipline and to avoid disruption in the institutions under its responsibility.
4. The Palestinian Authority will notify the military government and its Civil Administration and will coordinate with them regarding any planned public large-scale events and mass gathering within the Spheres.
5. Nothing in this Agreement shall affect the continued authority of the military government and its Civil Administration to exercise their powers and responsibilities with regard to security and public order, as well as with regard to other Sphere not transferred.

Article VII: Legislative Powers of the Palestinian Authority

1. The Palestinian Authority may promulgate secondary legislation regarding the powers and responsibilities transferred to it. Such legislation includes amendments and charges to the existing laws, regulations and military orders specified in Appendix A to each Annex.
2. Legislation promulgated by the Palestinian Authority shall be consistent with the provisions of this Agreement.

3. Legislation promulgated by the Palestinian Authority shall be communicated to Israel which may, within a period of thirty (30) days, notify the Palestinian Authority that it opposes such legislation for any of the following reasons:
 - (1) it exceeds the powers and responsibilities transferred to the Palestinian Authority;
 - (2) it is inconsistent with the provisions of this Agreement; or
 - (3) it otherwise affects legislation or powers and responsibilities which were not transferred to the Palestinian Authority.
4. Where Israel opposes proposed legislation, it shall specify the reason for the opposition.
5. If Israel has no reservations concerning the proposed legislation, it shall accordingly notify the Palestinian Authority at the earliest opportunity. If at the end of the thirty-day period Israel has not communicated any opposition concerning the proposed legislation, such legislation shall enter into force.
6. The Palestinian Authority may, in the event of opposition to the proposed draft legislation, submit a new draft or request a review by the Legislation Subcommittee established under the Gaza-Jericho Agreement.
7. The Legislation Subcommittee shall attempt to reach a decision on the merits of the matter within thirty days. If the Legislation Subcommittee is unable to reach a decision within this period, the Palestinian Authority shall be entitled to refer the matter to the Joint Liaison Committee. The Joint Liaison Committee shall consider the matter immediately and will attempt to settle it within thirty days.
8. Where, upon communicating to Israel proposed legislation consisting of detailed technical regulations, the Palestinian Authority states that such regulations fulfill the requirements of paragraph 3 above and requests a speedy review, Israel shall immediately respond to such a request.
9. Legislation regarding the West Bank shall be published as a separate part of the any publication of legislation regarding the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area issued by the Palestinian Authority.

Article VIII: Law Enforcement

1. The Palestinian Authority may bring disciplinary proceedings concerning persons it employs in the West Bank before disciplinary tribunals operating in the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area.
2. The Palestinian Authority may, within each of the Sphere, authorize employees to act as civilian inspectors to monitor compliance with laws and regulations in that Sphere, within the powers and responsibilities transferred to the Palestinian Authority. Such inspectors shall operate in each Sphere separately and shall not be organized into a central unit. These inspectors shall not wear uniforms or carry arms, and shall not in any other way have the nature of a police force. They shall be required to carry the identification documentation referred to in paragraph 3 below. The number of employees to be authorized as civilian inspectors shall be agreed upon both sides. The names of these employees shall be notified to Israel and, where these employees enjoy privileges pursuant to subparagraph 3 below, shall be agreed upon by both sides.
3. The Palestinian Authority shall issue the civilian inspectors in the West Bank with identification documentation specifying the office in which they are employed. Such documentation shall be used for identification and will not grant privileges, except those agreed in the CAC, or immunities. The CAC shall determine the format of the identification documentation.
4. Except as specifically provided in this Agreement, all powers and responsibilities regarding law enforcement, including investigation, judicial proceedings and imprisonment, will continue to be under the responsibilities of the existing authorities in the West Bank.

Article IX: Rights, Liabilities and Obligations

1.
 - a. The transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian Authority under this Agreement will include all related rights, liabilities and obligations arising with regard to acts or omissions which occurred prior to the transfer. Israel and the Civil Administration will cease to bear any financial responsibility regarding such acts or omissions and the Palestinian Authority will bear all financial responsibility for these and for its own functioning.
 - b. Any financial claim made in this regard against Israel or the Civil Administration will be referred to the Palestinian Authority.

- c. Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with the information it has regarding pending and anticipated claims brought before any court or tribunal against Israel or the Civil Administration in this regard.
 - d. Where legal proceedings are brought in respect of such a claim, Israel will notify the Palestinian Authority and enable it to participate in defending the claim and raise any arguments on its behalf.
 - e. In the event that an award is made against Israel or the Civil Administration by any court or tribunal in respect of such a claim, the Palestinian Authority shall, once the award has been paid by Israel, reimburse Israel the full amount of the award.
 - f. Without prejudice to the above, where a court or tribunal hearing such a claim finds that liability rests solely with an employee or agent who acted beyond the scope of the powers assigned to him or her, unlawfully or with willful malfeasance, the Palestinian Authority shall not bear financial responsibility.
 - g. Notwithstanding subparagraphs 1.a through 1.f above, Israel may, pursuant to agreement within the Legal Subcommittee of the CAC established under the Gaza-Jericho Agreement, request an Israeli court or tribunal to dismiss a claim brought before it and, with regard to a pending claim, dismiss the claim and transfer the proceedings to a local court or tribunal.
 - h. Where a claim has been transferred or where a new claim has been brought in a local court or tribunal subsequent to the dismissal of the claim pursuant to subparagraph 1.g above, the Palestinian Authority shall defend it and, in accordance with subparagraph 1.a above, in the event that an award is made for the plaintiff, shall pay the amount of the award.
 - i. The Legal Subcommittee referred to in subparagraph 1.g above shall agree on arrangements for the transfer of proceedings from Israeli courts or tribunals pursuant to subparagraph 1.g above and, where necessary, for the provision of legal assistance by Israel to the Palestinian Authority in defending claims.
2. In accordance with paragraph 1 above:
 - a. The Palestinian Authority may bring legal proceedings in respect of any acts or omissions relating to powers and responsibilities transferred under this Agreement which occurred prior to the date of the transfer. Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with the legal assistance necessary to bring such proceedings.
 - b. The Palestinian Authority may collect any taxes due under Annexes V and VI on the date of the transfer of powers and responsibilities in respect of these taxes, and shall assume responsibility for the payment of any rebates or refunds.
 3. Subject to the provisions of this Article, the transfer of powers and responsibilities in itself shall not affect rights, liabilities and obligations of any person or legal entity in existence at the date of signing of this Agreement.

Article X: Liaison and Coordination

1. The Joint Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee established in accordance with the Gaza-Jericho Agreement (hereinafter "the CAC"), will deal with all issues of mutual concern regarding this Agreement.
2. The operation of the CAC shall not impede daily contacts between representatives of the Civil Administration and the Palestinian Authority in all matters of mutual concern.

Article XI: Budgetary Issues

1. The military government and its Civil Administration shall provide the Palestinian Authority with full information concerning the budget of each Sphere.
2. The Palestinian Authority shall immediately employ personnel who will promptly begin the process of becoming acquainted with the current budget issues. On the date of the transfer of powers and responsibilities in each of the Spheres, these personnel will assume responsibility for all accounts, assets and records on behalf of the Palestinian Authority.
3. Israel shall continue to provide the services of Israeli experts currently employed in the fields of income tax and VAT to ensure a smooth transition and efficient establishment of the taxation system of the Palestinian Authority. The terms of their employment shall be agreed upon by the two sides.
4. The Palestinian Authority will do its utmost to establish its revenue collection system immediately with the intent of collecting direct taxes and VAT.
5. The two sides will jointly approach the donor countries during the upcoming meetings of the Consultative Group and of the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee, scheduled for 8 to 10 September 1994 in Paris, with

a request to finance the shortfall that may be created in the collection of the direct taxes and the VAT during the initial period while the Palestinian Authority establishes its own revenue collection system.

6. The two sides will meet no later than three days after the conclusion of these meetings in order to decide on the date of transfer of powers and responsibilities in the remaining Spheres, based, among other things, on the response of the donor countries to the joint request.
7. The CAC will provide the donor countries, when necessary, with information to help adjust the allocation of contributions as a result of variations in tax collection.
8. The Palestinian Authority shall also assume full responsibility for any additional expenditures beyond the agreed budget which is attached as Schedule 1, as well as for any shortfall in tax collection that is not actually covered by the donor countries.
9. If actual revenues from the Spheres, including the donor contributions, exceed the budgeted revenues, the excess shall be applied to development of the Spheres.
10. The inclusion of the Sphere of VAT in the Spheres to be transferred to the Palestinian Authority shall constitute the adjustment referred to in paragraph (3) of the Agreed Minute to Article VA (2) of the Declaration of Principles, and no further adjustment shall be required.

Article XII: Mutual Contribution to Peace and Reconciliation

With regard to each of the Sphere, Israel and the Palestinian Authority will ensure that their respective systems contribute to the peace between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples and to peace in the entire region, and will refrain from the introduction of any motifs that could adversely affect the process of reconciliation.

Article XIII: Final Clauses

1. This Agreement shall enter into force on the date of its signing.
2. The arrangements established by this Agreement are preparatory measures and shall remain in force until and to the extent superseded by the Interim Agreement or by any other agreement between the Parties.
3. Nothing in this Agreement shall prejudice or preempt the outcome of the negotiations on the Interim Agreement or on the permanent status to be conducted pursuant to the Declaration of Principles. Neither Party shall be deemed, by virtue of having entered into this Agreement to have renounced or waived any of its existing rights, claims or positions.
4. The two Parties view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, the integrity of which will be preserved during the interim period.
5. The Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area shall continue to be an integral part of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The status of the West Bank shall not be changed for the period of this Agreement. Nothing in this Agreement shall be considered to change this status.
6. The Preamble to this Agreement and the Annexes, Appendices and Schedules attached hereto shall constitute an integral part hereof.

Done at Erez Checkpoint in Gaza this 29th day of August, 1994.

For the Government of the State of Israel:
(Signed) Dani ROTHSCILD

For the PLO:
(Signed) Nabil SHAATH

SCHEDULE 1:

Six-month Budget for the Spheres	\$ Million
1. Total Expenditures	54.58
Education and Culture	26.2
Health	18.7
Social Welfare	4.3
Tourism	0.075
Direct Taxes	2.3
VAT	3.0

2. Total Revenues	54.58
Income Tax	23.15
VAT	22.15
Property Tax	0.215
Health Insurance	9.06

ANNEX I: PROTOCOL CONCERNING PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
IN THE SPHERE OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

1. The powers and responsibilities of the military government and its Civil Administration in the sphere of education and culture will be transferred to and will be assumed by the Palestinian Authority.
2. The sphere of education and culture shall include all matters dealt with in the laws, regulations and military orders listed in Appendix A, as well as the responsibility over higher education, special education, cultural and educational training activities, cultural and educational institutions and programs, and private, public, non-governmental or other educational or cultural activities or institutions.

Appendix A: Laws, Regulations and Military Orders in the Sphere of Education and Culture

1. Education Law, No. 16, 1964
2. Regulations regarding the Structure of the Ministry of Education and Culture, No. 21, 1965
3. Regulations regarding the Collection of Contributions in Schools, No. 22, 1965
4. Regulations regarding the Structure of Managers' Offices in the Districts and Regions, No. 24, 1965
5. Regulations regarding Licensing of Teaching, No. 23, 1965
6. Regulations regarding Scientific Delegations, No. 155, 1966
7. Regulations regarding Grants for Educational Programs and Textbooks, No. 1, 1965
8. Regulations regarding the Appointment of Women Teachers, No. 2, 1965
9. Regulations regarding Needy Heirs of Education and Culture Employees, No. 57, 1960
10. Regulations regarding the Jordanian Committee for Arabization, Translation & Publishing, No.11, 1967
11. Regulations regarding Private Educational Institutions, No. 27, 1966
12. Regulations regarding Adult Education and the Elimination of Illiteracy, No. 120, 1965
13. Regulations regarding Cultural Centers, No. 28, 1966
14. Regulations regarding the Jordanian Scientific Research Council, No. 53, 1964
15. Regulations regarding the Nationalization of Textbooks, No. 4, 1956
16. Regulations regarding the Education Tax, No. 1, 1956
17. Regulations regarding the Financing of Examinations and Certificates of High Schools and Secondary Education, No. 39, 1967
18. Order regarding the Education Law No. 16 of 1964 (Amendment No. 2 (Judea and Samaria), No. 1076, 1983
19. Order regarding the Use of Textbooks (Judea and Samaria) (Amendment), No. 183, 1967
20. Regulations regarding General Examination Fees in the Teachers' Colleges, 1991
21. Directives regarding Success, Completion and Failure in Schools, No. 1, 1965
22. Directives regarding General Matriculation Examinations, No. 2, 1965
23. Order regarding Education Tax (Judea and Samaria), No. 501, 1972
24. Civil Service Regulations, No. 23, 1966, including Amendments Nos. 14, 28, 61 and 92
25. Regulations for Dispatch of Scientific Delegations, No. 115, 1966, including Amendments Nos. 16 and 43
26. Regulations regarding Employee Pensions and Social Insurance, No. 6, 1966, including Amendments Nos. 116 and 183
27. Financial Regulations, No. 1, 1951
28. Requisition Regulations, No. 87, 1965
29. Regulations regarding Employees Commuting to and from Work, No. 18, 1967, including Amendment No. 73
30. Regulations regarding the Provision of Honors for Employees, No. 9, 1966
31. Regulations regarding Issuing Certificates and Diplomas, No. 15, 1966
32. Regulations regarding Graduation Examinations, No. 17, 1966, including Amendment No. 71

33. Regulations regarding Placement of Administrative employees, No. 1, 1966
34. Regulations regarding the Provision of Student Services, No. 58, 1964
35. Regulation regarding the Provision of Assistance to Students, No. 5, 1960, including Amendment No. 25
36. Regulations regarding the Scouts Youth Movement, No. 1, 1957
37. Regulations regarding Summer Seminars, No. 34, 1960
38. Regulations regarding the Leasing of Properties for Government Service, No. 16, 1961, including Amendment No. 153
39. Regulations regarding the Acquisition of Books for School and College Libraries, No. 11, 1966, incl. amendment No. 153
40. Regulations regarding Health Insurance for Employees, No. 104, 1965
41. Regulations regarding Colleges, No. 151, 1966
42. Regulations regarding the Evaluation of Certificates, No. 110, 1966, including Amendment No. 74
43. Law regarding Student Transfer, No. 7, 1967
44. Regulations regarding Room and Board, No. 36, 1967

ANNEX II: PROTOCOL CONCERNING PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS
AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE SPHERE OF HEALTH

1. The powers and responsibilities of the military government and its Civil Administration in the sphere of health will be transferred to and will be assumed by the Palestinian Authority.
2. The sphere of health shall include all matters dealt with in the laws, regulations and military orders listed in Appendix A, including the responsibility over all health institutions, whether private, public, non-governmental or other.
3. In exercising its security authority, the military government will do its utmost to respect the dignity of patients and medical staff and will act with a view to prevent any damage to medical installations or equipment.
4. The transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian Authority shall not affect the authority of Israel and of the Israeli military government in the West Bank to exercise its powers and responsibilities in criminal matters, such as the performance of autopsies, the investigation of narcotic offenses, etc.
5. The Palestinian Authority shall inform the Civil Administration in a routine manner of births or deaths occurring within the medical institutions under its responsibility.
6. The Palestinian Authority shall apply the present standards of vaccination of Palestinians and shall improve them according to internationally-accepted standards in the field.
7. The Palestinian Authority shall take necessary measures to ensure that the health institutions and medical staff under its responsibility inform the Civil Administration in the West Bank of any Israeli hospitalized in a Palestinian hospital upon his or her admission. Arrangements for moving such hospitalized Israelis shall be agreed upon.
8. The Palestinian Authority shall take necessary measures to ensure that the health institutions and medical personnel under its responsibility inform the Israel Police in the West Bank of any person wounded by any kind of weapon or explosive who is treated or hospitalized in a Palestinian medical institution, upon his or her admission, and of any death from unnatural causes.
9. The Palestinian Authority shall make available for transfer the corpse of any deceased from unnatural causes, for an autopsy in the Institute of Forensic Medicine, immediately upon request by the military commander. Upon request of the Palestinian Authority, a Palestinian physician may be present at any autopsy performed, provided that the participation of the said representative shall not inordinately delay the performance of the autopsy. The Palestinian Authority shall ensure that no prior autopsy of the corpses so transferred shall be conducted.
10. Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall exchange information regarding epidemics and contagious diseases, shall cooperate in combatting them, and shall develop methods of exchange of medical files and documents.
11. The Palestinian Authority shall enter into agreements with the Israeli medical institutions on arrangements regarding complementary medical services for Palestinians in these institutions including their hospitalization in Israeli hospitals. Israel shall assist the Palestinian Authority in reaching such agreements as necessary.

