

**DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE MIDDLE EAST  
PEACE PROCESS**

*Issue 2 - April - September 1994*

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### ***NOTE***

Since April 1991, at the request of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, the Division for Palestinian Rights of the United Nations Secretariat has prepared, for the use of the Committee, a compilation of statements, declarations, documents and other material pertaining to the various aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the question of Palestine and the Middle East peace process entitled "Approaches towards the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the question of Palestine".

In January 1994, the bulletin was renamed "Developments related to the Middle East peace process". It includes information material related to the bilateral Arab-Israeli peace negotiations, the multilateral negotiations on Middle East regional issues, as well as other aspects of the Middle East peace process.

The present issue covers the period from April to September 1994.

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**Address by the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs  
on the status of the Arab-Israeli peace process,  
Washington, D.C., 7 April 1994**

On 7 April 1994, at Washington, D.C., speaking at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Robert H. Pelletreau discussed the progress in the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations. He said the following, inter alia:

"Ladies and Gentlemen,

"Let me begin by congratulating the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies for this distinguished gathering. I want to thank the Center, and Barbara Stowasser in particular, for the invitation to speak on the Middle East peace process.

"For many in the Middle East, this is a time of promise and growing expectation. The political leaders engaged in negotiations have started the region's transition from an era of conflict, and they recognize that continued movement towards peace and formal relations is imperative. Yet this will necessarily be a rough road. The obstacles that the process has experienced, and those to come, are not just related to the intrinsic difficulties of the issues under negotiation - as the prospects for peace grow brighter, they also include the growing efforts by extremists to do what they can to sabotage the process.

"Today, I want to talk to you about the multilateral dimension of the peace process, the second of the two tracks or levels established by the October 1991 Madrid peace conference. Although it has attracted fewer headlines than the bilateral track, its achievements and contribution to the overall peace process are worthy of our attention. First, however, let me set the stage with a few remarks on the current scene.

*"The Hebron Detour*

"Last February 25, the world was stunned by the massacre of worshippers at the Hebron mosque. The impact on the peace process was immediate. Israeli-Palestinian talks on implementing the Declaration of Principles signed last September stopped. Bilateral talks in Washington involving Israelis, Jordanians, Lebanese, Palestinians and Syrians came to the halt a couple of days before the scheduled recess.

"While formal negotiations stopped, contacts between the parties did not. Israelis and Palestinians quickly resumed contact to address the security concerns that came to light with the Hebron massacre. We, Egypt, Norway and Russia energetically engaged with parties to the negotiations. President Clinton and Secretary Christopher were regularly on the phone with Israel and Arab leaders, and our Middle East peace team twice visited the region.

"The results of this diverse diplomatic activity were productive and in conformity with United Nations Security Council resolution 904 [(1994)]. The Israelis and Palestinians reached agreement on security arrangements that will put international observers into Hebron. They agreed on the early deployment of Palestinian police into Gaza and Jericho. And on March 31, the two parties resumed negotiations on implementing the Declaration of Principles in Cairo with a renewed determination to reach agreement as soon as possible. At the same time, all the parties to the bilaterals agreed to resume talks in Washington this month. We are consulting with the Russians on dates for the talks.

"The lesson here is that extremist violence will not stop the peace process. This is true about the slaughter of Palestinians in Hebron. It is equally true about the terrorist bombing, on



April 6, against Israelis in Afula. In both cases, we have condemned the cowardly violence against innocents. Such incidents only strengthen our resolve - and the resolve of the regional parties - to move forward in the peace process.

#### *"The Bilaterals*

"Attention now is properly returning to the substance of the bilateral negotiations. With that in mind, it might be useful to look at the individual negotiations.

"Israeli-Palestinian Talks. The Declaration of Principles signed at the White House last September established an ambitious set of objectives towards which Israelis and Palestinians are working. In pursuit of these goals, the parties have been negotiating the modalities for Israeli withdrawal and transferring authority to the Palestinians in Gaza and Jericho and for holding elections for an interim Palestinian self-government in the area. Soon they will negotiate the range of issues associated with Palestinian interim self-government in the rest of the occupied territories.

"The United States is actively supporting the implementation process. The Conference to Support Middle East Peace, which we organized and hosted in October, raised more than \$2 billion in commitments from 46 participants for projects that will demonstrate to the Palestinians the tangible benefits of peace. The United States has pledged to provide \$500 million in aid over the next five years. Some of this assistance will be in the form of housing for the Palestinians and in non-lethal equipment for their emerging police force. In cooperation with other participants, we created the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee and a World Bank-led Consultative Group to coordinate donor efforts and delivery of the assistance.

"Israel-Jordan Talks. Israeli-Jordanian negotiations have also produced some steps forward. Last fall, following the Israeli-Palestinian breakthrough, Israel and Jordan agreed to a common negotiating agenda and to establish a joint economic commission. Israeli-Jordanian negotiations subsequently yielded a banking agreement and are now proceeding on such practical issues as water and the environment. The time is ripe for these two neighbours to focus on the full range of issues that divide them and promptly reach a full peace agreement.

"Israeli Talks with Syria and Lebanon. The Syrian and Lebanese negotiations with Israel have been conducted to date with seriousness and energy. Differences remain between Syria and Israel on the key issues of land and security and the shape and context of peace. Lebanon and Israel are continuing in their effort to reach agreement on a political frame of reference dealing with the key issues of land and peace and, as a first step, to establish a military committee to discuss the pressing issues of security, especially in southern Lebanon. In this respect, let me reiterate the Administration's firm commitment to Lebanon's political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"The Egyptian Dimension. It is important to underscore the timely and positive role of Egypt in advancing bilateral negotiations. By its example, thoughtful advice and energetic involvement in helping various parties overcome obstacles and apparent impasses, Egypt is making a unique contribution to broadening the peace.

"In sum, the bilateral talks have broken new ground on a number of very sensitive issues. Much more work, however, needs to be done to fulfil the promise of peace ushered in by the Madrid conference. We, Egypt and others will remain actively engaged as facilitators of these talks, but it must be emphasized that further meaningful progress will come only through continued direct negotiations.

#### *"The Multilaterals*

"The multilateral track of the peace process was designed to complement the bilaterals by bringing a wider array of regional and extraregional parties together to develop coordinated approaches to regional problems. This also fosters broader human contact between Israelis and Arabs and demonstrates that peace is not an abstraction but a vehicle that can bring practical, concrete benefits to people's lives. It is both visionary and very practical. It overarches the bilateral negotiations, establishing a conducive regional environment for progress and buffering periods of bilateral tension and hiatus.

"The multilateral track consists of five working groups dealing with key issues affecting the region as a whole - water, the environment, economic development, refugees and arms control and security. A Steering Group guides the multilateral process, chaired by the United States and Russia, as the Madrid co-sponsors. The Palestinians regularly join Israel and 11 Arab countries as participants in the multilaterals. And delegations from outside the region - Europeans, Canada, Japan, the United Nations - also take part.

"The first phase of the multilaterals was one of mutual familiarization, or 'getting to know you.' There was also an emphasis in the first meetings on education. Scores of workshops and seminars were held so the parties could assess the scope of the issues they had agreed to address and establish a common vocabulary and terms of reference.

"The Next Stage - Concrete Steps. After this period of seminars, information exchanges and the establishment of professional ties across political boundaries, there has been a quickening pace of activity over the past year and a marked shift towards concreteness. Examples of this new emphasis on results can be seen in each of the five working groups:

- "- The Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) Working Group, which is led by the United States and Russia, is close to establishing a communications network involving regional ACRS participants. A demonstration of search and rescue operations at sea will soon take place.
- "- The Environment Working Group, with Japan in the lead, is working on establishing a centre for marine disaster in the Gulf of Aqaba. In addition, under its aegis, five regional parties are working on a common agenda to control desertification.
- "- The Refugee Working Group, under Canadian chairmanship, completed a study on living conditions of refugees in the occupied territories, which is now being used to set up a Palestinian statistical office there.
- "- The Regional Economic Development Working Group, with the European Union in the chair, endorsed an action plan consisting of 35 projects, including feasibility studies and workshops on transportation, tourism, communications, training and agriculture. Well before the signing of the Declaration of Principles last September, this group commissioned the immensely valuable World Bank study of economic conditions in the occupied territories.
- "- The Water Resources Working Group, led by the United States, has installed pilot rain-catchment systems to provide new sources of water in the Gaza Strip and is collecting data for regional water databanks. It is also researching desalination technologies worldwide, with a view to establishing a regional research centre and identifying low-cost desalination techniques for use in these poorer regions of the Middle East.

"Despite the progress in the multilaterals, Syria and Lebanon have thus far declined to join the process until, as they put it, there is concrete progress in the bilaterals. With the signing

of the Palestinian-Israeli Declaration of Principles last September and since then, there has been substantial forward movement on the bilateral track. We hope that this movement will soon eliminate these artificial impediments to bringing Syria and Lebanon in. Meanwhile, we have made a special effort to keep these two Governments briefed on progress in the multilaterals so that they can enter in full stride when the time comes.

"Looking to the Future. The focus on concrete projects is meant to bring to the peoples of the Middle East early and visible fruits of the peace environment, even before a comprehensive Middle East peace is reached on the bilateral tracks. In addition, beginning in round five, the multilateral participants also began to consider what the Middle East region as a whole might look like after peace is achieved.

"To consider one element of this question, the Arms Control and Regional Security Working Group has begun work on a 'Declaration of Principles'. Agreement on this declaration would provide a road map to achieving specific arms control and the security arrangements in a post-peace-process Middle East.

"The Steering Group has also been actively looking at the future of the region. It has begun to grapple with principles or guidelines that might determine the shape of the region following the achievement of Arab-Israeli peace. It has also launched a study of what the region might look like at that time and how to get there.

"The multilateral track has come a long way since its organizing meeting in Moscow. It has moved from seminars to concrete steps. It has also moved increasingly to the region itself. In this upcoming sixth round, four of the five working groups and the Steering Group will be hosted by regional parties. The Water Resources Group will meet in Oman; the Arms Control and Regional Security Group in Qatar, the Refugee Working Group in Egypt; the Regional Economic Development Group in Morocco; and the Steering Group in Tunisia. In a sense, the regional parties are increasingly taking ownership of this process, a development which we wholeheartedly support.

"The principles that are accepted and the relationships that are forged in the multilaterals may prove to be the crucible of the future Middle East. The overall structure of these negotiations - embracing a co-sponsored international conference and mutually reinforcing bilateral and multilateral levels of negotiation - breaks new ground as a model for international peacemaking.

"Our diplomacy is energetically engaged to advance the day that a just and lasting Arab-Israeli peace is achieved and to maximize the prospects that, when peace arrives, prosperity and cooperation grace the entire region."<sup>1</sup>/

**support of** **Text of the decision of the Council of the European Union in**  
**the Middle East peace process, Luxembourg, 19 April 1994**

On 19 April 1994, at Luxembourg, the following decision by the Council of the European Union was adopted in support of the Middle East peace process:

"COUNCIL DECISION

"of 19 April 1994

"on a joint action adopted by the Council on the basis

of Article J(3)

"of the Treaty on European Union,  
"in support of the Middle East peace process

"(94/276/CFSP)

"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 FOLLOWS:

#### "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 *démarches* 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 *démarches* to Israel about this issue.

## "ARTICLE 2

"In accordance with the relevant Community 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 international 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 European Union 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 a 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.

"ARTICLE 8

"This Decision shall be published in the Official Journal.

"Done at Luxembourg, 19 April 1994.

"For the Council

"The President

"Th. PANGALOS"2/

between  
  
PLO,

**Text of the Protocol on Economic Relations  
the Government of the State of Israel and the  
representing the Palestinian People,  
Paris, 29 April 1994**

The following is the text of the Protocol on Economic Relations between the Government of the State of Israel and the PLO, representing the Palestinian People, signed by the two parties in Paris on 29 April 1994:

"ANNEX IV

"PROTOCOL ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS

"CERTIFICATION OF TRUE COPY

"Arab Republic of Egypt |  
"Governorate of Cairo | ss .  
"Embassy of the United States of America |

"I certify that the following copy of the Protocol on Economic Relations signed in Paris on 29 April 1994 and the Appendices thereto is a true and faithful copy of the original, and has been carefully examined by me, compared with the said original, and found to agree with it word for word and figure for figure.

"(Signed) Charles J. WINTHEISER  
"Consul of the United States

"3 May 1994

"*Seal*

"PROTOCOL ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS  
"between  
"the Government of the State of Israel  
"and  
"the PLO, representing the Palestinian people

"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 recognize 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 D.C. 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 subcommittees specified in this Protocol.

"A subcommittee may include experts as necessary.

"4. The JEC and its subcommittees 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 subcommittee of experts. These estimates will be based on the best available data regarding past consumption, production, investment and external trade of the Areas. The subcommittee 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 subcommittee, 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) and 3 above (hereinafter - the Quantities), the Israeli rates of customs, purchase tax, levies, excises and other charges, prevailing at the date of signing 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 per cent to 16 per cent.

"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 subcommittee 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. (i) 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;
- "(ii) They have been imported directly from the said country;
- "(iii) 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 per cent 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;
- "(iv) The goods are accompanied by an internationally recognized certificate of origin;
- "(v) 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 licences. 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 subcommittee 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 subcommittee 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 subcommittee 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 colour to differentiate it from the gasoline marketed in Israel; and
  - "(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 per cent 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 subpara. (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 subcommittee will resolve the issue on the basis of the relevant provisions of this Article. The shipment will be released only upon the subcommittee'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 subcommittee 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 procedures, classification, standards and licensing requirements for all other imports,
- "2) Estimate the Palestinian market needs, as mentioned in para. 3 above;
- "3) Receive notifications of changes and conduct consultations, as mentioned in para. 6 above;
- "4) Agree upon the rules of origin as mentioned in para. 8 above, and review their implementation;

"5) Coordinate the exchange of information relevant to licensing matters as mentioned in para. 9 above.

"6) 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 household 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 subcommittee mentioned in para. 16 decides upon a new system proposed by the Palestinian Authority. The temporary entry will be coordinated through the joint subcommittee.

"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 Concordat".

- "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 relicence 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 licence 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 licence 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 licence, 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 per cent to 8 per cent, according to the type of deposits. Changes of over 1 per cent 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 licence 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, labour 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 labour 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 labour 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 paragraph 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 per cent 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 per cent. The Palestinian VAT rate will be 15 per cent to 16 per cent.

"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 US\$ 12,000.

"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 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 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 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 demand, 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 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 interconnected 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 subparas. (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 subcommittee 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

### "LABOUR

"1. Both sides will attempt to maintain the normality of movement of labour between them, subject to each side's right to determine from time to time the extent and conditions of the labour 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 side's legislation. The Palestinian side has the right to regulate the employment of Palestinian labour 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) Two thirds 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. Two thirds 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 labour, 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 Labour Courts, within these courts' jurisdiction.

"13. This Article governs the future labour relations between the two sides and will not impair any labour 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 coordinate 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 International 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

"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 subcommittee 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.

- "b. 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.
- "c. 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.
- "d. The import of live vaccines will be permitted only if so decided by the VSC.
- "e. 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.
- "f. 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 phytosanitary 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 Phytosanitary 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 subcommittee on plant protection.