12. The health systems of Israel and of the Palestinian Authority will maintain good working relations in all matters, including mutual assistance in providing first aid in cases of emergency, medical instruction, professional training and exchange of information.
13. A joint committee of experts will discuss health issues that require coordination and cooperation between the Palestinian Authority and the relevant departments of the Civil Administration, including, *inter alia*, the environment department.
14. A committee will be established to facilitate coordination and cooperation on health and medical issues between the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli Ministry of Health.

Appendix A: Laws, Regulations and Military Orders in the Sphere of Health

1. Public Health Law No. 43, 1966, except for articles 7(1), 25 - 47, 69 - 77, article 10(2) but not including supervision over water sources; article 15 but only when approved by the military commander.
2. Regulations regarding Supervision of Medications and their Manufacture, No. 134, 1966, only with regard to medications.
3. Regulations regarding Health Insurance, No. 146, 1966.
4. Regulations regarding Burial of Deceased, Cemeteries, Transfer of Bodies and Re-opening of Graves, 1981, except for articles 5, 7, 8(a), 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.
5. Regulations regarding Public Health Supervision of Radiation Equipment for Medical Treatment, 1981.
6. Pharmacologists' Bureau Law, No. 10, 1957.
7. Order regarding the Pharmacologists' Bureau Law, No. 10, 1957, (Amendment), No. 1053, 1983.
8. Internal Regulations of the Pharmacologists' Bureau, 1961, as amended 1980.
9. Order regarding Medical and Sanitation Professions (Licensing and Practice), No. 745, 1978.
10. Medical Association Law, No. 14, 1954.
11. Dental Association Law, No. 11, 1956.
12. Internal Regulations of the Dental Association, 1960.
13. Order regarding Health Services, No. 746, 1978.
14. Order regarding Notification of Casualties, No. 163, 1967.
15. Regulation regarding Health Services, 1978.
16. Notification regarding Health Services, Program of Health Services and Payment for Health Services, 1981.
17. Order regarding Dangerous Drugs, No. 558, 1973.
18. Order regarding Cosmetics, No. 1103, 1983.
19. Regulations regarding Cosmetics (Fees), 1984.

ANNEX III: PROTOCOL CONCERNING PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE SPHERE OF SOCIAL WELFARE

1. The powers and responsibilities of the military government and its Civil Administration in the sphere of social welfare will be transferred to and will be assumed by the Palestinian Authority.
2. The sphere of social welfare shall include all matters dealt with in the laws, regulations and military orders listed in Appendix A, as well as responsibility over governmental and non-governmental organizations and institutions, including charitable societies and institutions and voluntary and non-profit organizations.
3. The Palestinian Authority will supervise registered foreign organizations of the type mentioned in paragraph 2 above, that currently operate in the West Bank and will register others only if their goals are not inconsistent with the peace process.
4. The transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian Authority shall not affect the continued authority of the military government and its Civil Administration to exercise their powers and responsibilities for security and public order as well as for other spheres not transferred, including, *inter alia*, the establishment of a vice squad.
5. The Palestinian Authority may exercise the Regulation on Welfare Insurance for Civil Servants (No. 6 of 1966) with regard to its employees.

6. Juvenile Offenders: Israel and the Palestinian Authority will determine arrangements for the following:
 - a. The serving of sentences in the West Bank passed by courts in Israel concerning juvenile offenders, residents of the West Bank.
 - b. The transfer of information necessary for the preparation of briefs by probation officers in connection with juvenile offenses.
7. Confidentiality: Arrangements will be made to protect confidentiality and individual privacy in the exchange of information between Israel and the Palestinian Authority in the sphere of social welfare.
8. The respective social welfare systems of Israel and the Palestinian Authority will maintain a positive working relationship in all aspects, including general and professional training, and the exchange of information.

Appendix A: Laws, Regulations and Military Orders in the Sphere of Social Welfare

1. Bureau of Social Affairs Law, No. 14, 1956
2. Social Assistance Regulations, No. 14, 1959
3. Regulations regarding Assistance to Youth, No. 48, 1959
4. Amended Law regarding Assistance to Youth, No. 16, 1954
5. Regulations regarding the Collection of Charitable Donations, No. 1, 1957
6. Regulations regarding the Collection of Charitable Donations, No. 103, 1963
7. Regulations regarding Assistance to University Students, No. 5, 1960, except for Articles 5 and 6
8. Regulations regarding Assistance and Rehabilitation, No. 42, 1963
9. Law regarding Charitable Societies and Social Welfare Institutions, No. 33, 1966
10. Jordanian Regulations regarding Social Services Institutions, No. 1965 ,128
11. Regulations regarding Foster Families, No. 70, 1963

ANNEX IV: PROTOCOL CONCERNING PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE SPHERE OF TOURISM

1. The powers and responsibilities of the military government and its Civil Administration in the sphere of tourism will be transferred to and will be assumed by the Palestinian Authority.
2. The sphere of tourism shall include all matters dealt with in the laws, regulations and military orders listed in Appendix A. This includes the responsibility for regulating, licensing, grading, supervising and developing the tourist industry and its services within the scope of such terms in the laws, regulations and military orders listed in Appendix A, as well as maintaining and promoting foreign and domestic tourism, developing visitors' interest in tourist sites and encouraging the development of tourist services around them in coordination with the Civil Administration, or if the site is under the responsibility of another authority - in coordination with that other authority. It also includes organizing exhibitions, popular and cultural festivals and events and tourism conferences. This sphere shall cover tourism activities conducted by private, public, non-governmental and foreign bodies.
3. In exercising its security authorities, the military government will take into account tourism considerations with the objective of minimizing any harmful effect on the industry or any consequences that may prejudice its productivity and continued development.
4. The military government and its Civil Administration will assist and support the Palestinian Authority in developing the tourism industry, promoting the expansion of tourist facilities such as hotels, restaurants and travel agencies, and in removing obstacles that may hinder the growth of the industry.
5. The transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian Authority shall not affect the continued authority of the military government and its Civil Administration to exercise their powers and responsibilities for security and public order as well as for other spheres, including the sites referred to in paragraph 2 above, authority over which has not been transferred.
6. The tourism authorities of Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall promote and encourage tourism to the region for the benefit of both sides.
7. a.) Travel agents, tour companies, tour guides and other tourism businesses (hereinafter "tourism

- entities") authorized by the Palestinian Authority will be allowed to conduct tours that include Israel, provided that their authorization as well as their operation is in accordance with rules, professional requirements and standards agreed upon in the subcommittee on tourism of the JEC;
- b) Pending that agreement, existing tourism entities in the West Bank that are currently allowed to conduct tours that include Israel, will be allowed to continue to do so.
8. Tour buses or any other forms of tourist transport authorized by the Palestinian Authority, and operated by companies registered and licensed by it, will be allowed to enter and proceed on their tour in Israel if such buses or other vehicles conform with the standards currently in effect in the West Bank and provided that they conform with international standards that have been adopted. All such vehicles will be clearly marked as tourist vehicles.
 9. Tourism companies and agencies licensed by the Palestinian Authority shall enjoy equal access to tourism-related facilities and amenities in border points of exit and entry according to the regulations of the Israeli authorities.
 10. A joint committee will be established between Israel and the Palestinian Authority to facilitate coordination and cooperation on tourism issues, including the promotion of tourism.

Appendix A: Laws, Regulations and Military Orders in the Sphere of Tourism

1. Temporary Tourism Law, No. 45, 1965, except for articles 2(4)E, 4(1), 4(5), 7(2), 7(3), 14(3), article 2(5) except for provisions regarding Tourism Regions.
2. Regulations regarding Equipment and Promotional Services and Constructive Activities of the Tourism Authority, No. 44, 1966
3. Financial Regulations of the Tourism Authority, No. 45, 1966
4. Tourism and Travel Agency Regulations, No. 46, 1966
5. Regulations regarding Commercial Oriental Souvenir Emporiums, No. 47, 1966
6. Regulations regarding Commercial Oriental Souvenir Emporiums, (Amendment No. 6) (Judea and Samaria), 1988
7. Regulations regarding Tour Guides and their Supervision, No. 48, 1966
8. Regulations regarding Guest Houses and their Supervision, No. 49, 1966
9. Order regarding Temporary Law for Tourism, No. 45, 1965 (Judea and Samaria), No. 917, 1981
10. Regulations regarding Tourism and Travel Agencies (Amendments 1-4) (Judea and Samaria), 1976
11. Regulations regarding Commercial Oriental Souvenir Emporiums (Amendment No. 3) (Judea and Samaria), 1982
12. Regulations regarding Commercial Oriental Souvenir Emporiums (Amendments 1-6), 1976, 1980, 1987, 1988
13. Regulations regarding Tour Guides and their Supervision (Amendment No. 5) (Judea and Samaria), 1988
14. Regulations regarding the Prohibition on Acceptance of Commissions by Tour Guides, 1976
15. Decision regarding Escorting Tourists as a Branch of Tourism (Judea and Samaria), 1982
16. Regulations regarding Guest Houses and their Supervision (Amendments 3 and 4), 1988, 1990
17. Instructions regarding Guest Houses and their Supervision (Minimal Standards for Ungraded Hotels) (Judea and Samaria), 1975
18. Instructions regarding Guest Houses and their Supervision (Principles of Hotel Grading) (Judea and Samaria), 1976
19. Instructions regarding Guest Houses and their Supervision (Offering Drinking Water and Citrus Fruits during Meals) (Judea and Samaria), 1985
20. Regulations regarding Tourism Offices (Judea and Samaria), 1989
21. Regulations regarding Licensed Tourist Emporiums (Judea and Samaria), 1977

ANNEX V: PROTOCOL CONCERNING PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE SPHERE OF DIRECT TAXATION

1. The powers and responsibilities of the Civil Administration in the sphere of direct taxation regarding income tax on income accrued or derived in the West Bank will be transferred to and will be assumed by the Palestinian Authority. Powers and responsibilities regarding property tax will continue to be exercised by the Civil Administration, though the income from this tax will be

tinue to be exercised by the Civil Administration, though the income from this tax will be transferred to the Palestinian Authority, after deducting the sums due to the municipalities.

2. The sphere of direct taxation shall include all matters dealt with in the laws, regulations and military orders listed in Appendix A, subject to the principles set forth below.
 3. Without derogating from the principle of territoriality in taxation, i.e., the right of each tax administration to levy the income tax on income generated by economic activity in its area, and in accordance with the Declaration of Principles and with the Gaza-Jericho Agreement:
 - a. The Palestinian Authority will levy and collect income tax on Palestinians in respect of income accrued or derived in the West Bank outside the settlements and the military locations.
 - b. (1) The Civil Administration will levy and collect income tax on Israelis in respect of income accrued or derived in the West Bank outside the settlements and the military locations by any business or service which accrues or derives an annual turnover in the West Bank outside the settlements and military locations exceeding \$7,000 US.
(2) The tax will be levied in accordance with the Palestinian tax code in force in the West Bank.
(3) The Civil Administration will remit the tax collected to the Palestinian Authority.
(4) For the purpose of subparagraph 3(b)(1) above and paragraph 5 below, changes in the legislation regarding the definition of "accrued or derived" income shall be made in the subcommittee established under paragraph 9.
(5) In the event of disagreement regarding the implementation of this paragraph when the Palestinian Authority considers that a business or service should be taxed under this subparagraph, it may refer the matter to the above mentioned subcommittee.
 4. a. For the purpose of this Annex, and for the purpose of the application of Appendix B to this Annex -
 - (1) A corporation will be regarded as either a Palestinian or an Israeli if the majority of its shares which grant rights to distribution of profits are held by Palestinians or by Israelis, respectively;
 - (2) For the purpose of subparagraph a. above, shares held by foreigners will be considered as shares held by Palestinians, except with regard to corporations operating within the settlements and military locations.
 - b. Income accruing to a partnership or derived by it will be attributed to its partners in accordance with their respective rights to profits and taxed in accordance with the provisions of this Annex.
 - c. With regard to corporations in which Israelis and Palestinians hold shares granting equal rights to distribution of profits, corporation tax will be levied equally on each shareholder by the relevant tax authority, in accordance with the principles of this Annex.
 5. In the case of income accrued or derived by a foreigner, outside the settlements and the military locations, income tax will be levied and collected by the Palestinian Authority.
 6. a. When an Israeli, including the military government and its Civil Administration, remits payment to a Palestinian and the payment is income taxable by the Palestinian Authority, the Israeli will deduct tax at source in accordance with the rules of the Palestinian tax code regarding the deduction at source by Palestinian payers and transfer it to the Civil Administration.
 - b. All activity relating to the assessment and collection of such deductions will be carried out by the Civil Administration or by Israel.
 - c. The Civil Administration will transfer such deductions to the Palestinian Authority in a manner to be agreed upon.
 - d. Procedures for implementation of the above mentioned arrangement for deduction at source will be determined by the Joint Economic Committee established under the Gaza-Jericho Agreement.
 - e. Pending the determination of the above mentioned procedures: (1) the present system of tax deduction at source from wages and salaries will continue to apply with regard to payments to Palestinian employees; and (2) until 31 December, 1994, tax will be deducted at source at the rate of 5% from other payments to Palestinians referred to in subparagraph a. above, subject to existing certificates concerning the reduction of deduction at source which shall continue to remain in force notwithstanding their initial date of expiration. As of January 1, 1995, deduction at source from such payments will be effected only on the basis of the procedures to be agreed upon.
7. a. When a Palestinian remits payment to an Israeli, there will be no tax deduction at source.
 - b. The Palestinian Authority may transfer to the Civil Administration information regarding such payments where it considers that the income of the Israeli falls under paragraph 3(b) above, in order to assist the Civil Administration in levying tax on such income.

- c. The Civil Administration will transfer to the Palestinian Authority, on a bimonthly basis, the sums collected from Israelis as advance payments in respect of taxes to be collected by the Civil Administration under paragraph 3(b) above. Each tax year there will be a settling of accounts between the Civil Administration and the Palestinian Authority with regard to the final tax collected according to paragraph 3(b), taking into account the aforementioned advance payments and any necessary resultant tax refunds.
 - d. Foreigners who are subject to income tax levied by the Palestinian Authority will deduct tax at source in the same manner as Palestinians.
8. Until the Interim Agreement enters into force, Israel will transfer to the Palestinian Authority a sum equal to 75% of the income taxes collected by Israel from Palestinians employed in the settlements and military locations and in Israel.
 9. The two sides will establish a joint committee composed of representatives of both tax authorities. This committee will discuss cases where one side wishes to tax businesses or services subject to the tax authority of the other side as well as cases where it is not clear by which side tax should be levied and all cases concerning double taxation.
 10. Tax enforcement by the Palestinian Authority shall be in accordance with the principles set out in attached Appendix B.

Appendix A: Laws, Regulations and Military Orders in the Sphere of Direct Taxation

1. Income Tax Law, No. 25, 1964, except article 74(1), and as follows (article numbers relate to Hebrew version): (28a)(4)-(5) - will apply to civil examinations (not to criminal investigations); 29b, 34a(a)(2), 34a(d), 49(3), 54(3), 57, 63(c)-(d), 64, 66(4) will be subject to the principles regarding tax enforcement; 44(1-) will not apply to the military government, the Civil Administration and their employees;
 1. 21, 62, 63(c) Chapter 16 - will be subject to the principles regarding the tax enforcement;
 2. Regulations regarding Depreciation for Income Tax Purposes, No. 15, 1965
 3. Regulations regarding Income Tax Deductions at Source from Salaries, No. 16, 1965
 4. Regulations regarding Income Tax (Bookkeeping), 1988 (which adopted the regulations regarding Bookkeeping, 1985)
 5. Regulations regarding Income Tax (Forms Required for Deductions at Source), 1987
 6. Regulations regarding Income Tax (Determining Payments for Services or Goods and for Contracting as an Income), 1978
 7. Regulations regarding Income Tax (Deduction at Source from Payments for Services or Goods and for Contracting), 1978
 8. Regulations regarding Income Tax (Determining Payments for Construction Work and Shipping as an Income), 1986
 9. Order regarding Encouragement of Capital Investment, No. 1342, 1991 - with regard to income tax exemptions; except for articles 26, 27 and 28, 29 and 30 - will be subject to the principles regarding tax enforcement

Appendix B: Tax Enforcement

1. With regard to *tax enforcement*, the Palestinian Authority shall have the powers and responsibilities set out in this Appendix, except in relation to criminal offenses.
2. *Gathering of Information*: Concerning gathering of information, the Palestinian Authority shall be authorized to:
 - a. demand and seize documents, information and other relevant financial records from the assessee and any relevant third party.
 - b. require the appearance of any person at the taxation authorities' offices in the West Bank and require that person to provide all relevant reports and documents; and
 - c. enter any permanent place of business or residence of any person being assessed.
3. *Tax Collection*: For the purpose of tax collection, the Palestinian Authority shall be authorized to take the following measures:

- a. attachments not relating to immovable property effected by the service of documents without requiring any physical action, such as bank accounts;
 - b. attachment of monies and chattels in the debtor's permanent place of business or residence only;
 - c. public auctions of the attached property or assets;
 - d. requests from the local courts in the West Bank to issue restraining orders prohibiting the debtor to travel abroad; and
 - e. requests from the local courts in the West Bank to issue civil imprisonment orders against tax defaulters.
4. *Appeals Proceedings*: The Palestinian Authority may establish a tax court in the West Bank for the purpose of hearing appeals with regard to assessments and bookkeeping. The details of this tax court shall be agreed in the CAC. Until the establishment of this tax court, such appeals shall continue to be heard by the local courts.
5. *Scope*:
- a. The Palestinian Authority shall not be authorized to take any enforcement measures against Israelis.
 - b. The Palestinian Authority shall not have the power to exercise enforcement measures affecting, directly or indirectly, the military government or its Civil Administration. The two sides will agree upon the mode and procedures regarding enforcement measures that require the cooperation of the military government and its Civil Administration, with a view to assisting the Palestinian Authority in carrying out its enforcement measures, subject to considerations of security and public order.
 - c. The use of force required for the exercise of tax enforcement measures shall be effected only by the Israeli authorities. Israel shall provide the Palestinian Authority with the necessary assistance in this regard.
 - d. The enforcement measures set out in this Appendix shall be exercised by the Palestinian Authority solely for tax collection and shall not be exercised for any other purpose.
6. *Cooperation and Exchange of Information*: Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall cooperate, including by exchanging information, to assist each other in the exercise of their powers and responsibilities with regard to tax enforcement.
7. *Legislation Regarding Tax Enforcement*: Subject to the principles set out in this Appendix, the Palestinian Authority is authorized, in addition to the measures included in the legislation set out in Appendix A, to take tax enforcement measures included in the following legislation:
- a. Law regarding Collection of Public Monies, No. 6, 1952, except for articles 10, 11, 12A (appeals will be brought before the local courts), 14, 16(A) (with regard to payments owed by the Palestinian Authority)
 - b. Order regarding Amendment of the Collection of Public Monies Law, No. 113, 1967
 - c. Rules regarding Collection of Public Monies, 1988, except for articles 4(b)-(c), 22, 23
 - d. Rules regarding Collection of Public Monies (Imprisonment of a Debtor), 1991
 - e. Order regarding Taxes (Fine for Late Payment), No. 1296, 1990
 - f. Order regarding Rounding Off of Sums, No. 1164, 1986
 - g. Order regarding Tax Collection (Auxiliary Authorities) (Temporary Order), No. 1262, 1989 - with regard to permits and services provided by the Palestinian Authority

ANNEX VI: PROTOCOL CONCERNING PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE SPHERE OF VAT ON LOCAL PRODUCTION

1. The powers and responsibilities of the Civil Administration in the sphere of VAT on local production in the West Bank will be transferred to and will be assumed by the Palestinian Authority.
2. For the purpose of this Annex the term "VAT" shall refer to Value Added Tax on local production imposed on the sale of assets and the provision of services by dealers.
3. The sphere of VAT shall include all matters dealt with in the laws, regulations and military orders listed in Appendix A, subject to the principles set forth in this Annex.

4. In accordance with Protocol IV of the Gaza - Jericho Agreement, while the prevailing system and principles of VAT in the West Bank will continue to apply, the Palestinian VAT rate shall not be lower than 15% to 16% and the maximum annual turnover for dealers to be exempt from VAT will be decided by the Palestinian Authority, within an upper limit of 12,000 US dollars.
5. Subject to paragraph 6 below, each side will register for VAT purposes dealers who are subject to its powers and responsibilities, notwithstanding the place of their activity.
6.
 - a. Ongoing permanent businesses will register for VAT purposes with the VAT administration of the side exercising powers and responsibilities in the place in which they are situated.
 - b. Notwithstanding subparagraph 6.a, ongoing permanent Israeli businesses situated outside the settlements and military locations will be registered for VAT purposes with the Civil Administration. The rules of Palestinian VAT legislation will apply to these businesses. The Civil Administration will transfer to the Palestinian Authority the net VAT collected from these businesses, after deduction of their refunds.
7. For the purpose of this Annex, and for the purpose of the application of Appendix B of Annex V to this Annex pursuant to paragraph 17 below-
 - a. A corporation will be regarded as either a Palestinian or an Israeli if the majority of its shares which grant rights to distribution of profits are held by Palestinians or by Israelis, respectively.
 - b. For the purpose of subparagraph a. above, shares held by foreigners will be considered as shares held by Palestinians, except with regard to corporations operating within the settlements and military locations.
 - c. The above mentioned principle regarding corporations will apply to partnerships, with the necessary adjustments.
 - d. The registration for VAT purposes of corporations and partnerships in which Israelis and Palestinians hold equal rights to distribution of profits, will be according to the place of registration of the corporation or the partnership. Each side may bring such cases for discussion before the joint committee referred to in paragraph 16 below, if it considers that the place of registration for VAT purposes should be different.
8. Foreign dealers will be registered for VAT purposes in accordance with their place of activity.
9. The VAT levied on dealers registered for VAT purposes will accrue to the VAT administration with which the dealer is registered and the tax code of that side will apply.
10. The principles set out in paragraphs 1-9 and 16-17 of this Annex shall also apply to wage-and-profit tax on financial institutions.
11. There will be clearance of VAT revenues between Israel and the Palestinian Authority according to the following principles:
 - a. The VAT clearance will apply to VAT on transactions between dealers registered with different VAT administrations. For the purpose of this paragraph, dealers registered with the Civil Administration shall be considered to be registered with the Palestinian Authority.
 - b. The following procedures will apply to clearance of VAT revenues accruing from transactions by dealers registered for VAT purposes:
 - (1) To be acceptable for clearance purposes, special invoices, clearly marked for this purpose, will be used for transactions between dealers registered by the different sides.
 - (2) These invoices will be worded either in both Hebrew and Arabic or in English and will be filled out in any of these three languages, provided that the figures are written in "Arabic" (not Hindi) numerals and that the amounts filled out in the invoice are stated also in NIS.
 - (3) For the purposes of tax rebates, such invoices will be valid for six months from their date of issue.
 - (4) Representatives of the two sides will meet once a month, on the twentieth day of the month, to present each other with a list of invoices submitted to them for tax rebate, for VAT clearance. This list will include the following details regarding each invoice:
 - (a) the number of the registered dealer issuing it;
 - (b) the name of the registered dealer issuing it;
 - (c) the number of the invoice;
 - (d) the date of issue;

- (e) the amount of the invoice - with a separate reference to the amount of VAT, specified both numerically and in words; and
 - (f) the name and the VAT registration number of the recipient of the invoice.
- (5) The clearance claims will be settled within six days from the meeting, through a payment by the side with the net balance of claims against it, to the other side.
 - (6) Each side will provide the other side, upon request, with invoices for verification purposes. Each tax administration will be responsible for providing invoices for verification purposes for six months after receiving them.
 - (7) Each side will take the necessary measures to verify the authenticity of the invoices presented to it for clearance by the other side.
 - (8) Claims for VAT clearance which will not be found valid will be deducted from the next clearance payment.
 - (9) Once an interconnected computer system for tax rebates to dealers and for VAT clearance between the two sides is operational, it will replace the clearance procedures specified in subparagraphs (4) and (5) above.
 - (10) The two tax administrations will exchange lists of the dealers registered by them and will provide each other with the necessary documentation, if requested, for the verification of transactions.
 - (11) The subcommittee established under Article VI paragraph 5 of Annex IV of the Gaza - Jericho Agreement will deal with the implementation of the provisions of this paragraph.
 - (12) Pending the Interim Agreement, the following provisions shall apply with regard to VAT on imports:
 - a. In addition to the clearance described in paragraph 11 above, VAT on imports paid by dealers registered with the Palestinian Authority who deduct input tax on such imports shall be remitted to the Palestinian Authority.
 - b. The clearance shall be effected in the framework of the monthly settlement referred to in paragraph 10 above. For this purpose, the Palestinian Authority shall provide Israel with a list containing the following details:
 - (1) the VAT registration number of each dealer;
 - (2) the number of each import entry document; and
 - (3) the VAT amount included in each import entry document.
 - c. The Palestinian Authority shall verify and confirm that the list referred to in subparagraph (b) does not include imports the final destination of which is the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area. The remittance of VAT payments in respect of these imports shall continue to be in accordance with the Gaza-Jericho Agreement.
12. VAT paid on transactions with dealers registered with Israel by not-for-profit Palestinian organizations and institutions registered with the Palestinian Authority, or by the Palestinian Authority where the transaction relates to powers and responsibilities transferred under this Agreement, will be remitted to the Palestinian Authority in accordance with the clearance system set out in paragraph 11. The same principle will apply to VAT paid on such transactions by Palestinian local authorities, once the powers and responsibilities regarding them are transferred to the Palestinian Authority.
 13. VAT paid on transactions with dealers registered with the Palestinian Authority by not-for-profit Israeli organizations and institutions, by Israeli local authorities, or by Israel, will be remitted to Israel in accordance with the clearance system set out in paragraph 11.
 14. Where the zero VAT rate on transactions by dealers registered with the Palestinian Authority is conditional upon the submission of proof by the dealer that foreign currency has been deposited with a financial institution, the deposit will be made in a financial institution operating in the West Bank. The definition of foreign currency for the purposes of this paragraph may be determined within the JEC.
 15. The two sides will establish a joint committee composed of representatives of both VAT administrations. This committee will deal with all issues requiring coordination and cooperation with regard to this Annex.
 16. VAT enforcement by the Palestinian Authority shall be in accordance with the principles set out in Appendix B attached to Annex V.

Appendix A: Laws, Regulations and Military Orders in the Sphere of VAT

1. Law of Excise on Local Production, No. 16, 1963, except for the following articles (Hebrew Version): 2(A), 2(B), 2(E), 3, 6A(2), 6A(5), 6A(6), 6A(8), 6A(7) - will be subject to principles regarding the tax enforcement.
2. Regulations Regarding Excise on Local Production (Judea and Samaria), 1985, except for the following articles (Hebrew Version): 2, 33, 118, 127, 137, 147, 31(A)1, will not apply in relation to authorizing use of "other document" 53(B), 70, 85, 86, 87A, 89, 92, 94, 103, 116, 116A(D)-(E), 117, 119(D), 129(C), 139(B) - will be subject to the principles regarding tax enforcement 35(A)2, 35(A)3, 112, 115A, 116A(C), 119, Chapter 16, 139(A) - will be subject to principles regarding tax enforcement.
3. Regulations regarding Bookkeeping (Judea and Samaria), 1985.
4. Notification regarding Excise on Local Production (designating Egypt as bordering country) (Judea and Samaria), 1987.