"10. The agricultural produce of both sides will have free and unrestricted access to each other's 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 (In tons)	Eggs (In millions)	Potatoes (In tons)	Cucumbers (In tons)	Tomatoes (In tons)	Melons (In tons)

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 Strip 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 subcommittees 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 subcommittee 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 programmes already committed to.
- "4. Tourist buses or any other form of tourist transport authorized by either side, and operated by companies registered and licenced 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 international standards, which have also been adopted today. 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 Ashkelon 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 licenced 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 licence, 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 subcommittee 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 subcommittee 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 subcommittee 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.

## "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 licenced 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 per cent of the amount paid to the Israeli Fund by an insurer registered in Israel, for the same 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 side's 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 reported 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 subcommittee of experts (hereinafter 'the Subcommittee') 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 Subcommittee will act as a continuous committee for issues regarding this Article.

"c. The two sides will exchange, through the Subcommittee, 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 licence 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

"For the PLO

(Signed) "Finance Minister Avraham SHOHAT

(Signed) "ABU ALA (Ahmed Korei)"3/

#### **Establishment**

#### **Texts of the Memorandum of Understanding on the of a Temporary International Presence in Hebron and related correspondence, Copenhagen, 2 May 1994**

The following are the texts of the Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of a Temporary International Presence in Hebron and related correspondence:

*"Letter dated 2 May 1994 from the Governments of Denmark, Italy and  
Norway addressed to  
the Government of Israel and to the Palestine Liberation Organization \**

This letter and the enclosed Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of a Temporary International Presence in Hebron were addressed individually to the Government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"Copenhagen, 2 May 1994

"The Government of Denmark, Italy and Norway have the honour to confirm their readiness to participate in the Temporary International Presence (TIPH) referred to in the Agreement on Security Arrangements for Hebron between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization of 31 March 1994.

"The Governments have the honour to enclose a Memorandum of Understanding between Denmark, Italy and Norway of 2 May 1994 setting out modalities for the TIPH.

"The Governments propose that this letter and your reply to that effect shall constitute an agreement between Denmark, Italy, Norway, Israel and the PLO that the TIPH will operate on the basis of the Agreement on Security Arrangements for Hebron between Israel and the PLO of 31 March 1994 and the provisions of the enclosed Memorandum of Understanding between

Denmark, Italy and Norway of 2 May 1994 setting out modalities for the TIPH.

"For the Government  
of Denmark

"For the Government  
of Italy

"For the Government  
of Norway"4/

*Establishment of*

*"Memorandum of Understanding on the  
a Temporary International Presence in Hebron*

"The Temporary International Presence in Hebron (hereafter referred to as 'TIPH') is established under the Agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization on security arrangements for Hebron of 31 March 1994 (hereafter referred to as 'the Agreement'). The Agreement contains the terms of reference for TIPH, and sets out its mandate, in particular as set forth in para. A.3 of the Agreement. Its area of operation will be in accordance with the attached map. *The map is not attached in the present document.*

"The participation of Denmark, Italy and Norway is limited to a period of three months. Any prolongation could only be considered in accordance with para. A.10 of the Agreement.

"A. Organizational structure

"1. TIPH will consist of 90 members from Norway, 35 from Denmark and 35 from Italy. Sixty shall be field observers, and the rest shall be office staff and support personnel.

"2. All members of TIPH will operate under an integrated command structure. Office staff, support personnel and field observers shall have an equal status as members of TIPH.

"3. The Head of Mission (hereafter referred to as 'HOM') will be appointed by Norway. He will work in close cooperation with two Deputy Heads of Mission (hereafter referred to as 'DHOM'). Important decisions on matters of principle or internal policy will be made by the three jointly. The HOM will have the authority to direct and instruct all personnel assigned to him as he may deem necessary to accomplish the mission.

"4. The DHOM, with equal status, will be appointed one by Denmark and one by Italy. A staff of the TIPH will be established to assist the HOM and DHOM. The DHOM will primarily be responsible for personnel/logistical matters and operational/civil affairs respectively.

"5. Each contributing country may appoint, among its personnel, a contingent representative responsible for practical and administrative matters concerning his national contingent.

"6. In the relationship between the TIPH contingents ultimate decision-making authority in TIPH matters remains with the Governments of the three participating countries. In matters which require decisions by the three jointly, consultations will take place urgently.

"7. In the city of Hebron the members of TIPH will wear a white uniform with an emblem consisting of the letters TIPH. The observers will also wear armbands marked OBSERVERS in English, Arabic and Hebrew.

"8. TIPH will provide its members with an ID card in English, Arabic and Hebrew.

"9. The working language of TIPH is English. Qualified interpreters will be TIPH employees from the contributing countries.

"10. TIPH headquarters and accommodations will be established in premises in the city of Hebron.

"B. Operational guidelines

"1. As foreseen in the Agreement, TIPH will maintain close coordination with the Mayor of Hebron and the Head of the Civil Administration in the District of Hebron.

"2. TIPH will elaborate daily situation reports based on human rights standards. TIPH will report to the Joint Hebron Committee according to para. 5 in the Agreement. These situation reports could also be forwarded to the Chair of the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee of donors (hereafter referred to as 'AHLC'). The Chair of AHLC will promptly transmit these reports to each of the contributing countries. TIPH will report very second week to the Joint Israeli Palestinian Liaison Committee and to the AHLC.

"3. Members of TIPH will enjoy freedom of movement for the performance of their tasks in the city of Hebron. In case of a restrictions in accordance with paragraph A. 7 of the Agreement, orders to that effect must be approved by the military commander of the Hebron area. Such restrictions will always be reported through the TIPH to the Chair of the AHLC, to the Joint Hebron Committee and to the Joint Palestinian Israeli Liaison Committee. Members of TIPH will not enter privately held areas in the city of Hebron or military camps and security installations without specific permission from the HOM or from qualified military security personnel.

"4. In order to execute its mandate, TIPH will establish the necessary links and modalities of cooperation with the ICRC regarding prisoners and their records.

"5. As a basis for its reporting activities (not for public use) TIPH may use necessary equipment, including photo and video equipment.

"6. For the purpose of entering and leaving the area the necessary arrangements will be made according to the Agreement.

"7. Members of TIPH will not interfere in disputes or incidents. Disputes or incidents will be reported immediately to HOM.

"8. Internal safety measures will be taken, after appropriate coordination, by TIPH to protect its personnel in their functions on and off duty.

"C. Logistics and support

"1. The TIPH will set up an internal communication network (mobile transceivers, in all vehicles and to members of TIPH). It will also be provided with an external

communication set up: telephones, fax and satellite communication. The Israeli authorities will allocate the necessary frequencies.

"2. A logistics and support organization will be set up, including the necessary staff and equipment.

"3. In meeting the logistical needs, such as housing, food, fuel, repairs, medical services, etc., the TIPH may make use of local resources. The employment of local personnel will be coordinated through the Joint Hebron Committee.

"4. All TIPH vehicles will be equipped with special licence plates. TIPH vehicles used for the performance of its function in the city of Hebron will also be marked with emblems. TIPH vehicles will carry only members of TIPH.

"D. Privileges and immunities

"1. In the area of, and in connection with its activities, TIPH shall enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its task, including immunity of its premises. Similarly it shall enjoy privileges and immunities necessary for the independent exercise of its functions.

"2. Members of TIPH shall be accorded such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in their official capacity, including the time spent on journeys in connection with their mission. In particular they shall be accorded:

"(a) Immunity from personal arrest or detention and from seizure of their personal baggage;

"(b) In respect of words spoken or written and acts done by them, immunity from legal process of every kind. Such immunity shall continue irrespective of the cessation of their mission;

"(c) For the purpose of their communications with the respective Governments, the right to use codes and to receive papers or correspondence by courier or in sealed bags. No official communication directed to the TIPH or to any of its staff members, nor any outward official communication of the TIPH, by whatever means or in whatever form transmitted, shall be detailed in any way or suffer any interference with its confidentiality;

"(d) The same immunities and facilities in respect of their personal baggage as accorded to diplomatic envoys;

"3. Privileges and immunities are granted to members of TIPH in the interest of the fulfilment of the Hebron Agreement and not for the personal benefit of the individuals themselves. The immunity of any staff member may be waived by the sending State

"4. The States participating in TIPH and members of TIPH shall not be liable for any act or omission performed under the terms of this Memorandum of Understanding, except in case of gross negligence or wilful misconduct.

"E. Final provision

"This Memorandum of Understanding enters into force on the date of its signature, and shall, subject to the provisions of paragraph D 2b, remain in force for the three months' duration,



or any agreed upon prolongation, of the Temporary International Presence in Hebron.

in the English language.

"Done at Copenhagen, 2 May 1994, in three originals

"For the Government  
of Denmark

"For the Government  
of Italy

"For the Government  
of Norway"<sup>4</sup>

*Israel addressed*

*"Letter dated 2 May 1994 from the Government of  
to the Governments of Denmark, Italy and Norway*

"Copenhagen, 2 May 1994

"To the Governments of Denmark, Italy and Norway

"The Government of Israel has the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of today's date which reads as follows:

'The Governments of Denmark, Italy and Norway have the honour to confirm their readiness to participate in the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH) referred to in the Agreement on Security Arrangements for Hebron between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization of 31 March 1994.

'The Governments have the honour to enclose a Memorandum of Understanding between Denmark, Italy and Norway of 2 May 1994 setting out modalities for the TIPH.

'The Governments propose that this letter and your reply to that effect shall constitute an agreement between Denmark, Italy, Norway, Israel and the PLO that the TIPH will open on the basis of the Agreement on Security Arrangements for Hebron between Israel and the PLO of 31 March 1994 and the provisions of the enclosed Memorandum of Understanding between Denmark, Italy and Norway of 2 May 1994 setting out modalities for the TIPH.'

"The Government of Israel has the honour to confirm that your letter and this letter shall constitute an Agreement between Denmark, Italy, Norway, Israel and the PLO that the TIPH will operate on the basis of the Agreement on Security Arrangements for Hebron between Israel and the PLO of 31 March 1994 and the provisions of the said Memorandum of Understanding between Denmark, Italy and Norway of 2 May 1994.

"For the Government of Israel"<sup>4</sup>

*Liberation Organization  
and Norway*

*"Letter dated 2 May 1994 from the Palestine  
addressed to the Governments of Denmark, Italy*

"Copenhagen, 2 May 1994

"To the Governments of Denmark, Italy and Norway

"The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of today's date which reads as follows:

'The Governments of Denmark, Italy and Norway have the honour to confirm their readiness to participate in the Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH) referred to in the Agreement on Security Arrangements for Hebron between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization of 31 March 1994.

'The Governments have the honour to enclose a Memorandum of Understanding between Denmark, Italy and Norway of 2 May 1994 setting out modalities for the TIPH.

'The Governments propose that this letter and your reply to that effect shall constitute an agreement between Denmark, Italy, Norway, Israel and the PLO that the TIPH will open on the basis of the Agreement on Security Arrangements for Hebron between Israel and the PLO of 31 March 1994 and the provisions of the enclosed Memorandum of Understanding between Denmark, Italy and Norway of 2 May 1994 setting out modalities for the TIPH.'

"Recalling United Nations Security Council resolution 904 [(1994)], the PLO has the honour to confirm that your letter and this letter shall constitute an Agreement between Denmark, Italy, Norway, Israel and the PLO that the TIPH will operate on the basis of the Agreement on Security Arrangements for Hebron between Israel and the PLO of 31 March 1994 and the provisions of the said Memorandum of Understanding between Denmark, Italy and Norway of 2 May 1994."

"For the Palestine Liberation Organization"<sup>4</sup>

*"Agreed Minutes, 2 May 1994*

"In connection with the Memorandum of Understanding of 2 May 1994 between Denmark, Norway and Italy on the establishment of a Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH) established under the Agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization of 31 March, 1994 the three Governments agreed that:

"1. Members of the Temporary International Presence in Hebron will not carry arms.

"2. Each country will cover all personnel costs directly related to its citizens in TIPH, such as salaries, allowances, insurances, uniforms, other personal equipment and travel costs. Other costs in connection with the participation of the three countries, including costs in connection with accommodation and common equipment (cars, communications equipment), will be distributed equally among the Governments of the three countries.

"For the Government  
of Denmark

"For the Government  
of Italy

"For the Government  
of Norway"4

**Jericho Area,**

**Text of the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the  
Cairo, 4 May 1994**

On 4 May 1994, at the International Convention Centre at Cairo, Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, and the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Mr. Yasser Arafat, signed the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area. The document was also initialled by the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation, Mr. Andrei Kozyrev, and the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher - the co-sponsors of the peace process and witnesses, as well as by the President of Egypt, Mr. Hosni Mubarak, as a witness and as host to the meeting. The following is the text of the Agreement (the annexes, appendices and maps, which constitute an integral part of the Agreement, are not included here):

JERICHO AREA

"AGREEMENT ON THE GAZA STRIP AND THE

"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 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 [(1967)] and 338 [(1973)];

"DESIROUS of putting into effect the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements signed at Washington, D.C. on 13 September 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 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 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 I, 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 Settlements and the Military Installation Area, in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement, this redeployment shall constitute full implementation of Article XIII of the Declaration of Principles with regard to the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area only.

"4. For the purposes of this Agreement, 'Israeli military forces' may include Israel 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 paragraphs 1 and 2 above and 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 Subcommittees 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, subparagraph 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 fulfilment 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 the Jericho Area territory, as defined in Article I, except for Settlements and the Military Installation Area. Territorial jurisdiction shall include land, subsoil and territorial waters, in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.
- "b. 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.
- "c. 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 subcommittee 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 departments, 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, licences 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 or 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 subcommittee to be established by the CAC (hereinafter 'the Legislation Subcommittee'). During a period of 30 days from the communication of the legislation, Israel may request that the Legislation Subcommittee 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 Subcommittee 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 Subcommittee 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 Subcommittee shall attempt to reach a decision on the merits of the matter within 30 days from the date of the Israeli request. If this Subcommittee 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 defence against external threats, including the responsibility for protecting the Egyptian border and the Jordanian line, and for defence 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 I, Article III. Rules of conduct governing the activities of the Palestinian Police are set out in Annex I, 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 organization 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 Annex I.

## "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, Article 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

### "Relations 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 the other provisions of this Agreement, Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall cooperate in combatting criminal activity which may affect both sides, including offences related to trafficking in illegal drugs and psychotropic substances, smuggling and offences against property, including offences 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 29 April 1994 and the Appendices thereto, 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 technicians 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 the 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 cooperation 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 Settlements, 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 the Gaza Strip or the Jericho Area for the 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 fulfilment 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 offences committed prior to 13 September 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 five or six 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 six 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 Ballah, Jabaliya, Absan, 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 wilful 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 established 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 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.

"6. 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.

"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 this Agreement, and all Annexes, Appendices and maps attached hereto, shall constitute an integral part hereof.

"Done in Cairo this fourth day of May, 1994.

"For the Government of the  
State of Israel

"For the PLO

"Witnessed by:

"The United States of America

"The Russian Federation

"The Arab Republic of Egypt"<sup>5</sup>

**Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area,**

**Ceremony for signing of the Agreement on the  
Cairo, 4 May 1994**

On 4 May 1994, at Cairo, during the ceremony for the signing of the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area, the following statements were made:

*Speech by the President of Egypt, Mr. Hosni Mubarak*

"Yasser Arafat, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, dear guests, ladies and gentlemen: In the life of nations there are historic moments that cannot be deleted by time or shrouded in obscurity. These moments always remain handed down from one generation to another. The major developments witnessed by these moments have a deep and radical impact on the strategic interests and the basic rights of peoples.