**STOCKHOLM TALKS, FINAL AGREED WORKING PAPERS 1-4,
AGREED FIRST SESSION, STOCKHOLM, 4 SEPTEMBER 1994**

[The track-II talks in Sweden were launched a year after the signing of the DoP between Oslo negotiators Yair Hirschfeld and Ron Pundik and on the Arab side Hussein Agha and Ahmad Khalidi. Their meetings ended after the assassination of then PM Rabin in Nov. 1995]

Document One:

PROCEDURAL AGREEMENTS

1. The work of the two teams will proceed on the basis of an 'open agenda.'
2. The role of the 'third party:'
 - a. In case of difficulties the two teams will consult with our Swedish host regarding:
 - i. Data and/or the assessment of data
 - ii. Achieving a breakthrough from an impasse situation
 - b. A dialogue with other third parties, including the US, will be carried out in the future by agreement.
3. Henceforth, both teams undertake not to take part in any future negotiations on final status issues. Other current and future negotiations will be channelled and subsumed into this project.
4. Participation by relevant political actors and experts will be invited by agreement. The intention of both teams is to ensure the active engagement of their respective political leaderships in this endeavour.
5. All understandings obtained are to be committed to paper in one standard draft.
6. Both sides will have the right to ask for separate consultations among their own team, at any point of time.
7. The two teams agree to provide our hosts with a detailed verbal briefing at the end of each session and a written report every quarter.

Note: The two teams have agreed to meet monthly until the end of 1994 to identify and discuss the issues, problems and subjects related to a final status agreement.

Document Two:

GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR REACHING AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN AGREEMENT ON FINAL STATUS ISSUES.

An Agreement should:

1. Be durable
2. Be stable
3. Not pose a security threat to any party
4. Enhance both Israeli and Palestinian security
5. Promote bilateral and regional stability
6. Not threaten the religious, cultural and political identities of the parties

7. Be politically viable for the respective communities
8. Take into account Arab concerns and sensitivities
9. Promote the free association of peoples
10. Provide for and promote the freedom of movement of people, goods and capital
11. Provide for the non-violent resolution of future disputes and conflicts
12. Adhere to the principle of equitability
13. Promote a comprehensive peace

Document Three

ISSUES TO BE DEALT WITH IN AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN FINAL STATUS AGREEMENT

The Israeli-Palestinian final status agreement will address the following issues in the context of a permanent peace:

1. The final and irrevocable delineation of secure and recognized borders
2. The creation and implementation of agreed security arrangements
3. The political nature of the emerging Palestinian entity/state
4. The creation of normal and stable inter-state relations
5. Relations with neighbouring countries
6. The future of settlements
7. Arrangements regarding the future of Jerusalem
8. The settlement of the refugee problem
9. Property rights in Israel and the Palestinian territories
10. Freedom for cooperation in areas of mutual interest
11. Mechanisms for disputes resolution
12. The use of water resources
13. The international role including guarantees to the parties involved
14. Verification and inspection mechanism
15. The status of former agreements
16. Modes for the implementation of the final status agreement
17. Preliminary measures for the implementation of a peace treaty.

Document Four

STEPS TOWARDS A FUTURE MIDDLE EAST

First Stage: Peace between states

Second Stage: Sustaining non-violent means of resolving disputes

Third Stage: Entering into voluntary civil association between the peoples of the region through economic and cultural interaction

Fourth Stage: Guarantee stabilization within communities

Fifth Stage: Create representative government-enhancing democratic forms of conduct

Sixth Stage: Moving towards a cooperative Middle East with the appropriate superstructure



**TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND THE HASHEMITE
KINGDOM OF JORDAN, 26 OCTOBER 1994 [EXCERPTS]**

PREAMBLE

The government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the government of the State of Israel:

Bearing in mind the Washington Declaration, signed by them on 25 July 1994 and which they are both committed to honor;

Aiming at the achievement of a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace in the Middle East based on Security Council resolution 242 and 318 in all their aspects;

Bearing in mind the importance of maintaining and strengthening peace based on freedom, equality, justice, and respect for fundamental and human rights; thereby overcoming psychological barriers and promoting human dignity;

Reaffirming their faith in the purposes and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and recognizing their right and obligation to live in peace with each other as well as with all states, within secure and recognized boundaries;

Desiring to develop friendly relations and cooperation between them in accordance with the principles of international law governing international relations in time of peace;

Desiring as well to ensure lasting security for both their states and, in particular, to avoid threats and the use of force between them;

Bearing in mind that in their Washington Declaration of 25 July 1994, they declared the termination of the state of belligerency between them;

Deciding to establish peace between them in accordance with this treaty of peace;

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1 - Establishment of Peace

Peace is hereby established between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the State of Israel (the parties) effective from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this treaty.

Article 2 - General Principles

The parties will apply between them the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law governing relations among states in time of peace. In particular:

1. They recognise and will respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence;
2. They recognise and will respect each other's right to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries;
3. They will develop good neighbourly relations of co-operation between them to ensure lasting security, will refrain from the threat or use of force against each other and will settle all disputes between them by peaceful means;
4. They respect and recognise the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the region;
5. They respect and recognise the pivotal role of human development and dignity in regional and bilateral relationships;
6. They further believe that within their control, involuntary movements of persons in such a way as to adversely prejudice the security of either Party should not be permitted.

Article 3 - International Boundary

1. The international boundary between Israel and Jordan is delimited with reference to the boundary definition under the Mandate as is shown in Annex I(a), on the mapping materials attached thereto and co-ordinates specified therein.
2. The boundary, as set out in Annex I (a), is the permanent, secure and recognised international boundary between Israel and Jordan, without prejudice to the status of any territories that came under Israeli military government control in 1967.
3. The parties recognise the international boundary, as well as each other's territory, territorial waters and airspace, as inviolable, and will respect and comply with them.
4. The demarcation of the boundary will take place as set forth in Appendix (I) to Annex I and will be concluded not later than nine months after the signing of the Treaty.
5. It is agreed that where the boundary follows a river, in the event of natural changes in the course of the flow of the river as described in Annex I (a), the boundary shall follow the new course of the flow. In the event of any other changes the boundary shall not be affected unless otherwise agreed.
6. Immediately upon the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, each Party will deploy on its side of the international boundary as defined in Annex I (a).
7. The Parties shall, upon the signature of the Treaty, enter into negotiations to conclude, within 9 months, an agreement on the delimitation of their maritime boundary in the Gulf of Aqaba.

8. Taking into account the special circumstances of the Naharayim/Baqura area, which is under Jordanian sovereignty, with Israeli private ownership rights, the Parties agreed to apply the provisions set out in Annex I (b).
9. With respect to the Zofar/Al-Ghamr area, the provisions set out in Annex I (c) will apply.

Article 4 - Security

1. a. Both Parties, acknowledging that mutual understanding and co-operation in security-related matters will form a significant part of their relations and will further enhance the security of the region, take upon themselves to base their security relations on mutual trust, advancement of joint interests and co-operation, and to aim towards a regional framework of partnership in peace.
b. Towards that goal the Parties recognise the achievements of the European Community and European Union in the development of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and commit themselves to the creation, in the Middle East, of a CSCME (Conference on Security and Co-operation in the Middle East). This commitment entails the adoption of regional models of security successfully implemented in the post World War era (along the lines of the Helsinki process) culminating in a regional zone of security and stability.
2. The obligations referred to in this Article are without prejudice to the inherent right of self-defence in accordance with the United Nations Charter.
3. The Parties undertake, in accordance with the provisions of this Article, the following:
 - a. to refrain from the threat or use of force or weapons, conventional, non-conventional or of any other kind, against each other, or of other actions or activities that adversely affect the security of the other Party;
 - b. to refrain from organising, instigating, inciting, assisting or participating in acts or threats of belligerency, hostility, subversion or violence against the other Party;
 - c. to take necessary and effective measures to ensure that acts or threats of belligerency, hostility, subversion or violence against the other Party do not originate from, and are not committed within, through or over their territory (hereinafter the term "territory" includes the airspace and territorial waters).
4. Consistent with the era of peace and with the efforts to build regional security and to avoid and prevent aggression and violence, the Parties further agree to refrain from the following:
 - a. joining or in any way assisting, promoting or co-operating with any coalition, organisation or alliance with a military or security character with a third party, the objectives or activities of which include launching aggression or other acts of military hostility against the other Party, in contravention of the provisions of the present Treaty.
 - b. allowing the entry, stationing and operating on their territory, or through it, of military forces, personnel or materiel of a third party, in circumstances which may adversely prejudice the security of the other Party.
5. Both Parties will take necessary and effective measures, and will co-operate in combating terrorism of all kinds. The Parties undertake:
 - a. to take necessary and effective measures to prevent acts of terrorism, subversion or violence from being carried out from their territory or through it and to take necessary and effective measures to combat such activities and all their perpetrators.
 - b. without prejudice to the basic rights of freedom of expression and association, to take necessary and effective measures to prevent the entry, presence and co-operation in their territory of any group or organisation, and their infrastructure, which threatens the security of the other Party by the use of or incitement to the use of, violent means.
 - c. to co-operate in preventing and combating cross-boundary infiltrations.
6. Any question as to the implementation of this Article will be dealt with through a mechanism of consultations which will include a liaison system, verification, supervision, and where necessary, other mechanisms, and higher level consultation. The details of the mechanism of consultations will be contained in an agreement to be concluded by the Parties within 3 months of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.
7. The Parties undertake to work as a matter of priority, and as soon as possible in the context of the Multi-lateral Working Group on Arms Control and Regional Security, and jointly, towards the following:

- a. the creation in the Middle East of a region free from hostile alliances and coalitions;
- b. the creation of a Middle East free from weapons of mass destruction, both conventional and non-conventional, in the context of a comprehensive, lasting and stable peace, characterised by the renunciation of the use of force, reconciliation and goodwill.

Article 5 - Diplomatic and Other Bilateral Relations

1. The Parties agree to establish full diplomatic and consular relations and to exchange resident ambassadors within one month of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.
2. The Parties agree that the normal relationship between them will further include economic and cultural relations.

Article 6 - Water

With the view to achieving a comprehensive and lasting settlement of all the water problems between them:

1. The Parties agree mutually to recognise the rightful allocations of both of them in Jordan River and Yarmouk River waters and Araba/Arava ground water in accordance with the agreed acceptable principles, quantities and quality as set out in Annex II, which shall be fully respected and complied with.
2. The Parties, recognising the necessity to find a practical, just and agreed solution to their water problems and with the view that the subject of water can form the basis for the advancement of co-operation between them, jointly undertake to ensure that the management and development of their water resources do not, in any way, harm the water resources of the other Party.
3. The Parties recognise that their water resources are not sufficient to meet their needs. More water should be supplied for their use through various methods, including projects of regional and international co-operation.
4. In light of paragraph 3 of this Article, with the understanding that co-operation in water-related subjects would be to the benefit of both Parties, and will help alleviate their water shortages, and that water issues along their entire boundary must be dealt with in their totality, including the possibility of trans-boundary water transfers, the Parties agree to search for ways to alleviate water shortage and to co-operate in the following fields:
 - a. development of existing and new water resources, increasing the water availability including co-operation on a regional basis as appropriate, and minimising wastage of water resources through the chain of their uses;
 - b. prevention of contamination of water resources;
 - c. mutual assistance in the alleviation of water shortages;
 - d. transfer of information and joint research and development in water-related subjects, and review of the potentials for enhancement of water resources development and use.
5. The implementation of both Parties' undertakings under this Article is detailed in Annex II.

Article 7 - Economic Relations

1. Viewing economic development and prosperity as pillars of peace, security and harmonious relations between states, peoples and individual human beings, the Parties, taking note of understandings reached between them, affirm their mutual desire to promote economic co-operation between them, as well as within the framework of wider regional economic co-operation.
2. In order to accomplish this goal, the Parties agree to the following:
 - a. to remove all discriminatory barriers to normal economic relations, to terminate economic boycotts directed at each other, and to co-operate in terminating boycotts against either Party by third parties;
 - b. recognising that the principle of free and unimpeded flow of goods and services should guide their relations, the Parties will enter into negotiations with a view to concluding agreements on economic co-operation, including trade and the establishment of a free trade area, investment, banking, industrial co-operation and labour, for the purpose of promoting beneficial economic relations, based on principles to be agreed upon, as well as on human development considerations on a regional basis. These negotiations will be concluded no later than 6 months from the exchange the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.
 - c. to co-operate bilaterally, as well as in multilateral forums, towards the promotion of their respective economies and of their neighbourly economic relations with other regional parties.

Article 8 - Refugees and Displaced Persons

1. Recognising the massive human problems caused to both Parties by the conflict in the Middle East, as well as the contribution made by them towards the alleviation of human suffering, the Parties will seek to further alleviate those problems arising on a bilateral level.
2. Recognising that the above human problems caused by the conflict in the Middle East cannot be fully resolved on the bilateral level, the Parties will seek to resolve them in appropriate forums, in accordance with international law, including the following:
 - a. in the case of displaced persons, in a quadripartite committee together with Egypt and the Palestinians;
 - b. in the case of refugees,
 - i. in the framework of the Multilateral Working Group on Refugees;
 - ii. in negotiations, in a framework to be agreed, bilateral or otherwise, in conjunction with and at the same time as the permanent status negotiations pertaining to the territories referred to in Article 3 of this Treaty;
3. through the implementation of agreed United Nations programmes and other agreed international economic programmes concerning refugees and displaced persons, including assistance to their settlement.

Article 9 - Places of Historical and Religious Significance

1. Each party will provide freedom of access to places of religious and historical significance.
2. In this regard, in accordance with the Washington Declaration, Israel respects the present special role of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in Muslim Holy shrines in Jerusalem. When negotiations on the permanent status will take place, Israel will give high priority to the Jordanian historic role in these shrines.
3. The Parties will act together to promote interfaith relations among the three monotheistic religions, with the aim of working towards religious understanding, moral commitment, freedom of religious worship, and tolerance and peace.

Article 10 - Cultural and Scientific Exchanges

The Parties, wishing to remove biases developed through periods of conflict, recognise the desirability of cultural and scientific exchanges in all fields, and agree to establish normal cultural relations between them. Thus, they shall, as soon as possible and not later than 9 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, conclude the negotiations on cultural and scientific agreements.

Article 11 - Mutual Understanding and Good Neighbourly Relations

1. The Parties will seek to foster mutual understanding and tolerance based on shared historic values, and accordingly undertake:
 - a. to abstain from hostile or discriminatory propaganda against each other, and to take all possible legal and administrative measures to prevent the dissemination of such propaganda by any organisation or individual present in the territory of either Party;
 - b. as soon as possible, and not later than 3 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, to repeal all adverse or discriminatory references and expressions of hostility in their respective legislation;
 - c. to refrain in all government publications from any such references or expressions;
 - d. to ensure mutual enjoyment by each other's citizens of due process of law within their respective legal systems and before their courts.
2. Paragraph 1 (a) of this Article is without prejudice to the right to freedom of expression as contained in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
3. A joint committee shall be formed to examine incidents where one Party claims there has been a violation of this Article.

Article 12 - Combating Crime and Drugs

The Parties will co-operate in combating crime, with an emphasis on smuggling, and will take all necessary measures to combat and prevent such activities as the production of, as well as the trafficking in

illicit drugs, and will bring to trial perpetrators of such acts. In this regard, they take note of the understandings reached between them in the above spheres, in accordance with Annex III and undertake to conclude all relevant agreements not later than 9 months from the date of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

Article 13 - Transportation and Roads

Taking note of the progress already made in the area of transportation, the Parties recognise the mutuality of interest in good neighbourly relations in the area of transportation and agree to the following means to promote relations between them in this sphere:

1. Each party will permit the free movement of nationals and vehicles of the other into and within its territory according to the general rules applicable to nationals and vehicles of other states. Neither party will impose discriminatory taxes or restrictions on the free movement of persons and vehicles from its territory to the territory of the other.
2. The Parties will open and maintain roads and border-crossings between their countries and will consider further road and rail links between them.
3. The Parties will continue their negotiations concerning mutual transportation agreements in the above and other areas, such as joint projects, traffic safety, transport standards and norms, licensing of vehicles, land passages, shipment of goods and cargo, and meteorology, to be concluded not later than 6 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.
4. The Parties agree to continue their negotiations for a highway to be constructed and maintained between Egypt, Israel and Jordan near Eilat.

Article 14 - Freedom of Navigation and Access to Ports

1. Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 3, each Party recognises the right of the vessels of the other Party to innocent passage through its territorial waters in accordance with the rules of international law.
2. Each Party will grant normal access to its ports for vessels and cargoes of the other, as well as vessels and cargoes destined for or coming from the other Party. Such access will be granted on the same conditions as generally applicable to vessels and cargoes of other nations.
3. The Parties consider the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba to be international waterways open to all nations for unimpeded and non-suspendable freedom of navigation and overflight. The Parties will respect each other's right to navigation and overflight for access to either Party through the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba.

Article 15 - Civil Aviation

1. The Parties recognise as applicable to each other the rights, privileges and obligations provided for by the multilateral aviation agreements to which they are both party, particularly by the 1944 Convention on International Civil Aviation (The Chicago Convention) and the 1944 International Air Services Transit Agreement.
2. Any declaration of national emergency by a Party under Article 89 of the Chicago Convention will not be applied to the other Party on a discriminatory basis.
3. The Parties take note of the negotiations on the international air corridor to be opened between them in accordance with the Washington Declaration. In addition, the Parties shall, upon ratification of this Treaty, enter into negotiations for the purpose of concluding a Civil Aviation Agreement. All the above negotiations are to be concluded not later than 6 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

Article 16 - Posts and Telecommunications

The Parties take note of the opening between them, in accordance with the Washington Declaration, of direct telephone and facsimile lines. Postal links, the negotiations on which having been concluded, will be activated upon the signature of this Treaty. The Parties further agree that normal wireless and cable communications and television relay services by cable, radio and satellite, will be established between them, in accordance with all relevant international conventions and regulations. The negotiations on these subjects will be concluded not later than 9 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

Article 17 - Tourism

The Parties affirm their mutual desire to promote co-operation between them in the field of tourism. In order to accomplish this goal, the Parties - taking note of the understandings reached between them concerning tourism - agree to negotiate, as soon as possible, and to conclude not later than three months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, an agreement to facilitate and encourage mutual tourism and tourism from third countries.

Article 18 - Environment

The Parties will co-operate in matters relating to the environment, a sphere to which they attach great importance, including conservation of nature and prevention of pollution, as set forth in Annex IV. They will negotiate an agreement on the above, to be concluded not later than 6 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

Article 19 - Energy

1. The Parties will co-operate in the development of energy resources, including the development of energy-related projects such as the utilisation of solar energy.
2. The Parties, having concluded their negotiations on the interconnecting of their electric grids in the Eilat-Aqaba area, will implement the interconnecting upon the signature of this Treaty. The Parties view this step as a part of a wider binational and regional concept. They agree to continue their negotiations as soon as possible to widen the scope of their interconnected grids.
3. The Parties will conclude the relevant agreements in the field of energy within 6 months from the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

Article 20 - Rift Valley Development

The Parties attach great importance to the integrated development of the Jordan Rift Valley area, including joint projects in the economic, environmental, energy-related and tourism fields. Taking note of the Terms of Reference developed in the framework of the Trilateral Israel-Jordan-US Economic Committee towards the Jordan Rift Valley Development Master Plan, they will vigorously continue their efforts towards the completion of planning and towards implementation.

Article 21 - Health

The Parties will co-operate in the area of health and shall negotiate with a view to the conclusion of an agreement within 9 months of the exchange of instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

Article 22 - Agriculture

The Parties will co-operate in the areas of agriculture, including veterinary services, plant protection, biotechnology and marketing, and shall negotiate with a view to the conclusion of an agreement within 6 months from the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

Article 23 - Aqaba and Eilat

The Parties agree to enter into negotiations, as soon as possible, and not later than one month from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, on arrangements that would enable the joint development of the towns of Aqaba and Eilat with regard to such matters, *inter alia*, as joint tourism development, joint customs, free trade zone, co-operation in aviation, prevention of pollution, maritime matters, police, customs and health co-operation. The Parties will conclude all relevant agreements within 9 months from the exchange of instruments of ratification of the Treaty.

Article 24 - Claims

The Parties agree to establish a claims commission for the mutual settlement of all financial claims.

Article 25 - Rights and Obligations

1. This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way, the rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations.

2. The Parties undertake to fulfill in good faith their obligations under this Treaty, without regard to action or inaction of any other party and independently of any instrument inconsistent with this Treaty. For the purposes of this paragraph each Party represents to the other that in its opinion and interpretation there is no inconsistency between their existing treaty obligations and this Treaty.
3. They further undertake to take all the necessary measures for the application in their relations of the provisions of the multilateral conventions to which they are parties, including the submission of appropriate notification to the Secretary General of the United Nations and other depositories of such conventions.
4. Both Parties will also take all the necessary steps to abolish all pejorative references to the other Party, in multilateral conventions to which they are parties, to the extent that such references exist.
5. The Parties undertake not to enter into any obligation in conflict with this Treaty.
6. Subject to Article 103 of the United Nations Charter, in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Parties under the present Treaty and any of their other obligations, the obligations under this Treaty will be binding and implemented.

Article 26 - Legislation

Within 3 months of the exchange of ratifications of this Treaty the Parties undertake to enact any legislation necessary in order to implement the Treaty, and to terminate any international commitments and to repeal any legislation that is inconsistent with the Treaty.

Article 27 - Ratification

1. This Treaty shall be ratified by both Parties in conformity with their respective national procedures. It shall enter into force on the exchange of instruments of ratification.
2. The Annexes, Appendices, and other attachments to this Treaty shall be considered integral parts thereof.

Article 28 - Interim Measures

The Parties will apply, in certain spheres, to be agreed upon, interim measures pending the conclusion of the relevant agreements in accordance with this Treaty, as stipulated in Annex V.

Article 29 - Settlement of Disputes

1. Disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of this Treaty shall be resolved by negotiations.
2. Any such disputes which cannot be settled by negotiations shall be resolved by conciliation or submitted to arbitration.

Article 30 - Registration

This Treaty shall be transmitted to the Secretary General of the United Nations for registration in accordance with the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Done at the Arava/Araba Crossing Point this day Heshvan 21st, 5775, Jumada Al-Ula 21st, 1415 which corresponds to 26th October, 1994 in the Hebrew, English and Arabic languages, all texts being equally authentic. In case of divergence of interpretation the English text shall prevail.

For the State of Israel
Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister

For the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
Abdul Salam Majali, Prime Minister

Witnessed by:
William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America

ANNEX I:

- (a) International Boundary
- (b) Naharayim/Baqura Area
- (c) Zofar Area

- Appendices (27 sheets):* I. Emer Ha'arava (10 sheets), 1:20,000 orthophoto maps
II. Dead Sea (2 sheets), 1:50,000 orthoimages
III. Jordan and Yarmouk Rivers (12 sheets), 1:10,000 orthophoto maps
IV. Naharayim Area (1 sheet), 1:10,000 orthophoto map
V. Zofar Area (1 sheet), 1:20,000 orthophoto map
VI. Gulf of Eilat (1 sheet), 1:50,000 orthoimage

ANNEX II: Water

ANNEX III: Crime and Drugs

ANNEX IV: Environment

ANNEX V: Interim Measures

AGREED MINUTES

A. Concerning Article 3 (f) stating that:

"Immediately upon the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, each Party will deploy on each side of the international boundary as defined in Annex I (a)." The Parties recognise the practical questions connected with the deployment (such as demarcation, minefields, fences), and therefore would interpret the language to mean that the deployment would start immediately, continue uninterruptedly and expeditiously, and conclude no later than 3 months after the exchange of the instruments of ratification.

B. With regard to economic and monetary matters pertaining specifically to the territories under Israeli Military control, the two governments shall consult with each other with the aim of:

1. eliminating or mitigating adverse effects on their economies;
2. giving each other enough time to make the necessary adjustments.

The above is without prejudice to activities which are the result of relations with other states or to former obligations with regard to the territories referred to above, except to the extent that the implementation of such obligations may have adverse effects and to the extent that the implementation is within their control.

C. In the spirit of peace, the two Parties attach high priority to the planned recreation joint venture project in the Naharayim/Baqura area, they favourably consider the partnership in peace to be created there, and will endeavor together to promote its implementation as soon as possible.

D. The parties will, upon the signature of this Treaty, establish a joint committee headed by senior officials to monitor the implementation of this Treaty and the conclusion of relevant agreements, in accordance with the Treaty provisions.



CASABLANCA DECLARATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST-NORTH AFRICA ECONOMIC SUMMIT, CASABLANCA, 1 NOVEMBER 1994

1. At the invitation of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco and with the support and endorsement of presidents Bill Clinton of the United States and Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation, the representatives of 61 countries and 1,114 business leaders from all regions of the world, gathered for a Middle East/North Africa Summit in Casablanca from October 30 to November 1, 1994. The participants paid tribute to His Majesty, King Hassan II, in his capacity as President and Host of the Conference and praised his role in promoting dialogue and understanding between the parties in the Middle East conflict. They also expressed their appreciation to the government and people of Morocco for their hospitality and efforts to ensure the success of the Summit.
2. The Summit leaders feel united behind the vision that brought them to Casablanca, that of a comprehensive peace and a new partnership of business and government dedicated to furthering peace between Arabs and Israelis.

3. Governments and business leaders entered into this new partnership with a deeper understanding of their mutual dependence and common goals. Business leaders recognized that governments should continue to forge peace agreements and create foundations and incentives for trade and investment. They further recognize the responsibility of the private sector to apply its new international influence to advance the diplomacy of peace in the Middle East and beyond. Governments affirmed the indispensability of the private sector in marshalling, quickly, adequate resources to demonstrate the tangible benefits of peace. Together, they pledged to show that businessmen can do business and contribute to peace as well; indeed, to prove that profitability contributes mightily to the economic scaffolding for a durable peace.
4. The Summit commended the historic political transformation of the Region as a consequence of significant steps toward a just, lasting and comprehensive peace, based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, a process that began with the 1979 Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel and enlarged dramatically by the Madrid Peace Conference, three years ago. That process has borne fruit in the Israel-Palestine Liberation Organization Declaration of Principles. The recent signing of the Treaty of Peace between Israel and Jordan gave a new dimension to the process. The decisions of Morocco and Tunisia to establish, respectively, liaison offices and liaison channels with Israel constituted another new positive development. These accomplishments and the next stages of rapid movement toward a comprehensive peace in the region, including Syria and Lebanon, need to be powerfully reinforced by solid economic growth and palpable improvement of the life and security of the peoples of this region. The Summit stressed that Syria and Lebanon have an important role to play in the development of the region. The Summit expressed a strong hope that they will soon be able to join the regional economic effort.
5. In this connection, the participants noted that the urgent need for economic development of the West Bank and Gaza Strip requires special attention from the international community, both public and private, in order to support the Israel-Palestine Liberation Organization Declaration of Principles and subsequent implementing agreements to enable the Palestinian people to participate on equal bases in the regional development and cooperation. They stressed the equal importance of moving ahead on Jordanian- Israeli projects as well as on cooperative projects between Israel and Jordan in order to advance the Jordanian-Israeli Treaty of Peace.
6. The participants recognized the economic potential of the Middle East and North Africa and explored how best to accelerate the development of the region and overcome, as soon as possible, obstacles, including boycotts and all barriers to trade and investment. All agreed that there is a need to promote increased investment from inside and outside the region. They noted that such investment requires free movement of goods, capital and labor across borders in accordance with market forces, technical cooperation based on mutual interest, openness to the international economy and appropriate institutions to promote economic interaction. They also noted that the free flow of ideas and increased dialogue, especially among the business communities in the region, will strengthen economic activity. In this context, the participants noted favorably the decision of the Council for Cooperation of the Gulf States regarding the lifting of the secondary and tertiary aspects of the boycott of Israel.
7. Based on the agreements between Israel and PLO, it is important that the borders of the Palestinian Territories be kept open for labor, tourism and trade to allow the Palestinian Authority, in a partnership with its neighbors, the opportunity to build a viable economy in peace.
8. The participants paid tribute to the multilateral negotiations initiated in Moscow in 1992 which have significantly advanced the objectives of the peace process. The governments represented at Casablanca will examine ways to enhance the role and activities of the multilateral negotiations, including examining regional institutions which address economic, humanitarian and security issues. The participants noted that the progress made in the peace process should go along with a serious consideration of the socio-economic disparities in the Region and require to address the idea of security in the region in all its dimensions: social, economic and political. In this context, they agreed that these issues need to be addressed within the framework of a global approach encompassing socio-economic dimensions, safety and welfare of individuals and nations of the region.
9. The participants recognized that there must be an ongoing process to translate the deliberations of Casablanca into concrete steps to advance the twin goals of peace and economic development and to institutionalize the new partnership between governments and the business community. To this end:

- a. The governments represented at Casablanca and private sector representatives stated their intention to take the following steps:
 - Build the foundations for a Middle East and North Africa Economic community which involves, at a determined stage, the free flow of goods, capital and labor throughout the region.
 - Taking into account the recommendations of the regional parties during the meeting of the sub-committee on finances of the REDWG monitoring committee, this sub-committee will call for a group of experts to examine the different options for funding mechanisms including the creation of a Middle East and North Africa Development Bank. This group of experts will report on its progress and conclusions within six months in the light of the follow-on Summit to the Casablanca Conference.
 - The funding mechanism would include appropriate bodies to promote dialogue on economic reform, regional cooperation, technical assistance and long-term development planning.
 - Establish a regional Tourist Board to facilitate tourism and promote the Middle East and North Africa as a unique and attractive tourist destination.
 - Encourage the establishment of a private sector regional chamber of commerce and business council to facilitate intra-regional trade relations. Such organizations will be instrumental in solidifying ties between the private and public sectors of the various economies.
- b. The participants also intend to create the following mechanisms to implement these understandings and embody the new public-private collaboration.
 - A steering committee, comprised of government representatives, including those represented in the steering committee of the multilateral group of the peace process, will be entrusted with the task of following up all issues arising out of the Summit and coordinating with existing multilateral structures such as the REDWG and other multilateral working groups. The steering committee will meet within one month following the Casablanca Summit to consider follow-on mechanisms. The committee will consult widely and regularly with the private sector.
 - An executive secretariat to assist the steering committee located in Morocco, will work for the enhancement of the new economic development pattern, thus, contributing to the consolidation of the global security in the region. The secretariat will assist in the organization of a regional chamber of commerce and a business council. It will work to advance the public-private sector investment in the region. The secretariat will assist in the implementation of the various bodies referred to in the present Declaration. The steering committee will be responsible for the funding arrangements, with the support of the private sector.
10. The participants welcomed the establishment of a Middle East/North Africa economic strategic group by the council on foreign relations. This private sector group will recommend strategies for regional economic cooperation and ways to overcome obstacles to trade and private investment. It will operate in close association with the secretariat and submit its recommendations to the steering committee.
11. The participants also welcomed the intention of the World Economic Forum to form a business interaction group that will foster increased contacts and exchanges among business communities and submit its recommendations to the steering committee.
12. The participants in the Casablanca Summit pledged to transform this event into lasting institutional and individual ties that will provide a better life for the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa. They resolved that the collaboration of the public and private sectors that constituted the singularity of the Casablanca Summit will serve as a milestone in the historic destiny that is now playing out in the Middle East/ North Africa.
13. The participants expressed their appreciation to the Council on Foreign Relations and to the World Economic Forum for their substantive contribution to the organization of the Casablanca Summit.
14. The participants expressed their intention to meet again in Amman, Jordan, in the first half of 1995 for a second Middle East/ North Africa Economic Summit, to be hosted by His Majesty King Hussein.



**ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN, REMARKS ON RECEIVING
THE NOBEL PRIZE FOR PEACE, OSLO, 10 DECEMBER 1994**

Your Majesties, Esteemed Chairman and Members of the Norwegian Nobel Prize Committee, The Honorable Prime Minister of Norway, My Fellow Laureates, Chairman Arafat and the Foreign Minister of Israel Shimon Peres, Distinguished Guests,

Since I don't believe that there was any precedent that one person got the Nobel Prize twice, allow me on this opportunity to attach to this prestigious award, a personal touch.

At an age when most youngsters are struggling to unravel the secrets of mathematics and the mysteries of the Bible; at an age when first love blooms; at the tender age of sixteen, I was handed a rifle so that I could defend myself. That was not my dream. I wanted to be a water engineer. I studied in an agricultural school and I thought being a water engineer was an important profession in the parched Middle East. I still think so today. However, I was compelled to resort to the gun. I served in the military for decades. Under my responsibility, young men and women who wanted to live, wanted to love, went to their deaths instead. They fell in the defense of our lives.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In my current position, I have ample opportunity to fly over the State of Israel, and lately over other parts of the Middle East as well. The view from the plane is breathtaking; deep-blue seas and lakes, dark-green fields, dune-colored deserts, stone-gray mountains, and the entire countryside peppered with white-washed, red-roofed houses. And also cemeteries. Graves as far as the eye can see. Hundreds of cemeteries in our part of the world, in the Middle East - in our home in Israel, but also in Egypt, in Syria, Jordan, Lebanon. From the plane's window, from the thousands of feet above them, the countless tombstones are silent. But the sound of their outcry has carried from the Middle East throughout the world for decades.

Standing here today, I wish to salute our loved ones - and past foes. I wish to salute all of them - the fallen of all the countries in all the wars; the members of their families who bear the enduring burden of bereavement; the disabled whose scars will never heal. Tonight, I wish to pay tribute to each and every one of them, for this important prize is theirs.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I was a young man who has now grown fully in years. In Hebrew, we say, 'Na'ar hayiti, ve-gam zakanti' [I was a young man, who has grown fully in years]. And of all the memories I have stored up in my 22 years, what I shall remember most, to my last day, are the silences: The heavy silence of the moment after, and the terrifying silence of the moment before.

As a military man, as a commander, as a minister of defense, I ordered to carry out many military operations. And together with the joy of victory and the grief of bereavement, I shall always remember the moment just after taking such decisions: the hush as senior officers or cabinet ministers slowly rise from their seats; the sight of their receding backs; the sound of the closing door; and then the silence in which I remain alone. That is the moment you grasp that as a result of the decision just made, people might go to their deaths. People from my nation, people from other nations. And they still don't know it.

At that hour, they are still laughing and weeping; still weaving plans and dreaming about love; still musing about planting a garden or building a house - and they have no idea these are their last hours on earth. Which of them is fated to die? Whose picture will appear in the black frame in tomorrow's newspaper? Whose mother will soon be in mourning? Whose world will crumble under the weight of the loss?

As a former military man, I will also forever remember the silence of the moment before: the hush when the hands of the clock seem to be spinning forward, when time is running out and in another hour, another minute, the inferno will erupt. In that moment of great tension just before the finger pulls the trigger, just before the fuse begins to burn; in the terrible quiet of the moment, there is still time to wonder, to wonder alone: Is it really imperative to act? Is there no other choice? No other way?

'God takes pity on kindergartners,' wrote the poet Yehudah Amichai, who is here with us this evening - and I quote his:

'God takes pity on kindergartners,
Less so on the schoolchildren,
And will no longer pity their elders,
Leaving them to their own,
And sometimes they will have to crawl on all fours,
Through the burning sand,
To reach the casualty station,
Bleeding.'

For decades, God has not taken pity on the kindergartners in the Middle East, or the schoolchildren, or their elders. There has been no pity in the Middle East for generations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I was a young man who has now grown fully in years. And of all the memories I have stored up in my 22 years, I now recall the hopes. Our people have chosen us to give them life. Terrible as it is to say, their lives are in our hands. Tonight, their eyes are upon us and their hearts are asking: How is the power vested in these men and women being used? What will they decide? Into what kind of morning will we rise tomorrow? A day of peace? Of war? Of laughter? Of tears?

A child is born in an utterly undemocratic way. He cannot choose his father and mother. He cannot pick his sex or color, his religion, nationality or homeland. Whether he is born in a manor or a manger, whether he lives under a despotic or democratic regime is not his choice. From the moment he comes, close-fisted, into the world, his fate - to a large extent - is decided by his nation's leaders. It is they who will decide whether he lives in comfort or in despair, in security or in fear. His fate is given to us to resolve - to the governments of countries, democratic or otherwise.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Just as no two fingerprints are identical, so no two people are alike, and every country has its own laws and culture, traditions and leaders. But there is one universal message which can embrace the entire world, one precept which can be common to different regimes, to races which bear no resemblance, to cultures that are alien to each other. It is a message which the Jewish people has carried for thousands of years, the message found in the Book of Books: 'Ve'nishmartem me'od l'nafshoteichem' - 'Therefore take good heed of yourselves' - or, in contemporary terms, the message of the sanctity of life.

The leaders of nations must provide their peoples with the conditions - the infrastructure, if you will - which enables them to enjoy life: freedom of speech and movement; food and shelter; and most important of all: life itself. A man cannot enjoy his rights if he is not alive. And so every country must protect and preserve the key element in its national ethos: the lives of its citizens.

Only to defend those lives, we can call upon our citizens to enlist in the army. And to defend the lives of our citizens serving in the army, we invest huge sums in planes and tanks, and other means. Yet despite it all, we fail to protect the lives of our citizens and soldiers. Military cemeteries in every corner of the world are silent testimony to the failure of national leaders to sanctify human life. There is only one radical means for sanctifying human life. The one radical solution is a real peace.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The profession of soldiering embraces a certain paradox. We take the best and the bravest of our young men into the army. We supply them with equipment which costs a virtual fortune. We rigorously train them for the day when they must do their duty - and we expect them to do it well. Yet we fervently pray that that day will never come - that the planes will never take off, the tanks will never move forward, the soldiers will never mount the attacks for which they have been trained so well. We pray that it will never happen, because of the sanctity of life.

History as a whole, and modern history in particular, has known harrowing times when national leaders turned their citizens into cannon fodder in the name of wicked doctrines: vicious Fascism, terrible Nazism. Pictures of children marching to slaughter, photos of terrified women at the gates of the crematoria must loom before the eyes of every leader in our generation, and the generations to come. They must serve as a warning to all who wield power.

Almost all regimes which did not place the sanctity of life at the heart of their world view, all those regimes have collapsed and are no more. You can see it for yourselves in our own time. Yet this is not the whole picture. To preserve the sanctity of life, we must sometimes risk it. Sometimes there is no other way to defend our citizens than to fight for their lives, for their safety and freedom. This is the creed of every democratic state.

In the State of Israel, from which I come today; in the Israel Defense Forces, which I have had the privilege to serve, we have always viewed the sanctity of life as a supreme value. We have never gone to war unless a war was forced on us.

The history of the State of Israel, the annals of the Israel Defense Forces, are filled with thousands of stories of soldiers who sacrificed themselves - who died while trying to save wounded comrades; who gave their lives to avoid causing harm to innocent people on their enemy's side.

In the coming days, a special commission of the Israel Defense Forces will finish drafting a Code of Conduct for our soldiers. The formulation regarding human life will read as follows, and I quote:

'In recognition of its supreme importance, the soldier will preserve human life in every way possible and endanger himself, or others, only to the extent deemed necessary to fulfill this mission. 'The sanctity of life, in the point of view of the soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces, will find expression in all their actions.'

For many years ahead - even if wars come to an end, after peace comes to our land - these words will remain a pillar of fire which goes before our camp, a guiding light for our people. And we take pride in that.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are in the midst of building the peace. The architects and the engineers of this enterprise are engaged in their work even as we gather here tonight, building the peace, layer by layer, brick by brick. The job is difficult, complex, trying. Mistakes could topple the whole structure and bring disaster down upon us. And so we are determined to do the job well - despite the toll of murderous terrorism, despite the fanatic and cruel enemies of peace.

We will pursue the course of peace with determination and fortitude. We will not let up. We will not give in. Peace will triumph over all its enemies, because the alternative is grimmer for us all. And we will prevail. We will prevail because we regard the building of peace as a great blessing for us, for our children after us. We regard it as a blessing for our neighbors on all sides, and for our partners in this enterprise - the United States, Russia, Norway - which did so much to bring the agreement that was signed here, later on in Washington, later on in Cairo, that wrote a beginning of the solution to the longest and most difficult part of the Arab-Israeli conflict: the Palestinian-Israeli one. We thank others who have contributed to it, too.

We wake up every morning, now, as different people. Peace is possible. We see the hope in our children's eyes. We see the light in our soldiers' faces, in the streets, in the buses, in the fields. We must not let them down. We will not let them down.

I stand here not alone today, on this small rostrum in Oslo. I am here to speak in the name of generations of Israelis and Jews, of the shepherds of Israel - and you know that King David was a shepherd; he started to build Jerusalem about 3,000 years ago - the herdsmen and dressers of sycamore trees,

and as the Prophet Amos was; of the rebels against the establishment, as the Prophet Jeremiah was; and of men who went down to the sea, like the Prophet Jonah.

I am here to speak in the name of the poets and of those who dreamed of an end to war, like the Prophet Isaiah. I am also here to speak in the names of sons of the Jewish people like Albert Einstein and Baruch Spinoza, like Maimonides, Sigmund Freud and Franz Kafka. And I am the emissary of millions who perished in the Holocaust, among whom were surely many Einsteins and Freuds who were lost to us, and to humanity, in the flames of the crematoria.

I am here as the emissary of Jerusalem, at whose gates I fought in the days of siege; Jerusalem which has always been, and is today, the people, who pray toward Jerusalem three times a day. And I am also the emissary of the children who drew their visions of peace; and of the immigrants from St. Petersburg and Addis Ababa.

I stand here mainly for the generations to come, so that we may all be deemed worthy of the medal which you have bestowed on me and my colleagues today. I stand here as the emissary today - if they will allow me - of our neighbors who were our enemies. I stand here as the emissary of the soaring hopes of a people which has endured the worst that history has to offer and nevertheless made its mark - not just on the chronicles of the Jewish people but on all mankind. With me here are five million citizens of Israel - Jews, Arabs, Druze and Circassians - five million hearts beating for peace, and five million pairs of eyes which look at us with such great expectations for peace.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish to thank, first and foremost, those citizens of the State of Israel, of all the generations, of all the political persuasions, whose sacrifices and relentless struggle for peace bring us steadier closer to our goal.

I wish to thank our partners - the Egyptians, the Jordanians, and the Palestinians, that are led by the Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Mr. Yasser Arafat, with whom we share this Nobel Prize - who have chosen the path of peace and are writing a new page in the annals of the Middle East.

I wish to thank the members of the Israeli government, but above all my partner the Foreign Minister, Mr. Shimon Peres, whose energy and devotion to the cause of peace are an example to us all.

I wish to thank my family that supported me all the long way that I have passed. And, of course, I wish to thank the Chairman, the members of the Nobel Prize Committee and the courageous Norwegian people for bestowing this illustrious honor on my colleagues and myself.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me to close by sharing with you a traditional Jewish blessing which has been recited by my people, in good times and bad ones, as a token of their deepest longing:

'The Lord will give strength to his people; the Lord will bless his people - and all of us - in peace.'

Thank you very much.



**ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES, REMARKS ON
RECEIVING THE NOBEL PRIZE FOR PEACE, OSLO, 10 DECEMBER 1994**

Your Majesties, The Chairman and Members of the Nobel Committee, Prime Minister Brundtland, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Chairman Arafat, Members of the Norwegian Government, Distinguished Guests,

I thank the Nobel Prize Committee for its decision to name me among the laureates of the Peace Prize this year. I am pleased to be receiving this prize together with Yitzhak Rabin, with whom I have

labored for long years for the defence of our country and with whom I now labor together in the cause of peace in our region. This is a salute to his daring leadership.

I believe it is fitting that the prize has been awarded to Yasser Arafat. His quitting the path of confrontation in favour of the path of dialogue, has opened the way to peace between ourselves and the Palestinian people, to whom we wish all the best in the future.

We are leaving behind us the era of belligerency and are striding together toward peace. It all began here in Oslo under the wise auspices and good will of the Norwegian people. It is a privilege for me to say thank you to the Norwegian people for its great auspices.

From my earliest youth, I have known that while obliged to plan with care the stages of our journey, we are entitled to dream, and keep dreaming, of its destination. A man may feel as old as his years, yet as young as his dreams. The laws of biology do not apply to sanguine aspiration.

I was born in a small Jewish town in White Russia. Nothing Jewish remains of it. From my youngest childhood, I related to my place of birth as a mere way station. My family's dream, and my own, was to live in Israel, and our voyage to the port of Jaffa was a dream that came true. Had it not been for this dream and this voyage, I would probably have perished in the flames, as did so many of my people, among them most of my own family.