"In the life of the Middle East peoples in particular, there are unforgettable historic moments, moments that brought much hope and many dreams after much pain and suffering. They allowed the peoples of the region to continue their march towards peace and along the road of prophets, may God's peace and prayers be upon them, the prophets sent by God to spread virtue and right in the world and to cleanse hearts of hatred, vice and rancour. God Almighty created man on Earth to entrench the foundations of peace, to build and reconstruct, not to burn or destroy. Man was created to fill the universe with light, knowledge and happiness and to eliminate coercion, fear and darkness.

"Today we are experiencing one of those historic moments as we see the signing of the agreement on the establishment of the Palestinian authority in Gaza and Jericho as part of the first phase of the Palestinian-Israeli peace. This proceeds from the Declaration of Principles that was signed in Washington. This step, therefore, is a culmination of hard and strenuous efforts. Many sides did all they could to turn general rules and principles into detailed, precise provisions that can be urgently implemented and can effect a revolutionary transformation in the reality of the Palestinian and Israeli peoples.

"The Palestinian problem proved difficult to solve for 45 years. Time only added more complications, hatred and suffering. Many thought it had turned into a chronic problem from which there was no way out and that its obstacles could not be overcome. Calls of despair and despondency spread against the peacemakers and the instigators of hope. Many people thought peace was an unattainable objective.

"But God Almighty provided the peoples of the region with a group of people who believed in their God and their mission on this blessed earth. They remained steadfast in their call for peace and sincere in their endeavour to achieve a just and honourable settlement that preserves a party's dignity and right to a secure life and protects its legitimate rights and interests in accordance with the laws accepted by the international community after centuries of experiments, successes and failures. It was not strange to see this march on the course of peace led by great men and noble strugglers who have experienced war, lived through its horrors and atrocities, and witnessed the killing, the dismemberment, the burning of land and crops, and the spreading of ruin as far as the eye could see. These things were the result of war. It was natural for these heroes to turn their minds and beliefs from the war and its horrors and evils to peace with its hopes and broader horizons that would heal the wounds, resist annihilation, end the suffering and pain, and allow man to continue his noble mission worldwide.

"This faithful group of heroic men undertook the task of working for peace to their last heart beat and of devoting their lives and hearts to turning the dream into a reality regardless of the sacrifices. They realized with their sound vision and deep wisdom that peace was the sublime objective of all peoples and that war was futile even if it brought a temporary victory, achieved an illusory security or changed balances. Ultimately it incites revenge and motives for retribution. But a just and honourable peace alone is the right course according to which everybody can live in security and safety.

"The Arab people in Egypt were among the first to believe in peace as a goal and a course and as a moral commitment unparalleled by any other commitment. The Egyptian people have never been reluctant to sacrifice their lives, blood and livelihood for the sake of a just and comprehensive peace that all the peoples of the area can enjoy and through which they can break the terrible vicious circle of bloodshed and the loss of sons and fathers. This was reflected in this people's steadfastness after the glorious October War and their firm decision to stand by peace when the late President Mohammed Anwar al-Sadat called for peace in Jerusalem in decisive terms that entered and touched every heart when he said:

'I did not come to you to conclude a separate agreement between Egypt and Israel. This is not part of Egypt's policy. The problem is not Egypt and Israel. Any separate peace between Egypt and Israel or between any one of the confrontation states and Israel will not establish a permanent and just peace in the entire region. Even if peace is achieved between every confrontation States and Israel without a just solution to the Palestinian problem, this will never establish the permanent and just peace demanded by the entire world today.'

"This, gentlemen, was Egypt's view of the problem and the way to solve it at that time.

This policy continued to constitute its peoples commitment throughout the years, even after it regained its territory and completed its freedom. The effect of all this made Egypt more capable of directing its attention to supporting its other brothers in their efforts to realize their hopes for a just and honourable peace, the peace of the heroes and the bold who can overcome the past and present barriers and move on to the future. Egypt has never felt that it was alone on this path, although it was lonely and often faced many difficulties. Egypt's faith that justice will triumph has never been shaken. It believes that ultimately the voice of peace and reconciliation will surge with a roaring force throughout the Arab world and in Israel.

"The world's advocates of peace will support the peoples of the region in these hard years. They will back them and their right to look forward to a new era in which the peoples of the region get rid of fear, hatred and suffering.

"If other steps remain to be taken to achieve the comprehensive peace to which we have committed ourselves, this does not belittle the importance of this step and achievement. Each step consolidates the ones taken before it and paves the way for those to follow. The success scored by the peace-loving forces through the agreement we are signing and documenting today must encourage us to implement it honestly and in good faith despite all the difficulties we expect to find along the way, difficulties that we consider only natural. The step should also prompt us to redouble our efforts to achieve tangible progress and without delay on the other negotiating track. By doing this, we will be fulfilling our commitment to our brothers in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon and we will be performing our responsibilities towards ourselves and our neighbours in the region in which we live.

"Guests and friends, our belief in the victory of peace has never been shaken for a moment. And it will not be shaken. Our struggle for peace has never stopped for a single day. It did not take place one year and then not take place the next. It has been a continuous commitment and sharp observers can see that at no time in the past 10 years has it lacked a tangible addition that would help us to mark this achievement, which will continue to inspire our moves for other courageous steps soon.

"It remains for me to point out that some of those events left greater impact than others along the road of peace. One of those developments was the convening of the Madrid peace conference through the commendable initiative of the United States and Russia, which volunteered to sponsor the conference and found broad response from all the parties to the conflict and from all the peace-loving forces in the world. The conference laid the foundation stone on a long road that was full of thorns and roses at the same time.

"I believe that it behooves me to express the sincerest thanks and gratitude to United States President Bill Clinton and his efficient aides led by United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher. President Clinton kept the problem at the forefront of his attentions and priorities despite the urgency of other problems and their daily pressures. This undoubtedly stemmed from his belief that peace in the land of peace and the cradle of religions is the cornerstone of world peace and stability.

"The Russian Federation under President Boris Yeltsin and his aides, and we particularly mention Foreign Minister Kozyrev, played a tangible role in supporting the peace efforts and in contacting the concerned parties at the critical times.

"The European Community played a role that cannot be belittled. Members exerted every effort to boost the peace process. They acted separately and collectively in the direction that led to completing the steps for the comprehensive and just settlement. This European Community policy and concept was not unusual because they realized the mutual links between security and peace in the Middle East and stability and prosperity in Europe.



"I do not need to express our thanks and gratitude for the Arab brothers who came to participate in this historic celebration, which we do not regard as a mere ceremonial and formal occasion, but as a living symbol of the entire Arab nation's choice of the peace course and its commitment to achieving it.

"Due thanks also go to all the other friends who came to join this bright occasion appreciating its importance and expressing their support for its objectives and significance.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I am confident that all of you join me in addressing the sincerest expressions of appreciation and pride to President Yasser Arafat and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. They have shown much courage and feelings of responsibility and proved that they have a far-sighted view around which has crystallized their determination to attain the goal amid strong challenges and pressures that are no secret to anyone. This is the essence of patriotic and moral commitment.

"I salute with them this group of men who stood with them all along the course. These men enriched the process and added to it with their sound thinking, sincere work and creative minds. I mention specifically Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and President Yasser Arafat, who shouldered the responsibility with him and performed it perfectly.

"Now, my friends, we can cast our eyes on the far horizon and look towards a secure and happy future where the dream turns into a reality and the hope that has thrived in hearts becomes a tangible reality.

"Doors have been opened, convoys have been set off and the historic march towards peace in the land of peace has begun.

"Palestinians and Arabs everywhere, Israeli supporters of right, justice and life, march forward together. Do not be afraid. Get together. Do not be divided, so that your efforts will not be wasted. It is time to shake hands, cleanse hearts, reassure souls, bring interests closer and to remove enmity, which spread in the region when time turned its back. It is time for us to direct our human and natural resources to what God has legitimized for us. It is time to reclaim land, mend what was spoiled, build bridges and spread development and progress in fields, farms and factories. It is time to redress wounds, uproot hatred from souls, replace the tendencies of evil and revenge with love and fraternity, and plant roses instead of barbed wire.

"This is not the choice of an individual or a limited group. It is the option and indisputable, unanimous decision of peoples. It is not the choice of one people to the exclusion of others. It is the choice of all peoples and all those who care for their present and future and realize the challenges.

"If a people decides to have life, fate will inevitably respond; dark will inevitably vanish and shackles will inevitably break [Arab proverb].

"Let us proceed with God's blessing on the road of peace and good neighbourliness. May God guide us and protect our march. Peace be upon you."<sup>6</sup>

*Remarks by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher*

"President Mubarak, Prime Minister Rabin, Chairman Arafat, Foreign Minister Peres, Foreign Minister Kozyrev, Mr. Abu Mazen, distinguished guests: Representing President Clinton and the United States, I am privileged and honoured to stand with you today in this wonderful city, as we witness the signing of this remarkable agreement and pay tribute to those who made it possible.

"Eight months ago, many of you stood with me in another great city to witness another historic handshake. The signing of the Declaration of Principles last September in Washington committed long-time adversaries to mutual reconciliation. It gave them a way out of the bitter conflict that has so long entrapped them.

"Now they stand on the verge of implementing that agreement. Though we live in an age of political wonders, where old hatreds are giving way to new hopes, these achievements cannot be forgotten. Indeed, we must use them to send this simple message to a world still beset by conflict: With vision, leadership and courage, peace between former enemies is possible.

"The months between these two agreements have not been easy. They have tested our faith in the power of reasoned compromise. Israelis and Palestinians have wrestled with the complicated questions like transfer of authority, economic integration, and security - and perhaps also with their own doubts about the possibility of success. They searched for - and in the end, they found - ways to turn principles into new realities.

"To their eternal credit, Israelis and Palestinians pressed forward in the face of extremists who sought to kill hope for the future by inflaming the hatreds of the past. We are here today because unspeakable acts of violence could not still the voices of peace or weaken the resolve of the peacemakers. We are here to send a message to all who would use terror to keep Arabs and Israelis mired in the politics of hatred and despair: the children of the Middle East will not be condemned to a future of perpetual conflict. Negotiations work; peace is possible.

"For Palestinians, the challenge now is to build accountable, democratic institutions of government; to provide for the economic well-being of their people; to uphold the rule of law; and to guarantee respect for human rights. That is the kind of self-government that Palestinians want and deserve. The international community must stand ready to assist them. The challenge is not merely to secure the peace but to take full advantage of it.

"For Israelis, the immediate task will be to establish a new relationship with their Palestinian neighbours, to forge bonds of cooperation that can bring benefits to both peoples to reach the undiscovered promised land of peace.

"For Palestinians and Israelis alike, the challenge will be to create a common basis of respect and tolerance. The challenge will be to help all the peoples of the Middle East fulfil, in the words of President Clinton, the 'great yearning for the quiet miracle of a normal life.'

"There is still important work to be done. We have not seen the end of contention in the Middle East. But we are changing the manner of contention. We are coming closer to the day when disputes once inflamed by the argument of force will be settled by the force of argument.

"The spirit of compromise we see today must not fade. Israelis and Palestinians have a fundamental stake in this process. For the first time, Palestinians have the chance to govern themselves. For the first time, Israelis have the chance to forge a truly constructive relationship with Palestinians. I believe that together they can - and must -succeed.

"In the end, the goal we seek is not simply peace as the absence of war. It is a just and enduring and comprehensive settlement based on genuine cooperation, mutual respect, tolerance and the normal interaction of diplomacy and trade that binds nations together.

"With the support and determination of the friends of peace, that goal can be reached. In this regard, I pay special tribute to President Mubarak, whose efforts were so instrumental in helping us reach this moment. Egypt has again demonstrated that it is an essential bridge, linking Arabs and Israelis in the pursuit of peace. It is also fitting to honour the memory of the late

Foreign Minister of Norway, Johan Holst, who worked tirelessly in pursuit of this agreement, and who is, I am certain, with us in spirit.

"Forty-five years ago, on the island of Rhodes, the great American peacemaker Ralph Bunche mediated the first armistice between Arabs and Israelis. His words then capture our spirit now. He said:

'I have a bias against war; a bias for peace.... I have a bias in favour of both Arabs and Jews in the sense that I believe that both are good, honourable and essentially peace-loving peoples, and are therefore as capable of making peace as of waging war'.

"The same motivations that brought Arabs and Israelis to Madrid, to Oslo, to Washington and here today to Cairo will carry this region forward to lasting peace. Prime Minister Rabin, Chairman Arafat, we salute you today for taking an extraordinary step towards this noble goal."7

*Remarks by the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation, Mr. Andrei Kozyrev*

"I would like to start by congratulating the Egyptian president on his birthday. I think, Your Excellency, that your foreign minister did not give you a present. But I believe that your being here amid this audience and this process to sign the agreement illustrates the prominent and leading role in the peace process played by your country under your leadership. I believe that the signing of the agreement in Egypt is very significant, because Egypt paved the way for reconciliation in the region. I hope that on your next birthday we will meet in the same hall with the same gathering to witness the signing of not only the Gaza-Jericho First agreement, but an agreement involving all the territory. By then we will have laid the foundations for three new pyramids: first, agreement on self-rule for the Palestinians; second, agreement for peaceful coexistence and mutual respect, and I hope the Palestinians and Israel will cooperate; and third, comprehensive peace in the Middle East. We all believe that we can achieve a comprehensive peace soon by making progress in the coming dialogue and negotiations.

"I believe that President Arafat and Prime Minister Rabin know how much Russia wants peace in the region. This region is near to Russia. The trip from Moscow to this region is a four-hour flight, while the journey from Moscow to Vladivostok takes eight hours. We are eager to achieve peace and stability in the region. Russia would like to be a sponsor of this process along with the United States. I hope that this day will mark the start of the implementation of this agreement. There will be difficulties on the way but they must be overcome with good faith and resolve.

"I congratulate you on this great effort today and I reassure you that Russia, the United States, Egypt, the European Community and the whole world will be on the side of Israel, the Palestinians and Arabs in the peace efforts. Thank you."8

*Speech by Mr. Mahmoud Abbas, Member of the PLO Executive Committee*

"Mr. President, gentlemen, today we have completed a difficult stage of negotiations on formulas, articles and contexts to begin a more difficult stage in which to translate what we have achieved on paper into reality. We were lucky enough to meet today in Egypt, the country with the greatest and most profound experience in war and peace, to begin together the first steps on the path that we hope will lead us to our dream and the dream of generations, the dream of achieving a permanent, just and comprehensive peace.

"I register here for Egypt, the land of civilizations, its people, Government and President,

its essential and effective contribution to what has been achieved, a contribution that encourages us to be optimistic about the future when we all proceed together side by side to complete the process and provide the guarantees for its success.

"Gentlemen, our people have chosen the path of peace and expressed this choice with the most sophisticated means of action. Their glorious struggle for peace was the subject of admiration by the entire world just as their steadfastness in the struggle for existence was an unparalleled miracle in this and any other age.

"As we take the first and most important step on the ground, we realize that peace is not made through agreements and documents alone, but gains its vitality and viability by its ability to achieve the interests of peoples and by the extent to which it can match their daily needs and its relationship with their dreams. With this understanding, I would like to speak in the language of the future and address my words first to our Israeli partners, the other party to the equation and the other party with whom we have long fought and with whom we are trying now to shape new relations to end past calamities and tragedies to benefit peace and tranquillity today and in future. I tell our partners: You have fought long but even at the peak of your strength you never felt peace and security. Every day, every moment, there was something that disturbed and frightened you. This is because strength, however great it may be, can never cancel the feeling of the harm of isolation from your geographical and human environment and can never prevent the pain from the constant bleeding in your body and the body of those you are fighting. We have stretched our hand out to you to get rid of all the pains of the past.

"You, and among you there are some who support the peace we are creating at this critical time and others who are against it, you shoulder the major part of the responsibility for the coming success or failure, God forbid. As we see it, your responsibility begins by getting rid of the old thinking that is full of fears and doubts and the endless search for guarantees, which affects the core of the interests of others, to replace them with a creative approach to tomorrow's requirements, in which your partners in the peace course will feel reassured and confident of the usefulness and permanency of cooperating with you. This has nothing to do with a new language we find ourselves speaking but with a new spirit that is reflected in behaviour on every level.

"You have achieved peace with Egypt, the biggest country in our Arab world. You are today trying to achieve peace with the Palestinian people, whose cause it is, a people at the centre of the conflict. I do not doubt for a single moment your mature awareness of a self-evident truth that says that peace in our region cannot become firmly established and guaranteed without completing its interconnected links so as to see it also achieved with Syria, Lebanon and Jordan in the clearest terms and fairest contexts.

"While we feel increasingly confident when we hear about serious actions to resume the efforts to achieve peace with our remaining brothers, we do not hide from you our fears for everything that has been achieved if it is not completed soon with its other Arab links.

"It has probably become clear to you and to the whole world that the essence and dimensions of the peace with the neighbouring countries are not confined to the geographic scale of the regional map and its borders but are much deeper, because it should be a peace with the great nation, from the Ocean to the Gulf. Fears will remain and an inadequate, if not non-existent, sense of security will remain if we do not put this at the centre of our attention and efforts.

"On such a day, I address our Palestinian people. Among them there is not one family that has not lost a martyr recently to the convoys of martyrs who have fallen since the start of the conflict and throughout every chapter and whose precious sacrifices have built the bridge to the peace station. The children of the intifadah and their sacrifices have ripened this historic moment. We tell our vibrant, alert and very cultured people that we feel your pulse, share your

fears and understand your observations on the formulas we have reached between Oslo and this day. But with you we see an opportunity for a new coming together to wage a new experiment. How great it is to start with difficulty on the ground and how much more miserable it is to continue to easily adopt verbal slogans and remain confined by their restrictions. We will meet on the same ground to share in the sweetness and bitterness of our new life, to struggle to rebuild the society and homeland that has been exhausted by the long and bitter war and that has planted many illnesses in its heart. We will struggle together for the dream that will never leave us as long as we live, the dream of freedom and independence, the dream of the beautiful life for our children and grandchildren, the dream of the hopes and assuredness on the soil of our homeland, the dream of enjoying dignity under our sun and skies, the dream of the creative contribution to the building of our region and the consolidation of the pillars of its stability, and the dream of the creative cultural link with our Arab and Islamic nation and with the whole world, without wars and their calamitous requirements.

"Yesterday, when Nelson Mandela dropped his voting card in the ballot box we heard him say: 'I feel a dream has come true'. Today we say we feel that the march towards our hopes has effectively begun. Still at the beginning of the road, we extend an intimate and loving call to our brothers who either reject, have reservations about or have fears regarding our steps: come to the house so that we can build it together, close the windows of evil together, make the best of the opportunity and besiege the chances of danger with all our force.

"We sincerely call for a national mobilization where efforts and capabilities are integrated to achieve our present and future missions on democratic bases and with a view towards building modern institutions that will ensure for our pluralistic society the best factors of progress and development and boost our national aspirations, only the first steps of which we have achieved with all the factors that will allow them to be realized. Let us work together for the sake of repatriation, for Jerusalem, on which we are about to enter negotiations and for fulfilling the requirements and tasks of the final stage of the peace process in all its aspects.

"The homeland we are hoping for is one for all the Palestinians. Let us build it on its soil, not on impossible slogans that only distance us from it.

"On this day we address the new world, which is being shaped in a new climate and under new considerations saying that the opening of the file of peace in the Middle East was the most courageous step towards building a new international order, or let us say new international life on the rubble of the cold war and its scores of destructive regional and civil wars.

"The Middle East, which burdened the conscience of the world for half a century, troubling international interests and placing them at the mercy of instability, deserves further international efforts to entrench its new ambitious image. Any serious and effective contribution to ensure the stability and growth of this part of the world is, in essence, a vital contribution to the stability of everybody's interests in their every form and content.

"Finally, we extend our appreciation to Warren Christopher, who is joining us in celebrating these historic moments, and it pleases us to convey through him our greetings to the American people, the United States Administration, and President Clinton, who continued to work to achieve peace in our region.

"I also greet Mr. Kozyrev. We are pleased to convey through him our greetings to the people and Government of Russia and to President Boris Yeltsin.

"It is perhaps also useful to refer with appreciation and loyalty to the Government of Norway and to remember the late Foreign Minister Johan Holst and his creative efforts.

"We do not forget the positions and initiatives of every nation, each working as much as it could to support and sponsor the peace process. I particularly refer to our fraternal Arab

Maghreb countries, which played a major and creative role in embodying the Palestinian character and its political reality, and also to our brothers in the Arabian Gulf countries who, from the beginning, joined us in the peace process, on both the bilateral and multilateral tracks. I call on them today to translate the slogan of frankness and reconciliation into action on the ground.

"I also salute our brothers in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, who are moving with us along the road of peace with great confidence and the fraternal cohesion that embodies the nation's interests and aspirations.

"As we prepare to embark on the return trip to the homeland, we do not forget green Tunisia, its hospitable people and its president, who protectively embraced us in the hardest of times and who honourably and fraternally supported us.

"Mr. President, this is an additionally good act by you on your birthday. We congratulate you. We do not only say thank you; we will engrave this act in our hearts and will plant it on the boundaries of our homeland so that the generations will remember your position and noble work. Peace be upon you."<sup>9</sup>

*Speech by the Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr. Shimon Peres*

"Ladies and gentlemen: Nowadays you can watch how birth is being given on the television. Now you have had the occasion to watch it. What really happened is that we finished our negotiations by 0230 in the morning, and apparently we were short of five minutes. We apologize for taking these five minutes from you.

"We had a dream before we had a map. Now we have a map and a dream together. Thank you.

"Your Excellency, the President of Egypt Hosni Mubarak: Happy birthday! Blessed may be your way from being a pilot in the defence of your country and becoming a captain in the peace of the region;

"Prime Minister Rabin, that his people appreciate a decision and a leadership in a very difficult time;

"Secretary of State Warren Christopher, thank you for your tireless support;

"Foreign Minister Kozyrev, thank you for the positive assistance;

"Foreign Minister Godal of Norway, thank you for being a Norwegian;

"My dear friend, Amre Moussa, whose smiles and wisdom helped so much to overcome the hurdles of the negotiations, thank you very much;

"Chairman Arafat, our partner in a very difficult journey: We did it!

"Your Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, the reason for the conflict in the Middle East was the unhappy encounter between the Jewish and the Arab renaissance at the same time, at the same place. Thus, for almost half a century, we experienced blood and hatred, terror and war. Today we declare that the conflict is over.

"Today we have agreed to promise mothers and children, Arabs and Jewish, that no finger will pull a trigger or endanger the lives or to affect the dignity or happiness of their

children.

"Less than a year has passed since the night in Oslo where Israelis and Palestinians gathered secretly to initial a dramatic turning point in the history of their peoples. What seems in the eyes of many to be utopian becomes today a reality. I recall the strenuous days and endless nights needed to cross the valleys of mistrust and suspicion. And, again, we did it!

"We refer to a dual commitment: the moral history of our nation and the need of the people in the region. Our position stems from a moral code: govern yourself; don't rule others.

"So, the agreement today is not a submission to the threats of weapons; it is in reality a return to the values of our heritage.

"We do not want to be the governors, the judges or the police of the Palestinian people. It is for the Palestinians to elect their leaders, nominate their judges, appoint their policemen. All we wish is to become their friendly neighbours. All we hope is to see them as our good neighbours. Today we welcome you, the Palestinian people, as neighbours.

"We must look ahead. We state earnestly to the Arab people, that you and us, we need a Middle East, a geography of peace, a territory of prosperity, a community based on market economy, responsible diplomacy and a land that will regain its fertility. We assure that we shall not stop here; that we shall reach peace with Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and make it comprehensive and durable.

"We shall continue to negotiate with the Palestinians for a permanent solution. Relations are more telling than borders. We are mapping today our relations, so that we shall be able to map borders in the future. With the exception of war, the greatest menace is poverty. Nobody should pay for follies and belligerencies. We can put to the right use our available resources, the water we possess, the land we own, the knowledge we acquire for the benefit of our people - a Middle East for the people and by the people.

"The story of modern society is not a national separation but an economic cooperation. No nation can dominate, and yet every nation must compete and ably so. We know already that computers are mightier than guns. We know that the new opportunities reside in the campuses of the scientists rather than in the camps of the armies.

"Ladies and gentlemen, the future is inevitable, just as peace is inevitable, and for all of us. A year ago, a meeting like that of today would have been perceived as unreal. Yet today it is a reality. Alongside the magic river that held the cradle of Moses, at the foot of the pyramids that withstood the test of time, to see such a distinguished and unique gathering like you and us here today carries a new promise.

"The President of Egypt; the Foreign Ministers of the co-sponsors, the United States and the Russian Republic; as well as the Foreign Minister of Norway; respected delegates of Arab countries and Europe; sponsors and donors from all continents: we thank you for the sense of a fresh beginning, for a new image and a new era for the people of our region.

"Much work still lies before us. Many are the enemies and many are the obstacles on the road of peace. Yet, if we do all we must, we can make this concrete beginning into a brilliant future. And then, when looking upon the horizon we shall know that the reddish lining is not of blood but of a rising dawn.

"In the words of prophet Isaiah: 'In place of brass I will bring gold, in place of iron I will bring silver. Violence shall no more be heard in your land, nor war, nor destruction within your borders.'

"Long live peace to all of us! Thank you."<sup>10</sup>

*Speech by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Mr. Yasser Arafat*

"In the name of God, the merciful the compassionate. And we wished to be gracious to those who were being depressed in the land, to make them leaders in faith and make them heirs [Koranic verse].

"President Mohammed Hosni Mubarak of the fraternal Arab Republic of Egypt, Mr. Chris-topher, Mr. Kozyrev, Israeli Prime Minister Rabin, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and my brother His Excellency Egyptian Foreign Minister Amre Moussa:

"In the historic moments that we are witnessing today on the land of fraternal Egypt, I extend to you, Mr. President and to the Government and great people of Egypt, greetings and appreciation of your constant concern and continuing efforts to achieve a just and comprehensive peace in the entire region. This is Egypt's fate and real role as determined by its position in the heart of the Arab world and the Middle East and between the three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe. Many happy returns on your birthday today.

"You are now carrying the banner that is building the structure of peace. Without your constant contribution and role, it would be difficult for us to see such an achievement. To you, Your Excellency the President, and through you to every Egyptian on this good and towering land, I extend the greetings of every Palestinian in our land and abroad, those who look with hope towards a new era of genuine, lasting and comprehensive peace. I also thank Foreign Minister brother Amre Moussa.

"I also extend greetings and deep thanks to the sponsors of the peace process, the United States and the Russian Federation, and to President Bill Clinton and President Boris Yeltsin, who are represented here today by His Excellency Secretary Warren Christopher and His Excellency Minister Andrei Kozyrev. I also thank the States of the European Union, the non-aligned States, the Islamic States and the African countries.

"Their persistent efforts had a great effect on overcoming the obstacles and on bringing views closer so as to complete this first step in the Palestinian-Israeli peace course and from it, God willing, move to the Arab-Israeli peace.

"I also remember with reverence and respect our friend and minister, Norway's Johan Holst, who died with great hopes of sharing in these moments of implementing the first step of the agreement. He participated quietly and effectively to achieve it. I welcome here His Excellency Minister Tore Godal, appreciating his important endeavours and the Norwegian Government's constant efforts and good moves to serve the peace process in every sphere.

"In the name of every Palestinian man and woman, I look with great confidence and hope at our brothers and our people's friends who are participating in this historic occasion and I think of those who could not come. I thank them all and stress to them that our people today in the West Bank, Gaza, holy Jerusalem and in all the diaspora are looking more than ever towards your role so that this first step in Gaza and Jericho will become the real start for completing the peace process, guaranteeing our Palestinian people's legitimate rights, achieving justice and equality by ending the occupation of our Palestinian territories and building the Palestinian future based on democracy, development and progress, a future linked with the tradition of its glorious Arab nation.

"Today, brothers, belongs to all our brothers who have helped to make it. It belongs to our brother President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the president of green Tunisia who provided the



Palestinian people's leadership with all the facilities for achieving their rights. The day belongs to our brothers in the great Arab Maghreb, especially His Majesty King Hassan II and his good efforts, President Liamine Zeroual, chairman of the Arab Maghreb Union, and the other brother members of the Union. It also belongs to our brothers in the Arab Gulf. I particularly mention the role of His Majesty King Fahd, custodian of the two holy mosques, and all his brother leaders of the Gulf countries. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's planes are today carrying the Palestinian security forces who are returning to the homeland. This highlights the constant support and brotherhood, the ties of which will never be broken, God willing.

"On this day, too, I salute His Majesty King Hussein of fraternal Jordan, and Jordan's Government and people, who share with us a common date and a promising future, God willing.

"I also express to our brothers in Syria and Lebanon and to President Hafez al-Assad and President Elias Hraoui the confidence that the ties of fate binding us will be strengthened because we are acting on the firm basis that peace will not be just if it is not comprehensive. Peace will prevail over our region when the resolutions of international legitimacy are applied to all the Arab fronts and when the eras of occupation, the eras of wars and the cycles of violence end.

"I also salute the brothers in Yemen, Sudan, Iraq and Libya for embracing their Palestinian brothers since the departure from Beirut.

"Allow me to congratulate the people of South Africa and struggling President Nelson Mandela and [former] President de Klerk for the victory achieved by the South African people in the democratic experience, when it vanquished injustice and racial discrimination to build a future based on tolerance, equality, justice and respect for human rights.

"Respected ladies and gentlemen, we are signing the step to mark the start. It is a step linked with other steps in the West Bank during the coming few months so that our people can, for the first time, see the real horizon for establishing the just peace.

"The withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho is the prelude: it opens the door to removing the entire occupation and to establishing new relations between our peoples, Prime Minister Rabin, between our Israeli and Palestinian peoples, for the sake of our children and yours.

"Completing this step required Herculean courage after long periods of war and violence. The coming stage will require still greater courage, a thorough insight, real far-sightedness and firm patience so that we can establish a firm and unshakable peace, the peace of the bold.

"The Palestinian people have lived on their land throughout history. They helped to create civilization and raise the voice of peace, the voice of the only all-powerful God, the creator, the Lord of the universe and of the three heavenly religions, calling for praising God's blessings, giving and his name on this sacred land.

"The people of Palestine, based on their deep historical heritage, today express their loyalty to the just and comprehensive peace. Thus our people demonstrated faithfulness to the heritage of their successive generations to the sweat of the Palestinian people, mixed as it is with the soil of the earth, to the Palestinian maker's determination to build life and let it flourish and to the creativity of the Palestinian intellectual, who always believes that history will never go off its track no matter how much time passes.