I went to school at an agricultural youth village in the heart of Israel. The village and its fields were enclosed by barbed wire which separated their greenness from the bleakness of the enmity all around. In the morning, we would go out to the fields with scythes on our backs to harvest the crop. In the evening, we went out with rifles on our shoulders to defend our lives. On Shabbat we would go out to visit our Arab neighbours. On Shabbat, we would talk with them of peace, though the rest of the week we traded rifle fire across the darkness.

From the Ben Shemen Youth village, my comrades and I went to Kibbutz Alumot in the Lower Galilee. We had no houses, no electricity, no running water. But we had a magnificent view and a lofty dream: to build a new, egalitarian society that would ennoble each of its members. Not all of it came true, but not all of it went to waste. The part that came true created a new landscape. The part that did not come true resides in our hearts to this very day.

For two decades, in the Ministry of Defence, I was privileged to work closely with a man who was and remains, to my mind, the greatest Jew of our time. From him I learned that the vision of the future should shape the agenda for the present; that you can overcome obstacles by dint of faith; that you may feel disappointed - but never despair. And above all, I learned that the wisest consideration is the moral one. David Ben-Gurion has passed away, yet his vision continues to flourish: to be a singular people, to live at peace with our neighbours.

The wars we fought were forced upon us. Thanks to the Israel Defence Forces, we won them all, but we did not win the greatest victory that we aspired to: release from the need to win victories. We proved that aggressors do not necessarily emerge as the victors, but we learned that victors do not necessarily win peace.

It is no wonder that war, as a method of conducting human affairs, is in its death throes, and that the time has come to bury it. The sword, as the Bible teaches us, consumes flesh, but it cannot provide sustenance. It is not rifles but people who triumph, and the conclusion from all the wars is that we need better people, not better rifles - to avoid wars, to win peace.

There was a time when war was fought for lack of choice. Today peace is the "no-choice" option for all of us. The reasons for this are profound and incontrovertible. The sources of material wealth and political power have changed. No longer are they determined by the size of territory won by war. Today they are a consequence of intellectual potential, obtained principally by education.

Israel, essentially a desert country, has achieved remarkable agricultural yields by applying science to its fields, without expanding its territory or its water resources. Science must be learned; it cannot be conquered. An army that can occupy knowledge has yet to be built. And that is why armies of occupation are passé. Indeed, even for the defense of the country you cannot rely on the army alone. Territorial frontiers are no obstacle to ballistic missiles, and no weapon can shield a nation from a nuclear device. Today, the battle for survival must be based on political wisdom and moral vision no less than on military might.

Science, technology, information are - for better or for worse - universal, not national. They are universally available. Their availability is not contingent on color of skin or place of birth. Past distinctions between West and East, North and South, have lost their importance in the face of a new distinction: between those who move ahead in pace with new opportunities, and those who lag behind.

Countries used to divide the world into their friends and foes. No longer. The foes now are universal - poverty, famine, religious radicalization, desertification, drugs, proliferation of nuclear weapons, ecological devastation. They threaten all nations, just as science and information are the potential friends of all nations.

Classical diplomacy and strategy were aimed at identifying enemies and confronting them. Now they have to identify dangers, global and local, to tackle them before they become disasters. As we leave a world of enemies, as we enter a world of dangers, the future wars which may break out will not be, probably, the wars of the strong against the weak for conquest, but the wars of the weak against the strong for protest.

The Middle East must never lose pride in having been the cradle of civilization. But though living in the cradle, we cannot remain infants forever.

Today as in my youth, I carry dreams. I would mention two: the future of the Jewish people and the future of the Middle East.

In history, Judaism has been far more successful than the Jews themselves. The Jewish people remained small, but the spirit of Jerusalem - the capital of Jewish life, the city holy and open to all religions - went from strength to strength. The Bible is to be found in hundreds of millions of homes. The moral majesty of the Book of Books has been undefeated by the ups and downs of history. Moreover, time and again, history has succumbed to the Bible's immortal ideas. The message that the one, invisible God created man in His image, and hence there are no higher and lower orders of man, has fused with the realization that morality is the highest form of wisdom and, perhaps, of beauty and courage, too.

Slings, arrows, gas chambers can annihilate man, but they cannot destroy human values, the dignity and freedom of the human being. Jewish history presents an encouraging lesson for mankind. For nearly 4,000 years, a small nation carried a great message. Initially, the nation dwelt in its own land; later, it wandered in exile. This small nation swam against the tide and was repeatedly persecuted, banished, downtrodden. There is no other example in all history - neither among the great empires nor among their colonies and dependencies - of a nation, after so long a saga of tragedy and misfortune, rising up again, shaking itself free, gathering together its dispersed remnants, and setting out anew on its national adventure. Defeating doubters within and enemies without. Reviving its land and its language. Rebuilding its identity, and reaching toward new heights of distinction and excellence. The message of the Jewish people to mankind is that faith and moral vision can triumph over all adversity.

The conflicts shaping up as our century nears its close will be over the content of civilization, not over territory. Jewish culture has lived over many centuries; now it has taken root again in its own soil. For the first time in our history, some five million people speak Hebrew as their native language. That is both a lot and a little: a lot, because there have never been so many Hebrew-speaking people; but a little, because a culture based on five million people can hardly withstand the pervasive, corrosive effect of the global television culture.

In the five decades of Israel's existence, our efforts have focused on re-establishing our territorial center. In the future, we shall have to devote our main effort to strengthen our spiritual center. Judaism - or Jewishness - is a fusion of belief, history, land and language. Being Jewish means to belong to a people that is both unique and universal. My greatest hope is that our children, like our forefathers, will not make do with the transient and the sham, but will continue to plow the historic Jewish furrow in the fields of human spirit, that Israel will become the center of our heritage, not merely a homeland for our people; that the Jewish people will be inspired by others, but at the same be to them a source of inspiration.

The second dream is about the Middle East. In the Middle East most people are impoverished and wretched. A new scale of priorities is needed, with weapons on the bottom and regional market economy at the top. Most inhabitants of the region - more than sixty percent - are under the age of eighteen. The Middle East is a huge kindergarten, a huge school. A new future can be and should be offered to them. Israel has computerized its education and has achieved excellent results. Education can be computerized throughout the Middle East, allowing young people, Arabs and others, to progress not just from grade to grade but from generation to generation. Israel's role in the Middle East should be to contribute to a great, sustained regional revival:

- A Middle East without wars, without enemies, without ballistic missiles, without nuclear warheads.
- A Middle East in which men, goods and services can move freely without the need for customs clearance or police licenses.
- A Middle East in which every believer will be free to pray in his own language - Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, or whatever language he chooses - and in which the prayers will reach their destination without censorship, without interference, and without offending anyone.
- A Middle East where young men and women can attain university education.
- A Middle East where living standards are in no way inferior to those in the world's most advanced countries - may I say, a Middle East very much like Scandinavia.
- A Middle East where waters flow to slake thirst, to make crops grow and deserts bloom, in which no hostile borders bring death, hunger, despair or shame.
- A Middle East of competition, not of domination. A Middle East in which men are each other's hosts, not hostages.
- A Middle East that is not a killing field, but a field of creativity and growth.
- A Middle East that honors so much its history, that it strives to add to it new noble chapters.
- A Middle East which will serve as a spiritual and cultural focal point for the entire world.

While thanking you, for the Prize, thanking the many people in uniform and civil dress in many nations, for arriving to this moment of happiness and hope, I believe that all of us remain committed to the process. I thank my family, that stood behind me for such a long journey, and are convinced as I am that this is the best option.

We have reached the age where dialogue is really the only way to run the world. Your Majesties, ladies and gentlemen, may I wish all of you a Happy New Year, a year of hope and peace. Thank you.



PLO CHAIRMAN YASSER ARAFAT, REMARKS ON RECEIVING THE NOBEL PRIZE FOR PEACE, OSLO, 10 DECEMBER 1994

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

But if the enemy incline toward peace, do thou also incline toward peace, and trust in God.

Your Majesties, Chairman of Nobel Prize, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Since my people entrusted me with the hard task of searching for our lost home, I have been filled with warm faith that those who carried their keys in the Diaspora as they carry their own limbs, and that those who endured their wounds in the homeland and maintained their identity will be rewarded

by return and freedom for their sacrifices. I have also been filled with faith that the arduous trek on the long path of pain will end in our home's yard.

As we celebrate together the first sight of the crescent of peace, I, at this podium stare into the open eyes of the martyrs within my conscience. They ask me about the national soil and their vacant seats there. I conceal my tears from them and tell them: How true you were; your generous blood has enabled us to see the holy land and to take our first steps in a difficult battle, the battle of peace, the peace of the brave.

As we celebrate together, we invoke the powers of creativity within us to reconstruct a home destroyed by war, a home overlooking our neighbor's, where our children will play with their children and will compete in picking flowers. Now, I have a sense of national and human pride in my Palestinian Arab people's patience and sacrifice, through which they have established an uninterrupted link between the homeland, history and the people, adding to the old legends of the homeland an epic of hope. For them, for the children of those good-natured and tough people, who are made of oaks and dews, of fire and sweat, I present this Nobel Prize, which I will carry to our children, who have a promise of freedom, security and safety in a homeland not threatened by an invader from outside or an exploiter from inside.

I know, Mr. Chairman, that this highly indicative prize has not been granted to me and my partners, Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, to crown a mission that we have fulfilled, but to encourage us to complete a path which we have started with larger strides, deeper awareness, and more honest intentions. This is so we can transfer the option of peace, the peace of the brave, from words on paper to practices on the ground, and so we will be worthy of carrying the message that both our peoples and the world and human conscience have asked us to carry. Like their Arab brethren, the Palestinians, whose cause is the guardian of the gate of the Arab-Israeli peace, are looking forward to a comprehensive, just and durable peace on the basis of land for peace and compliance with international legitimacy and its resolutions.

Peace, to us, a value and an interest. Peace is an absolute human value which will help man develop his humanity with freedom that cannot be limited by regional, religious or national restrictions. It restores to the Arab-Jewish relationship its innocent nature and gives the Arab conscience the opportunity to express - through absolute human terms - its understanding of the European tragedy of the Jews. It also gives the Jewish conscience the opportunity to express the suffering of the Palestinian peoples which resulted from this historical intersection and to find an echo for this suffering in the pained Jewish soul. The pained people are more capable than others of understanding the suffering of other people.

Peace is an interest because, in an atmosphere of just peace, the Palestinian people will be able to achieve their ambitions for independence and sovereignty, to develop their national and cultural existence through relations of good neighborliness, mutual respect, and cooperation with the Israeli people. Peace will enable the Israeli people to define their Middle East identity and to enjoy economic and cultural openness toward their Arab neighbors, who are eager to develop their region, which was kept by the long war from find its real position in today's world in an atmosphere of democracy, pluralism, and prosperity.

As war is an adventure, peace is also a challenge and a gamble. If we do not fortify peace to stand against storms and wind, and if we do not support it and strengthen it, the gamble will then be exposed to blackmail, perhaps to fall. Therefore, I call on my partners in peace on this high platform to expedite the peace process, achieve early withdrawal, pave the road for elections, and to move to the second stage in record time, so that peace will grow and become a firm reality.

We have started the peace process based on land for peace, on UN Resolutions 242 and 338, and on the other international resolutions calling for achieving the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. While the peace process has not yet reached its target, the new atmosphere of confidence and the modest achievements of the first and second year of the peace process are promising. Therefore, the parties are urged to abandon their reservations, facilitate measures, and achieve the remaining goals, foremost of which are transferring powers and taking steps toward an Israeli withdrawal in the West Bank and the

settlements. This will finally lead to a comprehensive withdrawal and will enable our society to build its infrastructure and utilize its status, heritage, knowledge and awareness to formulate our new world.

In this context, I call on Russia and the United States, sponsors of the peace process, to accelerate the steps of this process, to take part in its formulation and to overcome its obstacles. I urge Norway and Egypt, in their capacity as hosts to the Palestinian-Israeli agreement, to continue their good initiative, which started from Oslo and reached Washington and Cairo. Oslo, as well as the names of the other states that have been hosting the multilateral talks, will remain shining names linked to the peace of the courageous. I also urge all countries, foremost of which are the donor countries, to make their contributions quickly to enable the Palestinian people to overcome their economic and social problems, to rebuild themselves and to establish their infrastructure. Peace cannot grow and the peace process cannot be entrenched unless their necessary material conditions are met.

I then urge my partners in peace to view the peace process in a comprehensive and strategic way. Confidence alone cannot make peace, but only recognizing the rights, together with confidence, can make peace. Encroaching on rights generates a sense of injustice, keeps the fire under the ashes, and will push peace to a dangerous point and toward quicksand that may destroy it. We view peace as a strategic option, rather than a tactical option influenced by temporary calculations of loss and profit. The peace process is not only a political one, but also an integrated process in which national awareness and economic, scientific and technological development play an important role. The interaction of cultural, social and creative elements also play basic roles in strengthening the peace process.

I view all this as I recall the difficult peace march, in which we have covered only a short distance. We should have courage and move as far as possible to cover the greater distance based on just and comprehensive peace and to absorb the strength of creativity which is contained in the deeper lesson of peace.

As long as we have decided to coexist and live in peace, then we should coexist on a solid basis that can last through all time and that is acceptable to the future generations. In this context, full withdrawal from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip requires deep discussions about the settlements that cut through geographic and political unity, prevent free movement between the areas of the West Bank and the Strip, and create hotbeds of tension that conflict with the spirit of peace, which we want to be free of anything that spoils its purity.

As for Jerusalem, it is the spiritual home of Christians, Muslims and Jews. To Palestinians, it is the city of cities. The Jewish shrines in the city are our shrines, the same as the Islamic and Christian shrines. So let us make Jerusalem an international symbol of this spiritual harmony, this cultural brightness, and this religious heritage of humanity as a whole.

There is an urgent task that activates the peace mechanism and enables it to overcome the problem that is troubling hearts, the question of prisoners. It is important to release them so smiles can return to their children, their mothers, and their wives. Let us together protect this little baby from the winter's winds, and let us provide it with the mild and honey it deserves in the land of milk and honey in the land of Salim, Ibrahim, Isma'il, and Ishaq - the holy land, the land of peace.

Finally, I again congratulate my partners in peace - Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres - for winning the Nobel Peace Prize. I also congratulate the friendly Norwegian people for this warm reception, which is evidence of the genuineness and deep root of this people.

Your Majesties, ladies and gentlemen, I emphasize to you that we will discover ourselves through peace more than we did through confrontation and conflict. I am certain that Israelis will find themselves through peace more than they did in war.

Glory to God in the highest, and on Earth peace, and good will toward men. Thank you.