"Our people, gentlemen, have struggled long to see the beginning of the peace era. For peace to be achieved, our people offered dear sacrifices. To achieve this recognition of our national rights, the eyes of bereaved mothers and of children who were raised to know that love and loyalty to the homeland are the highest values of life looked forward. Also looking forward to this were the prisoners, whose hope of freedom, for themselves and for their people, is

renewed every day, and the refugee camp residents, who never lost confidence that a new era of freedom would come.

"Nothing has gone in vain. Alive and great nations make their wounds, the sacrifice of their martyrs and their long suffering the motives for the future and the banners for building a new era based on justice under the shadow of tolerance and coexistence among the three religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam over centuries.

"We have offered a great deal to reach this day. We confronted patiently and persistently every hindrance and doubt and we always thought that every step in the peace negotiations, despite all the pain, was a move away from the era of war and violence nearer to the era of equal rights and the implementation of international legitimacy. While today we celebrate the signing of the first step, we must all realize that all those concerned about peace, including our people at home and in the diaspora, measure the seriousness of this step by one criterion: honest and precise implementation and the change it will make to the reality on the ground. It is the right of our people and of everybody concerned with genuine peace to point to the measures isolating holy Jerusalem from its surroundings and preventing the Palestinians from entering it and the other sacred Islamic and Christian places. These measures obstruct life in the city, paralyse its economy and separate the sons of the same family.

"All this is incompatible with the spirit of the just and real peace with the course of equality, justice and human rights that we are aspiring to adopt as the basis for free and positive relations between the two neighbouring peoples, as Mr. Peres said, between the Palestinian and Israeli peoples. The suffering of the city of Hebron following the bloody massacre cannot continue. It is still suffering encirclement and siege both inside and outside it.

"The continuation of the settlement and the attempt to impose the fait accompli in Jerusalem and in other areas conflict with the essence, clauses and the short- and long-term objectives of the peace process.

"The boldness of peace prompts me today to adopt the policy of frankness on peace without which we cannot end the age of confrontation and start the age of constructive and real cooperation. The Arab peoples and millions of Muslims and Christians will observe our practical steps tomorrow to pass judgement on the possibility of coexistence and of opening a new chapter in normal relations. All those who want the success of the Palestinian-Israeli peace experiment realize the importance of the great steps facing this peace, including the settlements, the refugee problem, holy Jerusalem and the need to solve it later, as we agreed, so as to help create a new era of protecting the future of the entire region and ensuring openness between their peoples and countries on the basis of respect for the rules and resolutions of international legitimacy.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I am confident today that the Palestinian people will receive this new stage with a desire to provide a real opportunity for building real peace with the same desire it has for its national identity and its independent national being. Our people extends its hand to the Israeli people to start this era and end the whirlpool of violence for the sake of our real interests today and the interests of our coming generations.

"Coexistence is possible. It is inevitable. It is our common fate to live together as neighbours governed by the rules of justice, democracy and national and human dignity.

"Hatred, bigotry and extremism will only lead to more squandering of our creative and brilliant resources. We are proposing the alternative today, namely equality, joint building and respect for every people's right and independent choice and security.

"Today again I also address our great Arab nation, leaders and peoples, on the threshold of the first step of the return to the homeland and stress to them that their pain, sacrifice and

determination to uphold our Palestinian people's national legitimate rights prompt us today to strengthen our fraternal ties in every field so that peace for Palestine will, as always, be a peace for all the Arabs.

"Yes, gentlemen, our peace is a peace for our Arab nation. It is a peace for Israelis for the Middle East region, for the whole world. Yes, it is a peace for the whole world.

"O God, you are peace, peace comes from you, and peace is for you. Blessed are you, God, full of majesty, bounty and honour. Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth and goodwill towards men. Peace be with you."<sup>11</sup>

*Speech by the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin*

"The President of Egypt, President Mubarak, the co-sponsors, the Secretary of State of the United States, the Foreign Minister Kozyrev of Russia, Chairman Arafat, the Chairman of the PLO, Foreign Ministers, distinguished guests, members of the committees that worked so hard to produce what has been done and signed at this stage, the citizens of Israel, the Palestinian people: First,

I would like to join in the many happy returns for your birthday; it will take you many additional years to reach my age.

"I am not ... How to put it? We witnessed, you witnessed, the world witnessed the tip of the iceberg of problems that we shall have to overcome in the implementation of even the first phase of the Declaration of Principles. To overcome 100 years of animosity suspicion, bloodshed, is not so simple. There is an opposition on both sides to what we are doing today and it will require a lot, a lot on both sides to make sure that we succeed and achieve peaceful coexistence and, in addition to the coexistence, to bring a permanent solution.

"Today we signed the Gaza-Jericho First agreement, which is the first phase of implementation. It's a very daring project, and we are committed by signature today to make sure that it will work. We will achieve our goals; we will be able to overcome all these problems. You have heard many different speeches. Allow me, after saying what I have said by now, to turn in Hebrew to the people of Israel.

"In 1889, 105 years ago, Avraham Jablonsky, a blacksmith, was murdered in his clay hut in Wadi Khalil. Avraham Jablonsky was the first victim in the history of the Jewish settlement in Eretz Yisrael in modern times. He was the first victim of the bloody conflict between us and the Palestinian people since our return to the land of our forefathers after 2,000 years of exile. Since Avraham Jablonsky's death, the experience of our grandparents, parents, ourselves and even our children and grandchildren has been almost solely one of blood and bereavement. For 100 years, this blood gave us no rest. What did we want? We wanted to return to the land of our forefathers, to the land of the Bible. We wanted a homeland; we wanted a home; we wanted a safe haven; we wanted a place to call our own; we wanted to live as all men live, to be like other nations. We wanted to live.

"The war for the land of our forefathers took our best sons and daughters. It drained us of spiritual and physical energies and channelled our entire spiritual and physical existence to paths we did not want, to paths of pain. We deplore that. Even in our most difficult times, our hearts ached at the sights of devastation, hatred and death. Even in our most bitter moments, we knew that the tears of a bereaved mother from within our midst are no different from the tears of another bereaved mother that they are equally piercing and painful in any family, that the cries of despair are the same even when uttered in other languages.

"We decided to try to put an end to this terrible circle of pain. We decided to look ahead at a different future. On 13 September 1993, on the White House lawn in Washington, we

decided to embark on a new road. Tomorrow we will begin implementing the Declaration of Principles. The Declaration and its implementation - in Gaza and Jericho, at this point - is designed to attain a dual purpose: to enable the Palestinian authority to administer the lives of the Palestinians and to uphold public law and order in their places of residence. Our goal is to uphold security for Israelis wherever they may be, particularly in the wake of the change that is scheduled to take place in Gaza and Jericho. If the security of the Israelis is not ensured and if the Palestinians are not given new hope, the goal of the agreement will not be attained.

"A great deal depends on the Palestinians. We are embarking on this new road with a lot of hope and with strong will, and we know that it entails wonderful chances as well as serious risks. We are convinced that both peoples can live on the same strip of land, every man under his vine and under his fig tree, as the biblical prophets envisioned to give this land, the land of stones and graves, the taste of milk and honey it deserves.

"At this hour, I appeal to the Palestinian people and say to them: Palestinian neighbours, 100 bloody years have instilled in us hatred for each other. For 100 years, we wanted to see you dead and you wanted to see us dead. We killed you and you killed us. Thousands of our graves and yours dot the mountains and the valleys, and they are painful landmarks in your history and ours. Today, you and we are extending our hands in peace. Today, we are opening a new account. The Israeli people expect you not to let them down. Let the new hope flourish. It is not easy to forget the past, but let us try to overcome the rancours and obstacles in order to open a new, unique and historic horizon; an opportunity which may never recur for a different life, a life that is not fraught with fear, a life that is not fraught with hatred, a life that does not involve the frightened eyes of children, a life that does not entail pain, a life in which we will build a home, plant a vineyard and live to a ripe old age alongside our fellow men.

"Tomorrow morning, we all hope to awaken to a new day, to awaken to a new future and a new chance for our children. For their sake, it was necessary to fight; for their sake, it is vital to reach peace.

"I thank all those who lent us a hand and helped us get to this day: the heads of State and statesmen, the soldiers who fought and the soldiers we hope will not have to fight.

"A special thanks to our host, to the President of Egypt, President Mubarak, the leader of the great Arab country that set the precedent that peace can be achieved, peace can be maintained, peace can bring peoples together.

"Allow me to thank the Secretary of State of the United States, a true friend of Israel and the Foreign Minister of Russia, the representatives of Norway, and others who assisted so much.

"On a spring day of 1994, two weeks ago, the late Second Lieutenant Shahar Simani was murdered. He was 21 years old and a resident of Ashkelon. His bullet-riddled body was found by the roadside on the way to Jerusalem. A thread of blood links the Israeli people from the murder of Avraham Jablonsky, the blacksmith, 105 years ago to the murder of Second Lieutenant Simani two weeks ago. I pray: may Shahar Simani be the last fatality among all of us, Israelis and Palestinians.

"The new hope we are taking with us as we leave this place is immeasurable. There is no limit to our goodwill, to the will to see a historic reconciliation between two peoples that have lived so far by their swords. In the alleyways of Khan Yunis and on the outskirts of Ramat Gan, in the houses of Gaza, in the squares of Hadera, Rafah, and Afula, a new reality is being born today. One hundred years of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and millions of people who want to live are watching us. May God be with us."<sup>12</sup>

*Concluding remarks by President Hosni Mubarak*

"Ladies and gentlemen, today we are witnessing a historic event that is likely to influence the fate of our region for decades and centuries to come. It marks the realization of a great dream and a unique vision by the peacemakers, who kept their faith, under difficult circumstances, in the noble goal of peace.

"Their participation in this occasion is living testimony that the world is fully committed to this great issue. It is also a recognition of the wisdom of those who made this achievement possible.

"We are looking forward to further support. Let us extend to them all material and moral support so that the agreement the Palestinians and Israelis have signed can be implemented. They took no chances or risks when they opted for peace. Let us prove to the critics of both sides that none of their fears were founded. Let us continue our efforts with the same will and determination to achieve the same success on the other peace tracks. This is the essence of the comprehensive settlement to which we are committed.

"Finally, we must waste no effort to achieve a global peace. We must also turn our attention to the tragedies taking place in many regions. It is our common commitment to unite against any violation of the dignity of man. God bless us and may peace prevail on Earth. Thank you."<sup>13</sup>

**signing of the  
Area,**

**Statement by President Clinton regarding the  
Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho  
Washington, D.C., 4 May 1994**

The following statement by President Clinton on the signing of the Israeli-PLO Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area was released by the White House Office of the Press Secretary on 4 May 1994, at Washington, D.C.:

"The signing today in Cairo of the agreement to implement the Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles marks another milestone in progress towards a lasting peace in the Middle East. On behalf of all Americans, I have called Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat to congratulate them for this accomplishment. I expressed my high regard for Prime Minister Rabin's courageous leadership and stressed to Chairman Arafat the importance of moving without hesitation to make this agreement a reality. I also telephoned yesterday, and again today, President Mubarak to underscore our gratitude and appreciation for the key role he played in making this historic step forward possible.

"Now the focus must be on implementing the Declaration of Principles in as rapid and successful a manner as possible. The process of transforming the situation on the ground for the better must begin. The promise of a new future of hope for Israelis and Palestinians alike must now be realized. I assured Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat that the United States would do everything possible to make this happen.

"Building on the progress achieved today and our ongoing discussions with parties in the

region, I am hopeful that this can be the year of breakthrough to a lasting and comprehensive peace for all the peoples of the Middle East."14

**Secretary of State**

**D.C., 5 May 1994**

**Excerpts from an address by the United States  
to the American Jewish Committee, Washington,**

On 5 May 1994, at Washington, D.C., speaking before the American Jewish Committee, United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher said the following, inter alia, with respect to the various elements of the Middle East peace process:

*"A Gift From Cairo*

"In view of the historic events of the last few days, I want to focus my remarks tonight on developments in the Middle East peace process. It's customary to bring a gift for your host whenever you're invited to dinner. Well, tonight, I bring a precious gift from Cairo - a gift that didn't come easily but clearly reflects the commitment Israel and the Palestinians have made to creating a future of co-existence and a future of reconciliation. Formally, it's known as the agreement on Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and Jericho. But let me be a bit less opaque in describing what it really is: an important step forward on the road to a lasting and secure peace for Israel and the Middle East.

"This is, indeed, an achievement to be cherished. We must use it to send a simple message to a still-troubled world: negotiations do work. Peace between former enemies is possible.

"Starting today, the Palestinians and the Israelis, joined by their friends in the United States, Egypt and the rest of the world, have rolled up their sleeves and joined the real battle for peace. This is a battle that must be waged every day, on the ground, in the hearts and minds of people on both sides of this long and bloody conflict, a conflict that can only end when individual Israelis and Palestinians see evidence in their lives that mistrust and violence need not be a permanent state of affairs - that in fact they can live together side by side in a relationship of mutual respect and mutual benefit.

"Within a matter of weeks, the Israeli army will withdraw from Gaza and Jericho. For the first time in their history, almost a million Palestinians will assume responsibility for the day-to-day decisions that shape their lives. And in time, self-government will be extended to Palestinians throughout the West Bank.

"For its part, Israel will be free - free of what Prime Minister Rabin has called the bloody costs of 'ruling over another people who do not want our rule'. What Israeli soldier ever looked forward to serving in Jericho? What Israeli mother will not now rejoice knowing that her child will never again be sent to patrol the back streets and alleyways of Gaza?

*"Israel's courage: taking risks for peace*

"To reap these benefits fully, both parties must continue to demonstrate the courage and vision that brought them to yesterday's signing ceremony. Israel, besieged by war and terror for four decades, must transfer to yesterday's enemy, the PLO, sufficient authority so that self-rule can succeed. Prime Minister Rabin intends to do precisely that without compromising Israel's

security.

"The Prime Minister's determination to go the extra mile for peace has been evident at every stage of these negotiations. In 1985, I had the pleasure of introducing then-Defence Minister Rabin at a function in Los Angeles, never dreaming that a different day would come and that we would have the relationship we have now. I emphasized the courage and leadership he had repeatedly demonstrated in times of war. Over the last 15 months, as we've worked together to build a lasting peace, my admiration for him has only grown. He has applied the courage and experience he acquired in war to the difficult task of making peace.

"In those 1985 remarks, I also underscored Israel's tremendous courage as a country. Compelled by circumstances to fight for its survival, Israel has never stopped striving for peace. In pursuit of that goal, it has repeatedly shown itself ready to make painful choices and undertake significant risks for peace. As it does so yet again, Israel should know that America's bedrock commitment to its security remains unshakable. As President Clinton has said, 'It is the job of the United States to minimize Israel's risks'. Towards that end, we must continue to guarantee and enhance Israel's qualitative military edge.

*"Palestinian courage: ending terror, building self-rule*

"The Palestinians have much to gain from yesterday's events. In taking on the powers of self-rule, they also have a great responsibility for ensuring that the process succeeds. They can be assured of the goodwill and support of the United States and the world community. Last October, we organized the Donors' Conference to Support Middle East Peace, which raised more than \$2 billion to assist Palestinian economic development. The United States alone pledged \$500 million towards that effort.

"By embracing this historic opportunity, the Palestinians can build a freer, more prosperous society - a society based on accountable, democratic institutions of self-government, where the rule of law and human rights are upheld. That is the kind of self-government that Palestinians want and deserve. To achieve it, however, they must first live up to all the solemn commitments their leaders have undertaken but that they must now carry out. One stands out among all others: to root out terrorism and violence against Israel. The peace process simply will not be sustained unless Israelis are convinced that it will bring them greater security.