**DECLARATION AND FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ, SEVENTH ISLAMIC SUMMIT
CONFERENCE, (SESSION OF FRATERNITY AND REVIVAL), CASABLANCA,
MOROCCO, 13-15 DECEMBER 1994 [EXCERPTS]**

CASABLANCA DECLARATION

We the Kings, Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, gathered in the City of Casablanca in the Kingdom of Morocco, on 11 and 13 Rajab 1415H. (13 and 15 December 1994) for the Seventh Islamic Summit (Session of fraternity and revival), which coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Organization of the Islamic Conference at the First Islamic Summit, held in 1969 in the Kingdom of Morocco.

Proceeding from our adherence to the letter and spirit of the Islamic faith and our firm conviction of the good that ensues to humanity from the call and teachings of Islam,

Stressing our sincere determination to abide by the Charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and to strengthen solidarity between the Member States, and aware of the importance of the current world developments and of the need for our Ummah to adjust to them, while preserving its civilizational and cultural specifications,

Resolving to contribute together with the international community to the establishment of a new world order, based on justice, equality, peace and the respect of international legality,

Adhering to the basic freedom and human rights of all peoples on earth, to the preservation of the dignity of Muslims, and to the need of firmly meeting the challenges confronting the Islamic Ummah, as a result of the misrepresentations and misunderstandings, our true Islamic religion is being subjected to.

Relying on our total confidence in the wisdom of His Majesty, King Hassan II, his vast experience and the prominent position he occupies on the international scene, and on our conviction that His Majesty's chairmanship of our Organization will promote the fulfilment of the aspirations of our Islamic Ummah,

DECLARE our commitment to the following:

1. To make every effort to strengthen solidarity and join forces to defend all Islamic causes and protect the sanctity of Islam: to call for wisdom, good counsel and conciliatory dialogue. And noting with satisfaction the ongoing peace process and the new developments in the Middle East Region, we believe that the progress achieved must be promptly followed by crucial steps forward on both the Syrian and Lebanese tracks with a view to establishing a just and comprehensive peace, on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242, 338 and 425 and the principle of land for peace, and the restitution of all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, the Syrian Golan and South Lebanon and the guaranteeing of the Palestinian people's sovereignty over their homeland and their right to return, to self-determination and the setting up of their independent State with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital. In this respect, we draw attention of the sponsors of the Peace Conference and international community to the danger of Israel's continued procrastination and dilatory attitude aimed at eluding the implementation of the resolutions of international legality.
2. To strive with due regard to international law, to develop and consolidate bilateral and multilateral relations, and to abide rigorously by the principles of non-interference in internal affairs and of settling conflicts between member states through peaceful means, while stressing the need to settle regional disputes and conflicts in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter, the resolutions of international legality and the principles of justice and equity.

We consider that any threat to the security of any member state is a threat to world peace and security, which requires action within the framework of our Organization, of the United Nations and the other regional and international organizations, aimed at eliminating such threats in order to safeguard the peace and stability of all member states in accordance with international legality.

In the field of economic, scientific and technological cooperation, we encourage the expansion of commercial exchanges and the creation of appropriate conditions for this development, including the possibility of reducing all kinds of obstacles to the development of trade within the Islamic World.

In the cultural and information fields, we declare our determination to preserve and enhance our common Islamic heritage, to intensify national efforts, to increase the awareness of Muslim Youth of the

lofty values of Islam, and instil into them a sense of pride in the achievements of the glorious Islamic civilization, and to contribute to furthering understanding and tolerance among peoples and religions. To this end we shall strive to coordinate the efforts of the Islamic Dawa, develop educational curricula, and to disseminate the teachings of Islam throughout the world, with due regard for the sovereignty of nations and cooperation between them. We shall also attempt to propagate the values of Islam through the mass media, by developing information activities, and supporting the information institutions to counter the fierce campaign waged against Islam and to disseminate the true and honourable image of Islam and the essence of its eternal Sharia, in order to clear misunderstandings, and to expose ill-intentioned people who do wrong to Islam. In this respect, we call for facing the reality of our modern times with an Islamic open-mindedness, based on the principles of the true Islamic religion, and far from all forms of extremism and fanaticism.

3. We reaffirm our denunciation of all forms of terrorism including state terrorism as they represent a total disregard of the teachings of the true Islamic religion, and a blatant violation of our values, our traditions, and our heritage. We also declare our firm determination to join, in a spirit of sincere cooperation, in international efforts, to eliminate all forms and practices of terrorism, with due regard to legality and the principles of international law without prejudice to the legitimate right of national resistance to rise up against occupation and secure national rights.
4. We pledge to strengthen joint Islamic action in all fields, especially, at the humanitarian level including support to those mechanisms which work towards alleviating the sufferings of refugees and displaced people, and which confront emergencies arising from natural disasters and others.
5. To work, at the individual and collective levels, towards protecting the rights of Muslim groups and minorities in non-Member States.
6. To reaffirm human rights in Islam. In this context, we affirm the necessity of coordinating our efforts to protect our societies from the harmful effects of drug addiction and give great importance to the education and protection of children, to the role of women in Islamic society and their participation in activities related to economic and social development.
7. Aware of the need to upgrade our working methods in keeping with world developments and in order to meet the requirements of the next phase, we pledge to provide necessary support to the institutions, established within the framework of the Organization of the Islamic Conference so as to enable them to achieve the desired developments.
8. We commission the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to follow-up the implementation of the provisions of the present declaration and report thereon, to the Chairman of the Seventh Islamic Summit and to the Member States.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. At the kind invitation of His Majesty Hassan II, King of Morocco, the Seventh Islamic Summit Conference (Session of Fraternity and Revival) was held in Casablanca, Kingdom of Morocco, from 11 to 13 Rajab, 1415H, corresponding to 13 - 15 December 1994. [...]
8. In his statement, His Excellency Dr. Hamid Algabid, Secretary General paid tribute to His Majesty Hassan II, King of Morocco for hosting this important gathering of leaders of the Islamic Ummah. [...]. He stated that the return of Al-Quds Al-Sharif to Palestinian sovereignty, the restitution of the Syrian Golan, the respect of Lebanon's sovereignty, the fulfillment of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Kashmir, the cessation of Serb aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the vacation of Azerbaijan's territory occupied by Armenia as well as the search for peace in Afghanistan and in Somalia, all must receive the equal, well considered and determined support of the Member States. [...]
9. His Majesty King Hassan II, was unanimously elected as the Chairman.
10. The Conference elected Their Excellencies Yasser Arafat, President of the State of Palestine, Lansana Conte', President of the Republic of Guinea, Begum Khaleda Zia, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bangladesh as Vice-Chairmen. His Excellency Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal was elected as the Rapporteur-General. [...]
16. The Conference noted with appreciation the Reports submitted by the Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee, the Standing Committee of Information and Cultural Affairs, the Standing Committee for Economic and Commercial Cooperation; and the Standing Committee for Scientific and Technological Cooperation.

17. The Conference noted with appreciation the Reports submitted by the Secretary General on items of the agenda. [...]

QUESTION OF PALESTINE AND AL-QUDS AL-SHARIF:

24. The Conference reaffirmed that the question of Palestine and Al-Quds Al-Sharif is the prime cause of all Muslims, and expressed its solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organisation in its just struggle for removing the effects of Israeli occupation and building the Palestinian national institutions on the land of Palestine. It called upon Member States to continue supporting the PLO and its positions in the forthcoming negotiations for the transfer of all powers and responsibilities in the occupied Palestinian territories including Al-Quds Al-Sharif, to the Palestinian National Authority, and to emphasize the return of the Holy City to Palestinian sovereignty. It affirmed that a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East region can only be achieved through complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif, the Syrian Golan and the occupied Lebanese territories.
25. It expressed its support for the peace process in the Middle East, and welcomed the agreements concluded in its framework and noted that the success of the peace process hinges on the implementation of resolutions of international legitimacy, including resolutions 242, 338 and 425 of the Security Council, on the basis of Arab and international understanding of these resolutions, and the "land for peace" formula and the need to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their national and political rights.
26. It stressed that Al-Quds Al-Sharif is an integral part of the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 and to it apply all the provisions applicable to the other occupied territories and reiterated the necessity of its return to Palestinian sovereignty as capital of the State of Palestine. It invited all States in the world to refrain from having any dealings with the Israeli occupation authorities which might be interpreted in any way by those authorities as an implicit recognition of the "fait accompli" imposed by the proclamation of Al-Quds as the capital of Israel. It called for compliance with Security Council resolution 478 (1980) which invites Member States not to transfer their diplomatic missions to the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif. It called on Member States to face up to the serious developments ensuing from the continued Israeli expansionist policy in Al-Quds Al-Sharif, to confront this policy to provide material resources for the preservation of Islamic Shrines, and to support the steadfastness of the city's inhabitants. It invited the international community, and in particular the two co-sponsors of the Peace Conference, to compel Israel not to effect any geographical or demographical changes in the city of Al-Quds Al-Sharif during the transitional period, that might affect the outcome of the negotiations on the final status of the City.
27. It expressed its strong condemnation of the decision taken by the Israeli Supreme Court to consider the Blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque as part of the territory of the State of Israel.
28. It called upon Member States to honour their commitment to cover the budgets of the Al-Quds Fund and its Waqf.
29. It called for the dismantling of the settlements already established since they are unlawful, and to halt further Jewish settlements in occupied Palestinian and Arab territories including Al-Quds Al-Sharif and Syrian Golan, as required under the relevant resolutions of international legitimacy.
30. It stressed the need to secure international protection for the Palestinian people in the Occupied Territories; and to halt all Israel's terrorist and repressive practices against the Palestinian people. It invited Member States to work for compelling Israel to release the detainees, bring back the deportees, put an end to the method of collective punishment, and desist from any works that may endanger life and the environment in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories.
31. It called for the support of the international programme of economic, social and cultural development in the occupied Palestinian areas, and for the support of the Palestinian National Authority so that it can establish its control and start the process of reconstruction and development of the Occupied Territories.
32. It strongly condemned the aggressive Israeli scheme to partition the Ibrahimi Enclosure in the city of Al-Khalil, and called on Member States to continue their coordination and intensive efforts to prevent the implementation of this scheme and preserve the Ibrahimi Enclosure as a mosque solely for Muslims as it has been through the ages. [...]



GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, LAW IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENT ON GAZA AND JERICHO AREAS (RESTRICTIONS OF ACTIVITY) 1994, KNESSET, 26 DECEMBER 1994

1. Purpose of the Law: The purpose of this law is to ensure compliance with the undertaking of the Palestine Liberation Organization (hereinafter "the PLO") concerning the restriction on the activity of the Palestinian Authority to the areas of Gaza and Jericho in accordance with the agreement and to prevent activity of a political or governmental nature or other similar activity within the area of the State of Israel which does not accord with respect for the sovereignty of the State of Israel by the Palestinian Authority or the PLO, without the agreement of the State of Israel.

2. Definitions: "Meeting" - includes a march, assembly or congress; "The Agreement" - the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, signed at Cairo between the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization on 4 May 1994; "The Palestinian Authority" and "The Areas of Gaza and Jericho" - as defined in the emergency regulations (Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip - Jurisdiction over offenses and legal assistance), 1967; "Representative Missions" - includes any institution, office or branch.

3. Restriction on the Palestinian Authority

- A. The Palestinian Authority shall not open or operate a representative mission, and shall not hold a meeting, in the area of the State of Israel unless written permission for this has been given by the State of Israel or by someone authorized by it to do so;
- B. The Minister of Police may, by means of an order, prohibit the opening or operation of a representative mission of the Palestinian Authority, order its closure, or prevent the holding of a meeting, if permission has not been obtained in accordance with sub-paragraph (A).
- C. Orders referred to in sub-paragraph (B) shall be served, insofar as possible, on the owner of the premises, or the occupier, or the organizers, or whoever it seems to the Minister of Police is responsible for the activity which is the subject of the order; where it is not possible to serve the order as aforesaid, the Minister of Police shall give instructions for its publication in a manner which he shall establish; a notice concerning the giving of the order shall be published in the official gazette.

4. Restriction on the Activity of the PLO:

- A. The Government may, by means of an order, prohibit the opening or the operation of a representative mission of the PLO, order its closure, or prevent the holding of a meeting on behalf of the PLO or under its auspices, within the area of the State of Israel.
- B. The provisions of paragraph 3(C) above shall apply, with the necessary changes, to an order referred to in sub-paragraph (A) above.

5. Duration of Order: The duration of a closure order issued pursuant to paragraphs 3 or 4 shall not exceed 6 months and may be extended from time to time for an additional period which shall not exceed 6 months at any one time.

6. Ancillary Authorities: For the purpose of executing orders pursuant to paragraphs 3 or 4, the Israel Police shall have all the authorities given to it by any law, including the authority to enter into any place, to remove from there any person, to close the place, to disperse any meeting, and to take any action necessary to ensure the execution of the order and to use reasonable force for this purpose. For the purpose of this paragraph, "The Palestinian Authority" includes any person acting on its behalf or under its auspices or using its name.

7. Restriction on Licensing: Where an order has been issued pursuant to paragraph 3 or 4, prohibiting the opening of or operation of a representative mission, the license required for such activity shall not be granted under any law.

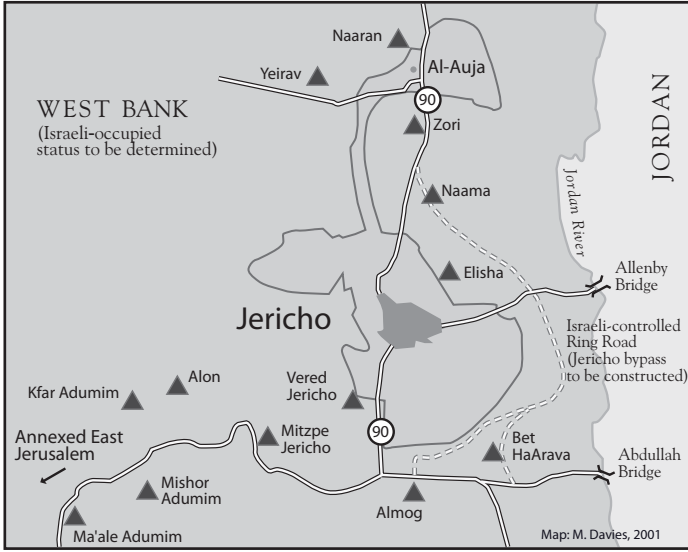
8. Validity and Entry into Force:

- A. This law shall enter into force on 1 January 1995.
- B. This law shall continue in force for the period of the continuance in force of the emergency regulations (Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip - Jurisdiction over offenses and legal assistance), 1967, as extended by the law implementing the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area (Judicial powers and miscellaneous provisions) (Legislative amendments), 1994.



Map 1

Gaza-Jericho (Oslo I) Agreement, 4 May 1994, Cairo



- Planned safe passage routes
- Israeli settlements
- "Yellow areas": Israel responsible for security; PA responsible for civil affairs except in settlements
- Military installation area
- Palestinian Autonomous Area
- Towns
- Security perimeter