*"The United States role*

"For our part, the Clinton Administration has been pushing the peace process forward since its first days in office. Indeed, my first trip outside the United States as Secretary of State was to the Middle East. Since then, we have maintained constant contact with the parties and have played what we hope will be a significant role. There are four aspects to that:

"First, through our co-sponsorship of the Madrid process, we have provided the parties a framework for direct negotiations.

"Second, we have defined several crises that threatened to derail the talks - for example, the crisis over deportees in early 1993 and the Katyusha crisis in Lebanon last summer. And only a few weeks ago, when negotiations were suspended following the Hebron massacre, we worked out a formula acceptable to Israel that brought the Palestinians back to the peace table.

"Third, when necessary, we have acted as an active intermediary to move negotiations forward, particularly on the Israeli-Syrian track.

"Finally, we have mobilized the political and economic support of the international community to ensure we have the resources to help make peace a reality in that region.

"Without the United States playing this kind of a leadership role, I believe the peace process simply will not succeed. With it, yesterday's agreement can become the first step on the road to a lasting Middle East peace.

*"Expanding the peace*

"The successful implementation of the Gaza-Jericho accord must be followed by the expansion of self-rule to the rest of the West Bank and then by negotiations on the difficult issues of final status.

"But the Israeli-Palestinian breakthrough we saw finalized yesterday must also be accompanied by accelerated progress in Israel's negotiations with its other neighbours - Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. Only a comprehensive Middle East peace will provide the strategic underpinning for long-term regional stability.

"On my recent trip, I spent many intense and interesting hours with Prime Minister Rabin and President Assad of Syria, discussing their important set of negotiations. I believe there is a renewed seriousness of purpose on both sides to engage comprehensively on all the issues that must be resolved across the broad range of the relationship between the two countries. The gaps that separate them remain wide. But the level of detail in their respective ideas is unprecedented and created a much stronger basis for negotiations. A new, more substantive phase of these talks has been opened. The United States intends to remain deeply engaged. I have agreed to travel again to Israel and Syria in the near future.

*"Building cooperation, containing extremism*

"Last week, I also travelled to Riyadh for talks with King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and the Foreign Ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council. I stressed the importance of expanding the zone of peace to the entire Arab world. Here, the Gulf States' active participation in the multilateral phase of the peace process is essential.

"The multilateral process doesn't get much attention. But quietly it continues to topple long-standing taboos. Last month, for example, the Water Working Group met in Muscat and approved an Israeli proposal for rehabilitating water systems in the region. Think about that fact. A group including 13 Arab delegations endorsed an Israeli proposal for addressing a common problem affecting all the countries in the region. The venue for the meeting - an Arab capital - is also a symbol of falling taboos. I talked to the Israeli representative and was touched by the way he was received. The process continues this week in Qatar, where the Arms Control Group is meeting.

"In Riyadh, I also urged the Gulf States to demonstrate further their interest in reconciliation with Israel, and I told them that ending the Arab boycott is the place to start.

"The boycott has always been detestable. Now, with the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian economic agreement a few days ago, it has become a dangerous anachronism that hurts the very people it is supposed to help. Implementation of the Declaration of Principles will be completed soon. At that point, tangible steps need to be taken to dismantle the boycott.

"The second issue dominating my discussions in Riyadh was the need to maintain tight economic sanctions against Iraq. If Saddam Hussein is allowed to escape his current containment, he would pose an immediate threat to his neighbours as well as to Arab-Israeli peace. I am gratified that I found strong support for our position among the Gulf countries for maintaining the sanctions. It is essential that our other coalition partners remain equally steadfast.



*"Creating a Middle East community"*

"I want to conclude by saying that yesterday's landmark agreement in Cairo represents another key building block in America's long effort to help secure a more stable, peaceful Middle East. This represents a sustained bipartisan effort by Democratic and Republican Administrations alike. The costs have been substantial. But the returns are well worth the investment, not simply because it allows us to help reconcile long-term adversaries but because it promises to advance America's vital interests in a critical region of the world.

"The potential strategic benefits of resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict are difficult to exaggerate. Our aim is nothing less than to create a new Middle East community of nations that share a common interest in peaceful relations, stability, economic development and the advancement of the region's peoples. Such a community would not solve all the region's problems. But it would provide a far more solid foundation for the well-being of Israel and our Arab friends. It would better secure the region's vast oil supplies. And it would serve as a powerful bulwark against the growing threats of political extremism, weapons proliferation and the growing threats from renegade countries like Iraq, Libya and Iran.

"With the help and support of groups like the American Jewish Committee, I am convinced that America can help Israel and her neighbours achieve peace. Through patience, persistence and strength, we can advance our interests in this vital region. I assure you that the Clinton Administration remains dedicated to this vision of a more stable and secure Middle East."15

**Statement released by the Office of the Spokesman of the  
United States Department of State on the fourth meeting  
of the United States/Jordan/Israel Trilateral Economic  
Committee, Washington, D.C., 7 June 1994**

On 7 June 1994, at Washington, D.C., the following statement was released by the Office of the Spokesman of the United States Department of State on the outcome of the fourth meeting of the United States/Jordan/Israel Trilateral Economic Committee:

"The fourth meeting of the United States/Jordanian/Israeli Trilateral Economic Committee was held in Washington on 6 and 7 June 1994. The group met in plenary and, as in previous meetings, convened in two subgroups: on trade, banking and finance; and on cooperative projects. Some results of this trilateral follow.

*"Trade, banking and finance"*

- "- Jordan and Israel agreed to begin work on a draft framework which would explore and outline future trade and economic relations between the two countries.
- "- Both sides discussed in detail, both bilaterally and with the US, their respective economic agreements with the Palestinians.

- "- Both sides will continue their consultations on banking issues.
- "- Jordan and Israel proposed to invite participation by Palestinians in a new trilateral forum for discussion by mutual agreement of trade, banking and finance issues which affect the three parties. The US may also be invited to participate in some aspects of these discussions.

*"Cooperative projects*

"The parties agreed to engage on a number of issues simultaneously.

- "- The parties discussed Jordan's and Israel's conceptual papers on their comprehensive development plans for the Jordan Rift Valley. The US will assist the parties by merging these into an umbrella master plan which can serve as a basis for a subgroup trilateral meeting on the subject in the region in July 1994.
- "- The parties agreed to convene a subgroup trilateral meeting of experts on tourism in the region in July, which will include representatives from the private sector. Special focus will be tourism promotion in the Dead Sea and Aqaba-Eilat areas.
- "- The parties will designate one official each who will be responsible for trilateral coordination on a transboundary cultural heritage park in the Rift Valley. To this end, the US has proposed a trilateral site visit to a US national park next month which could serve as an appropriate model for development in the region.
- "- The parties agreed in principle on the utility of constructing a road to link Jordan, Israel and Egypt in the vicinity of Aqaba and Eilat. To follow up on discussions, the parties will conduct a preliminary site survey in the region in July 1994. Concurrently, Jordan and Israel will initiate their negotiations on the common boundaries per their 'Common Agenda' of 14 September 1993.
- "- The three sides agreed to convene an expert-level meeting in the region to discuss cooperation on civil aviation. This, too, is projected for July 1994.

*"Other understandings reached*

"In addition, Israel and Jordan - following consultations held on the occasion of the trilateral meeting - reached a number of understandings in the context of bilateral negotiations leading to a treaty of peace, as stipulated in the Israeli/Jordanian 'Common Agenda', as follows:

- "A. The two sides have concluded common sub-agendas in the fields of water, energy and the environment and security, borders and territorial matters.
- "B. Agreement was reached to set up a Commission on Boundaries, Security, Water and the Environment and Related Issues and relevant subcommissions on each item to discuss the sub-agendas and other matters as agreed.
- "C. The other parts of the 'Common Agenda' will then be negotiated.
- "D. Meanwhile negotiations on economic matters will continue in order to prepare for

future bilateral cooperation.

"E. The results of the negotiations will be incorporated into drafts which will form parts of a treaty of peace.

"F. The negotiations on the above will take place in the region starting in July 1994."16

**Assistant Secretary of State for**

**Europe and the Middle East**

**Washington, D.C., 14 June 1994**

**Excerpts from a statement by the United States**

**Near Eastern Affairs before the Subcommittee on**

**of the House Foreign Affairs Committee,**

On 14 June 1994, at Washington, D.C., in a statement before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Robert H. Pelletreau, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, briefed the Subcommittee on the status of the peace process. He said, inter alia:

"Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Subcommittee: I am pleased to appear before you again to review recent developments in the Middle East.

"In the two months that have passed since I last testified before you, the region has taken a historic step towards peace with the conclusion of the 4 May accord between Israel and the PLO and the transfer of authority in the Jericho area and the Gaza Strip from Israel to the Palestinian Authority. Jordan and Israel also have made significant progress: they have agreed to hold negotiations in Jordan and Israel this July. It is our hope that these dramatic achievements will encourage Governments in the region to move forward in other areas of activity in the peace process. While the process remains fraught with difficulties and dangers, there are, indeed, encouraging signs that the momentum towards peace is building

"Mr. Chairman, my statement today will cover the peace process, Yemen, Gulf security and our democratization and commercial policies in the region. Let me begin by reviewing the various tracks of the peace process.

*"Update on the peace process: bilateral negotiations*

"Over the past six weeks, the peace process has taken several large steps forward. And the United States has been actively involved. On the bilateral track, Israelis and Palestinians signed two important agreements. In Paris, on 29 April the two sides concluded an economic agreement that will have far-reaching implications for their relations in the period ahead.

"Five days later, on 4 May, at a dramatic ceremony in Cairo, Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and PLO Chairman Arafat signed an agreement to implement the first part of the Declaration of Principles relating to Gaza and Jericho. Secretary Christopher, who had been in the region for more than a week to advance the peace process, was on hand to witness the signing.

"By the middle of May, authority had been transferred to the Palestinians in Gaza and Jericho. On a second trip to the region - following the Cairo ceremony - the Secretary visited Jericho to see first-hand the situation on the ground. He was able to witness the implementation

process moving forward amidst great enthusiasm by the local Palestinians.

"With Palestinians now assuming self-government responsibilities in Gaza and Jericho, it is important that we expedite the aid promised at the Conference to Support Middle East Peace. Secretary Christopher has been urging other donors to join us in reallocating pledges to meet the start-up needs of the Palestinian Authority. Donors have responded positively. At the 9 and 10 June meeting of the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC), key donors pledged to reallocate \$42 million to meet Palestinian cash-flow needs this summer. We are pleased that most of these resources will be steered through the Holst Peace Fund. Administered by the World Bank, this fund was specifically set up to deliver cash quickly and accountably. The United States has helped lead this process by reallocating an additional \$10 million for the Holst Fund in 1994. This meets the AHLC target of allocating 25 per cent of total 1994 pledges for start-up costs.

"Total pledges for start-up costs now exceed \$130 million and should rise further at the mid- July meeting of the Consultative Group. The donor response is extraordinary, but it must also be temporary. Palestinian self help efforts - collecting taxes and tapping the resources of the Palestinian diaspora - as well as cooperation between the PLO and Israel in implementing the economic aspects of the Cairo protocol are critical for economic progress.

"Last week's meeting of the US/Jordanian/Israeli Trilateral Economic Committee in Washington moved the Jordan-Israel track forward in substantial ways. The parties initialled bilateral agreements on water, energy, the environment, borders and security which will constitute parts of an eventual peace treaty. They also agreed to establish a commission on these issues which will meet openly in their two countries beginning next month. For the first time since Camp David, representatives of Israel and an Arab state are planning to meet publicly on each other's territory as a demonstration of their commitment to peace.

"On trilateral issues, the parties agreed to a number of new ventures, including:

- "- A road link between Jordan and Israel near their respective Red Sea ports;
- "- Tourism coordination and development of a transboundary cultural heritage park;
- "- Discussion of civil aviation matters;
- "- Comprehensive development planning for the Jordan Rift Valley;
- "- To supplement the road project, the two parties agreed to form a commission to examine border demarcation in the immediate vicinity next month.

"These are clear signs of tangible progress since Jordan and Israel signed the 'Common Agenda' last September. They demonstrate that the parties are serious about finding common ground on which to base future relations.

"The US also has been seeking opportunities to move forward the Syria-Israel negotiations. During his two recent trips to the region, Secretary Christopher had extensive discussions on this subject in Syria and Israel. It is clear from the Secretary's exchanges - and our subsequent follow-up - that these negotiations have entered a new, more substantive phase. Instead of focusing on only one or two key elements, the parties are looking at a more comprehensive, package approach. This allows each side to present its ideas not only on the nature of peace and withdrawal but on issues such as timing, phasing and security arrangements.

"At the same time, significant gaps remain both on substance and procedure. There is still a great deal of work to be done. The US is committed to doing everything possible to advance the Syria-Israel track in 1994. Lebanon and Israel are also continuing their effort to

reach agreement on a political frame of reference dealing with the key issues of land and peace.

*"Multilateral negotiations*

"The multilateral peace process has also broken new ground in important ways. We are, currently, in round six of the plenary working group meetings. In this round, the five working groups have increased their emphasis on concrete projects designed to bring the benefits of peace home to the people of the region. The groups have approved, and in a few cases implemented, small-scale projects on the ground. For example, the Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) Group is establishing a communications network, patterned after the CSCE, among regional participants. In April, the Water Group approved an Israeli proposal for rehabilitating water systems in small communities - the first time an Israeli proposal was endorsed in the multilaterals.

"The multilaterals are also beginning to sketch a picture of what the region might look like -how the countries of the area might cooperate - once a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace is achieved. Both the Steering Group and the ACRS Group are actively considering draft declarations of principles or guidelines for conducting relations in the future.

"In the current multilateral round, four of the five working groups and the Steering Group have met or will meet in Arab States. Hosts thus far include Qatar, for the ACRS Group; Oman, water; and Egypt, refugees. The Regional Economic and Development Group (REDWG) is meeting this week in Morocco. The Steering Group will convene in Tunisia next month. Israeli participation in the meetings in Qatar and Oman created major news events in Israel and is a sign of a changing Middle East."17

**Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs  
Middle East Multilateral Steering Group,**

**Opening remarks by the United States Assistant  
at a news conference following a meeting of the  
Tabarka, Tunisia, 13 July 1994**

On 13 July 1994, at Tabarka, Tunisia, in his opening remarks at a news conference following a meeting of the Middle East Multilateral Steering Group, the United States Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Robert H. Pelletreau, described progress made in the Middle East multilateral negotiations. He said, inter alia:

"The Middle East Multilateral Steering Group met on 12 and 13 July at Tabarka, Tunisia. The Steering Group - which is composed of core parties from the Middle East, the United States and Russia, as co-sponsors of the peace process; and extraregional parties that have taken on responsibility for the multilateral working groups - monitors, evaluates and guides the activities of all the working groups.

"All the participants contributed to a serious and fruitful dialogue on important organizational and substantive issues. They expressed their appreciation to the Government of Tunisia for its invaluable contribution to the success of the peace process and for its gracious hosting of this meeting.

"The multilateral working groups continue to complement the bilateral negotiations and

act as a catalyst for progress. The Steering Group welcomed the progress achieved in the bilateral talks, including the conclusion of the 4 May Gaza-Jericho agreement, the establishment of the Palestinian Authority and the Jordanian-Israeli agreement to intensify their bilateral negotiations in the region.

"During this meeting, the Steering Group took note of the significant accomplishments in each working group since the Tokyo Steering Group meeting:

- "- The Arms Control and Regional Security Working Group approved the establishment of an ACRS communication network, the holding of a search and rescue demonstration in the Mediterranean and continuing the efforts to finalize a document on security relations. The group also continued its discussions in such areas as verification and the concept of a conflict prevention regional security centre.
- "- The Environment Working Group approved further work on an environmental code of conduct and projects on oil-spill contingencies in the upper Gulf of Aqaba, desertification and wastewater treatment in small communities.
- "- The Regional Economic Development Working Group drafted economic guidelines for regional cooperation, established a monitoring committee to monitor implementation of the Copenhagen Action Plan and announced the establishment of a Peace Process Information Bank.
- "- The Refugee Working Group developed projects to alleviate the plight of Palestinian refugees and promote self-sufficiency, including projects such as the construction or renovation of training centres, schools and health clinics; plans to improve child welfare and public health; and ongoing support for the Palestinian Bureau of Statistics. The group also encouraged progress in the area of family reunification.
- "- The Water Resources Working Group approved an Omani proposal for a regional desalination research centre, an Israeli proposal to rehabilitate municipal water supply systems and a proposal for wastewater treatment and reuse facilities.

"The Steering Group also had an extensive discussion on guidelines for regional development and a study on the future of the region. Delegations provided extensive comments on both the substance and purpose of the documents and the method for completing them. The guidelines will serve as a framework of key elements for regional cooperation and will establish a common set of procedures for all the working groups. The regional study will serve as a vision of what the Middle East region will look like in 10 years and will assist the parties in setting specific priorities for the working groups.

"The Steering Group approved the following venues for the next round of working groups, which will take place before the end of 1994.

- "- Arms Control and Regional Security: Tunisia
- "- Environment: Bahrain
- "- Refugees: Turkey
- "- Regional Economic Development: Germany

- "- Water Resources: Greece
- "- Steering Group: To be determined."18

**Israeli/Jordanian meeting  
1994**

**Remarks by President Clinton announcing the  
at the White House, Washington, D.C., 15 July**

The following remarks announcing the upcoming Israeli/Jordanian meeting were made on 15 July 1994, at the White House, by President Clinton:

"Good morning ladies and gentlemen. I am pleased to announce today that King Hussein of Jordan and Prime Minister Rabin of Israel have agreed to my invitation to meet at the White House on 25 July.

"I am also pleased that Speaker Foley, after discussions with Majority Leader Mitchell, has invited both leaders to address a joint meeting of Congress. And Hillary and I are delighted that both of them have agreed to join us at a dinner at the White House on that day.

"This historic meeting is another step forward towards achievement of a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. The meeting will build on the dramatic progress made in the trilateral US/Jordan/Israel meetings here in Washington last month and King Hussein's recent declaration in Parliament that he was prepared to meet with Prime Minister Rabin. It reflects the courageous leadership and the bold vision which both King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin have displayed as they work together to create a new future for their people and for all the region.

"On behalf of all Americans, I salute their commitment to peace. I have pledged my personal dedication to the goal of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. Accordingly, Secretary Christopher will be travelling to the region next week. I want to compliment him on his tireless efforts to achieve peace in the region and the contribution he has made to the announcement today.

"He will continue our efforts to achieve progress in the Israel/Syria negotiations. That also is a very, very important thing for us. I am committed to working to achieve a breakthrough on those talks as soon as possible so that we can make the dream of a lasting peace of the brave a reality.

"Secretary Christopher will follow up on the discussions that the President and King Hussein have had on this initiative, and he will proceed and participate in the US/Jordan/Israel discussions. He will also meet with Chairman Arafat to review progress in implementing the Declaration of Principles on Palestinian self-rule.

"The Middle East is entering a new era. I will do everything I can to make certain that all the peoples of the region realize the blessings of peace that have been denied too long to them. This meeting on July 25 will be another important step on that long road."19

**Remarks by the United States Secretary of State**



**following the announcement**

**by President Clinton, Washington, D.C., 15 July**

**1994**

On 15 July 1994, at Washington, D.C., at a press briefing after the announcement by President Clinton, United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher elaborated on the focus of his upcoming visit to the Middle East. In his opening remarks Mr. Christopher said:

"Good morning. As the President said, I will be following up on his important announcement when I travel to the Middle East starting Monday. Our goal remains the achievement of a lasting, comprehensive peace between Israel and its neighbour.

"On this trip that starts on Sunday, I will be focusing on three main areas:

"First, on the Jordanian track, I will be participating in a meeting - a trilateral meeting - between the United States and Israeli and Jordanian officials who form the Economic Committee. For the first time, Ministers from Jordan and Israel will be meeting publicly in Jordan, where they will set the stage for the summit meeting here in Washington on 25 July.

"All of this, of course, is a powerful reminder that changes are taking place which are transforming the landscape in the Middle East. This promises to produce concrete results for the people that they can feel and see on the ground.

"The second part of my trip is on the Palestinian track, with Chairman Arafat's return to Gaza. The first stage of implementing the Declaration of Principles has been completed. Not unexpectedly, there have been problems along the way. But, on the whole, I would certainly agree with Prime Minister Rabin that the process has far exceeded expectations.

"Now the challenge for the Palestinians is to govern wisely and well. I plan to meet with Chairman Arafat and to renew with him the steps that we in the international community are taking to ensure that the Palestinians have the support they need. I do want to underscore that I will also be pointing out to him the steps that I feel he must undertake to establish the accountability necessary to reassure the donor community.

"Finally, on the Syrian track, I will continue my talks with Prime Minister Rabin and President Assad. The intense negotiations between them, with our participation, have entered a new and important phase. Both sides have conveyed to us important ideas on the difficult issues that they confront. It is now important - it is essential - that they move forward in these discussions, and I am prepared to engage intensively with them. In the end, peace must come from direct negotiations between the parties, but we are certainly prepared to do our part.

"I want to add that just before coming in here that, as a courtesy, President Clinton called President Assad to tell him of the announcement that he was making today to make sure that he found out about it first from us."<sup>19</sup>

**Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs**  
**Jerusalem, 18 July 1994**

**Remarks by the United States Deputy Assistant**  
**regarding the multilateral negotiations,**

On 18 July 1994, at Jerusalem, United States Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern

Affairs Daniel C. Kurtzer, in his opening remarks at an on-the-record press briefing, stated the following with regard to the key elements of the multilateral negotiations:

"Let me just put a couple of things in context. Since they were launched two and one-half years ago in Moscow, the multilaterals have been called the stealth peace process, because they have taken place way behind the headlines. And while attention has been focused mostly on what happens in the bilateral tracks, the multilaterals have undergone a rather significant transformation and are in the process not only of having transformed themselves, but of transforming the region. There are really three key elements to what is happening in the multilaterals now.

"The first is perhaps the most important, and that is the breakdown of psychological barriers between the Arab and the Israeli participants. In each of the five working groups that were established two and one-half years ago - Refugees, Environment, Water, Arms Control and Regional Security, and Economic Development - 10, 11, sometimes 12 Arab parties sit together with Israel and a host of extraregional parties to discuss functional practical problems that have beset the region for many years but which were never addressed, because Arabs and Israelis did not talk to each other. This process has allowed - primarily because it has taken place away from the front pages - it has allowed Arab and Israeli experts to begin to look at some of these issues, to get to know each other, to socialize themselves to dealing with each other and with the problems. It is no accident in that regard that the breakthroughs we have seen in the peace process have occurred with those Arab parties that have participated in the multilaterals with the Palestinians and Jordanians, together with the Israelis.

"The second factor, I think, is equally salient. It is represented on the sheets that were handed out, and that is that the process itself has begun to launch a number of concrete activities in each of the working groups that either are designed to do studies about projects that will await the comprehensive peace or, in some cases, are actually starting the work itself. We have in each group a number of measures that different parties have decided to shepherd that are now taking place - wastewater treatment facilities and water management in small communities. We have declarations or statements of guidelines in three of the groups designed to take a look at what these groups represent for the region. What this really means is that the multilaterals have moved from their initial phase of being kind of education and seminars to a point where people are looking at concrete activities.

"There is no better place to look than the Regional Economic Development Group, which last November developed what is called the Copenhagen Action Plan. It got 60 or 70 projects, each of which has a sponsor, each of which is now looking for funding, and each of which will represent some form of cooperation between Israelis and Arabs in the period ahead.

"The third feature that's important about this process: In a sense one can look to the outcome of the Naples G-7 summit to see that what the Middle East is now becoming is a part of the world political and economic community. You remember in the G-7 communiqué we talked about institution-building as a means of driving the process of regional reconciliation and critical progress among conflicting parties. That same process is underway through the multilaterals, both through the declarations or guidelines that are being formed, but also some of the groups have identified regional institutions which they understand will have to be formed in order for them to deal in a period of peace with each other. For example, there is a consensus that at some time a regional environment body will have to be created to look at pressing problems both in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Aqaba, and in the Persian Gulf. You have ideas afoot to create a regional water authority. None of these has yet happened, but the idea is that institution-building, which has taken root elsewhere in the world, is now taking root as well in the Middle East, stimulated by the multilaterals.

"Just to sum up this lengthy introduction, it's a process which may have started in the shadows but has now become a part of the reality of the interaction between Middle Eastern parties. We just concluded, for example, the Steering Group of the multilateral process in Tunisia less than a week ago. What the Steering Group found is that there was a consensus that the process should move a little bit faster. It should be a little bit broader in scope, and we should really try to develop ideas that will challenge the parties to come to grips with the emerging peace process."20

**Addresses at the meeting of the United  
States/Jordan/Israel  
Trilateral Economic Committee,  
Dead Sea, Jordan, 20 July 1994**

The following statements were made at a meeting of the United States/Jordan/Israel Trilateral Economic Committee held on 20 July 1994, at the Dead Sea Spa Hotel, Jordan:

*United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher*

"Prime Minister Al-Majali, Foreign Minister Peres, members of the Israeli delegation, members of the Jordanian delegation, members of the United States delegation, ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of the United States, I am greatly honoured to participate in this historic occasion at this legendary spot. For the first time, a Foreign Minister from the State of Israel has come openly to Jordan to meet with his counterpart in the name of peace between their two peoples.

"Mr. Ministers, the distances you travelled here today were relatively small, but the history you make by your presence is great. To a troubled world, you send forth a simple message that captures our vision and strengthens our faith that the scars of war can be healed, the divisions of memory can be overcome, peace between Arab and Jew can be achieved.

"Today, Israel and Jordan are stepping from the old into the new. An era of war is coming to a close. The cries of this ancient land for peace are finally being realized.

"Today, you lead your nations away from the hatreds of the past - hatreds that have wasted the talents of your people and robbed the dreams of your children. As we meet here today, we can proclaim to the people of Israel and the people of Jordan, the people of the Middle East and, indeed, the people of the world, the time of destroying life is past, the time of building peace has come.

"For the US/Jordan/Israel Economic Committee, today's historic meeting represents not simply a symbol of hope for a stricken land: it is also a practical instrument by which Jordanians and Israelis can achieve genuine reconciliation. Since President Clinton launched the trilateral talks last October at a meeting with Crown Prince Hassan and Foreign Minister Peres, we have made truly great strides. At this, the Committee's fifth session, we begin negotiating the details of concrete projects that will foster new patterns of trust and cooperation between Israel and Jordan.

"These projects will serve as building blocks, the foundation upon which a lasting settlement can be based. They will promote economic development and, most importantly, they will deliver real benefits to the people of Jordan, the people of Israel, and, in time, the people of

this entire region. These projects, in short, represent the face of peace. During these two days, the committee has had the opportunity to advance once again our 'Common Agenda'. Perhaps no sector offers more immediate promise than tourism. Today, Israel and Jordan contain some of the world's most treasured historical, cultural and religious sites, including, of course, this very spot where we are sitting today - the Dead Sea.

"Cooperative efforts to facilitate travel between the two countries could quickly result in a significant boost in tourism and that would generate much-needed jobs and revenue, attracting foreign investment. Indeed, when one sees this place, it is really exciting to contemplate the burst of tourism, the burst of interchange that would be bound to follow the decrease in tensions.

"We are, of course, encouraging rapid progress on other longer-term projects as well. We believe that early agreement should be reached on a start-up date for construction of a road linking Israel and Jordan in the vicinity of Eilat and Aqaba. This project could, in turn, serve as the forerunner of a larger effort to develop an integrated regional transportation system, containing all the modes of transportation. Our goal in this effort should be clear: to put in place the infrastructure vital to a new era of regional cooperation and prosperity.

"This is why we are also supporting the Committee's efforts to devise a comprehensive plan for the Jordan Rift Valley, to work out bilateral trade and financial relations, to develop cooperation in civil aviation and to establish a transborder national park. Each of these projects can weave the bonds of mutual interest and human contact that are the critical reinforcements of peace.

"Mr. Ministers, I need not remind you that our work here, and that being done in the bilateral talks between Jordan and Israel, takes on an even greater significance in light of recent events. Only a few days from now, on 25 July in Washington, President Clinton, King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin will convene at the White House for a historic summit meeting. By undertaking this unprecedented action, they, the leaders of our three nations, have signalled their determination to make every effort to reach a comprehensive and lasting peace. We here today can do no less. We must redouble our efforts to ensure that their efforts, that their leadership, will succeed.

"President Clinton has vowed that the United States stands firmly with these countries that have shown the courage and the vision to undertake risks for peace. As Jordan and Israel continue on the path of reconciliation, they should know that America, working with the entire community of the world, will do everything in its power to help ensure a new future of security and prosperity.

"Mr. Ministers, the future beckons us. Our responsibility is clear: to join together in making for this great and holy land a new era of peace and hope - a peace that is enduring because it is comprehensive, a peace not just of treaties, but of commerce and human exchange, a peace that is just and secure for Israel and Jordan and the rest of their neighbours in this area.

"So, here by the shores of the Dead Sea, let us rededicate ourselves to honouring life. Here from the lowest point on Earth, let us set our sights at scaling the heights of peace. That is the course that our interests demand. That is the future that our people and our children deserve. Thank you very much Mr. Minister and Mr. Minister."21

*Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres*

"Prime Minister Al-Majali and the Jordanian delegation, Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the American delegation, my friends from the Israeli delegation, ladies and gentlemen: It took us 15 minutes to fly over to and it took us 46 years to arrive at this time and this place of peace and promise. Historically, we started at the same point. Politically, we are

now embarking upon the same destiny to bring an entirely new situation to our people.

"It is time for peace. The people desire it; the land needs it. The Dead Sea, silent and deep, may become a symbol of new life. The Ha'Arava Desert, which like a knife cuts the valley in two, can become a unifying element, a domain of bloom between our two countries.

"The meeting today must remind us of a place, of a date, of a destiny. The place, not far from here, in Al-Quwayrah, north of Aqaba - that is where the younger brother of the late King Abdallah, Amir Faysal Bin Al Hussein, met with the leader of the Jewish people, Dr. Weizmann. It was a first meeting of representatives of two national movements. Faysal summarized his views in a letter he sent to Justice Felix Frankfurter in March 1919, from which I quote:

'We feel that the Arabs and the Jews are cousins in race, having suffered similar oppressions at the hands of powers stronger than themselves. We are working together for a reformed and revived Middle East, and our two movements complete one another. Indeed, I think that neither can be a real success without the other'.

"A promising voice in the prevailing wilderness.

"The date is 20 July. The founder and the leader of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, His Majesty King Abdallah, emerged as a man of far-sighted vision and appropriate political judgement. His kingdom was based on human and Arab values. He introduced the policy that offered peace before war, peace instead of war, peace to end war. He negotiated this policy with many of us. Some of these negotiations bore fruit; others saved lives. Yet, partly, they failed in the face of existing suspicions. None the less, they laid a foundation for a unique relationship, hidden and open, between Jordan and Israel. We never forgot the need for peace even in the gloomy days of open warfare.

"King Abdallah was assassinated in front of his young grandson, His Majesty King Hussein. This occurred on 20 July 1951, the very same day of our meeting now. He gave his life for the cause of peace. Nothing can mark his life and death more than the arrival of peace on the very same date. The destiny is peace. The silent pledge of the wise king became the destiny of his grandson, His Majesty King Hussein, and the expectations in disciples of the Israeli leaders who looked to every opportunity to bring an end to wars to create a new opening with our neighbours. His Majesty King Hussein demonstrated stamina in the face of uninvited dangers, and he has shown courage in riding impending opportunities.

"What is taking place today, Mr. Prime Minister and Mr. Secretary, may be the light at the end of the tunnel we have crossed, and may end the swing of the pendulum, which has swayed from the pole of blind hatred stemming from misunderstandings often created by neither of us to the pole of political trust serving permanently the needs common to us all. The time has arrived to disperse old shadows, to permit legitimate peace and promising economy to play their proper role in our destinies. Time has come for our families, whose roots spring from the tents of Abraham to invite hospitality instead of perpetuating hostility. No more hostages. We can host each other gladly and easily.

"The border between Jordan and Israel is the longest we have with any of our neighbours. We can mark it now by mutual agreement in respecting the sovereignty and the integrity of each of us.

"The border touches three triangles - a Jordanian/Israeli/Palestinian one, a Jordanian/Israeli/Egyptian one, a Jordanian/Israeli/Syrian one. Facilitated by our great friend, the United States of America, its President and its Secretary, we brought reason and agreement to two of those triangles. We do not intend to exclude the third one. Negotiations between Jordan and

Israel do not call for the postponement of the negotiations with Syria and Lebanon. Our aim remains to reach a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, to build a new Middle East of peace. Peace with Jordan is central to the construction of a new Middle East. The centrality of its location, its impressive, civilized and tested tradition may provide a real advantage for a durable rapport for a framework of peace and security in the region.

"We are now beginning to move and move openly. Peace needs daylight. The path ahead, the path we shall negotiate, may be full of hurdles and long in distance. But I do not harbour the slightest doubt that we can overcome the hurdles, shorten the distance and reap early benefits, both for our people and for the other people in the Middle East.

"I am convinced that the construction of a new Middle East will attract investors from all over the world. This ancient land, which cannot be forgotten, may become the new opportunity which cannot be overlooked. The peace process will not end with the signature of our political leaders. Indeed only then will it begin.

"And our target should be that before the end of the 20th century, we will face a new political and economic landscape: a landscape where borders will be open; where Jordanians will not be stopped at Eilat and Israelis in Aqaba; where new sophisticated industries will offer job opportunities to the young generation; where waterways will cover the brown deserts; where seaports and airports will be combined to serve all tourists to visit holy places, to be cured in hot springs or to view beautiful antiquities; where the skies will be open to competitive aviation and land distance will be shortened by new railways and highways; where water and oil will be carried in pipelines laid to answer economic needs rather than strategic wars; and where the electricity systems will be connected to save billions of dollars.

"Even before the sunset of the century, we can, together, reclaim land lost to desert. We can reclaim sea water to irrigate new fields, new gardens, new cities. We can change the face of the map and create a new structure of life. We have prepared our view of how the future will look in a rather detailed manner, and I am sure, from what I know, that you are ready likewise. We can transform a boundary of gloom into a valley of hope. Farmers will then replace soldiers. Greenhouses will come instead of barracks. Dunes will submit to plantation. Nature and reason have issued an invitation to this effect. The minerals of the Dead Sea, the innocence of the landscape, the varying levels of the terrain, the fatigues of the war - all of them await a new soul and a new hand.

"What was started on 1 October last year in the White House - the trilateral agreement reached between the President of the United States, the Crown Prince of Jordan and myself - and what is happening today will crown the summit meeting in Washington between President Clinton, His Majesty King Hussein and the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin. It should become the start of a new era. None of us can permit it to fail, and all of us must make a dual attempt to bring durable peace and promising economy to our needs. We shall have to demonstrate that a geographic rift has been transformed into an economic backbone and a political divide has become a valley of wisdom. To cherish the memory of our fallen youngsters is to build the correct future for the youngsters who follow in their ways.

"This time, Mr. Prime Minister and Mr. Secretary, history is on our side. We are offered a strong and fresh wind. Our sails must be ready. Thank you."22

*Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Jordan Abdulsalam Al-Majali*

"In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate [preceding phrase in Arabic], Secretary of State of the United States of America Mr. Warren Christopher, Foreign Minister of Israel Mr. Shimon Peres, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen: Peace and God's

blessings be upon you [preceding phrase in Arabic].

"These are, indeed, vital and critical moments which historians shall cherish and poets shall relish. They will be recorded in the annals of history in block letters, for they separate at the edge between peace and war, construction and destruction, and even life and death.

"Indeed, as you mentioned, Mr. Foreign Minister, 43 years ago on the same day, the very date, the founder of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan paid with his life the price of his vision of peace in the holy city of Jerusalem at Al-Aqsa Mosque, at a time when emotions were running high and events were dictating violence and warfare. The late King Abdallah was the voice of reason and the statesman who advocated wise judgement. His deep sense of belonging to his Sherifian al-Beit lineage and his strong attachment to this region account for his relentless efforts to achieve a just and honourable peace. It is our duty here to cherish his memory by achieving the kind of peace and coexistence that he aspired and worked for.

"Honourable guests, ladies and gentlemen: The Jordan Valley where we stand right now is where history and geography marched hand in hand to shape the course of humanity. In this very place near the Dead Sea, men of dedication and brave heart took upon themselves to call for the worship of God to combat evil and preached justice, equality and respect for human dignity. The good men of God eventually won, and evil was buried under those heavy waters of the sea that we see.

"Our meeting today is neither an accident nor a hasty last-minute get-together. Men of good heart have invested several lifetimes to make it possible. We should dignify their toil with honourable peace that is just, permanent and comprehensive.

"This plenary session held in Jordan is the result of the meeting that was hosted by President Clinton in Washington, D.C., between His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan Bin Talal and Mr. Shimon Peres on 1 October 1993. At that event, Crown Prince Hassan presented a global vision of peace that would be based on the conceptual framework of cooperation rather than a mere listing of economic projects.

"Indeed, the introduction of this concept, which has been absent from our vocabulary in this region for too long, serves to underline the nature of the solid peace that we seek. Technicians can always draw projects where cooperation can take place. It takes courage, creativity and imagination, however, to lay the foundation for such cooperation.

"Let us, then, contribute to the building of peace, which His Majesty King Hussein qualified as one which future generations can accept and build on. His Majesty's vision of peace is one where all parties gain. It is not a zero-sum effort. It is a peace that honours man and woman to live in a secure world, free from poverty, hunger and inequality. He has dedicated his life to pursue a defensible peace where rifts are bridged and cooperation is based on mutual respect. Peace to His Majesty means building societies where democracy, freedom of expression and pursuit of happiness are available to all without discrimination.

"In less than a week, a major development that will capture the fancy of the whole world is planned. President Bill Clinton and Mr. Thomas Foley will host His Majesty King Hussein and Mr. Yitzhak Rabin at the White House and at the United States Congress. This truly historical moment should serve as the take-off to a new era in the region, where peace and prosperity shall prevail. Washington should also be appreciated and thanked for its positive and constructive role in advancing the cause of peace and accelerating our march towards it.

"On 14 September 1993, both Jordan and Israel signed in Washington the 'Common Agenda'. That Agenda still arouses the admiration of experts for its subtlety, balance and comprehensiveness. It reflected realism by addressing all issues of contention. It embodied hope

because it charted a transparent and tractable course of action, and it radiated optimism by focusing on human needs and aspirations.

"The integrity and unity of that 'Common Agenda' is the basic characteristic. While we may apply a step-by-step approach to deal with its articles, it must be implemented in its entirety. Building peace is like writing a book: it is carefully crafted, chapter by chapter, but the book is never complete until all chapters are written and produced. The successful bilateral meetings which occurred during the last two days in Wadi Araba stand as witness that our focus should be placed on the substantial issues.

"The resolution of such issues is an essential part for the success of the peace process as a whole. The movement of negotiations to the region and in Jordan is a clear indication of the concurrence of both Israel and Jordan to go all the way to chart a future not just for themselves but for the whole region.

"We in Jordan, under the wise Hashemite leadership of His Majesty King Hussein, have given a lot for the cause of peace. This persistence on the path towards a better future entailed many sacrifices. Every war caused us huge losses in human lives, mass movements of people into Jordan and loss of territory. We did more than our share in post-war stabilization at the expense of our limited resources. We continuously had to go through very painful adjustments to cope with substantial changes in our demography and geography. We fully realize the huge responsibility we have to shoulder in the maintenance of peace. This undertaking can be performed but can only be borne by a strong and stable Jordan.

"We in Jordan believe that comprehensive and just peace should have a human face. The long suffering of the Palestinian people and refugees should be ended, and their rights must be acknowledged and fairly dealt with. Security cannot be achieved while millions of Palestinians are denied their legitimate human rights.

"The sons of Abraham, may peace be upon him, are the adherents to the three monotheistic religions. They must resolve the issue of Jerusalem. Sovereignty over the holy places of Jerusalem is only for God, and, in His name, we should respect and honour that right.

"Mr. Christopher, Mr. Peres, ladies and gentlemen: Let us work for peace. The road is long and arduous, but dedicated men always walk it to the end towards a new dawn. Our trilateral meeting symbolizes the dedication of these concerned parties to wage peace. It also embodies the will of the world community, as represented by the United States of America, to make our region a valuable asset to the world. Let us hope that the achievements we score here are replicated on other tracks of negotiations for the assurance of its continuity."<sup>23</sup>

#### *Foreign Minister Peres*

"Let us take this opportunity of our presence at this historical site to appeal to both of our people to transcend the conflicts of today and defy the state of siege in order to embark upon thinking of the harmony of tomorrow. From what I heard in your statement today, Sir, it is clear to me that the creative thinking required to make real peace is there. The vision is slowly but surely becoming a reality. With sincerity and good will, the people of our two countries, as part of this region so long denied justice and security, will begin to enjoy the fruits of peace. We ask God, the omnipotent and the all merciful, to guide us on the rightful path for the good of all men and women of all ages. Thank you, sir."<sup>24</sup>



**States/Jordan/Israel**

**Jordan, 20 July 1994**

**Text of the Joint Communiqué of the United**

**Trilateral Economic Committee, Dead Sea,**

On 20 July 1994, at the Dead Sea Spa Hotel in Jordan, a joint communiqué of the United States/Jordan/Israel Trilateral Economic Committee was released by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Jordan, Mr. Abdulsalam Al-Majali and the Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr. Shimon Peres. The following is the text of the document:

"The US/Israel/Jordan Trilateral Economic Committee held its fifth meeting on 20 July 1994, at the Dead Sea Spa Hotel in Jordan. At this meeting, the American delegation was headed by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the Jordanian delegation by Prime Minister Abdulsalam Al-Majali, and the Israeli delegation by Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. The three parties expressed their sincere thanks and appreciation to the Government of Jordan for hosting this historic meeting.

"The Trilateral Committee - established in October 1993 under the auspices of President Clinton by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan and Foreign Minister Peres - reviewed recent progress in the peace process. The Committee noted favourably the Israeli-Jordanian bilateral negotiations held in the region on 18 and 19 July 1994, and the intention to continue these discussions next month. The delegations reiterated their intention to energize efforts to promote further progress on the Israel/Jordan track, looking forward to the meeting between His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin in Washington on 25 July 1994.

"The Trilateral Committee also reviewed recent progress on its work and reached agreement on a number of future activities. The delegations agreed, in preparation for the meeting in the White House next week, to work on a Master Plan for the Development of the Jordan Rift Valley. Meetings of experts earlier today indicated a substantial convergence of views on such a scheme and a common approach on proceeding. The experts will continue their meetings later today and tomorrow, and an intercessional meeting will be organized to unify the planning criteria and develop detailed terms of reference. The United States agreed to facilitate further the continued work on the Master Plan.

"The Trilateral Committee also agreed to continue work on trade/finance/banking, civil aviation, tourism and establishing a road link between the two countries. On trade, the parties agreed on the establishment of a set of principles concerning trade and commercial relationships between the two parties in the context of a peace treaty. On civil aviation, the parties agreed to establish a joint team to explore aviation routes serving the interests of both countries and flight safety. On tourism, the parties agreed to a travel and tourism arrangement and to establish a trilateral commission to facilitate cooperation in this area, specifically the opening of a crossing point in the Eilat-Aqaba area for tourists who are third-country nationals. Finally, the parties agreed to conduct a preliminary site survey of a road linking Jordan, Israel and Egypt in the vicinity of Eilat and Aqaba.

"The three Ministers agreed to meet again periodically in the region, starting in the near future. Inter-sessional meetings of experts will also be organized to continue work on specific projects."25

**Committee**

**Spokesman**

**United States/Jordan/Israel Trilateral Economic**

**(text of the statement released by the Office of the**

**of the United States Department of State),  
Dead Sea, Jordan, 20 July 1994**

The following statement was released on 20 July 1994, at the Dead Sea Spa Hotel, Jordan, by the Office of the Spokesman of the United States Department of State:

"Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Jordanian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Abdulsalam Al-Majali and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres presided over an unprecedented meeting at a Jordanian hotel on the shores of the Dead Sea on 20 July. In this historic meeting - the first gathering of the US/Jordan/Israel Trilateral Economic Committee at the ministerial level in the region - the three parties discussed numerous initiatives designed to address pressing regional problems faced by the Israelis and Jordanians. The Ministers also undertook preparations for the 25 July Summit meeting between President Clinton, Prime Minister Rabin and King Hussein in Washington.

"The Trilateral Economic Committee was inaugurated by President Clinton in October 1993, when he met with Jordanian Crown Prince Hassan and Israeli Foreign Minister Peres at the White House. The United States participates in this committee as a catalyst to help achieve agreements on concrete projects. Private sector involvement and investment will also be crucial to take advantage of the opportunities identified by the trilateral group.

"Four previous sessions held in Washington and Europe resulted in adoption of a practical approach to addressing economic problems and proposals for a wide range of near- and long-term projects. The cumulative effect of these meetings was to create a framework within which practical projects are now being developed.

"In addition to a bilateral agreement on banking, the group has placed a special focus on tourism with concrete projects taking shape on joint tourism, marketing, a cooperative park project to promote tourism and protection of common marine resources in the Gulf of Aqaba. Facilitation of travel to both countries by third-country visitors is also under study.

"In the area of infrastructure, the Trilateral Committee is working towards construction of a road linking Jordan and Israel in the vicinity of Aqaba and Eilat. Experts are also addressing practical cooperation in civil aviation matters.

"Following the opening session today, experts from the three countries will continue to meet in Jordan through July 21."<sup>26</sup>

**Text of the Washington Declaration,  
25 July 1994**

On 25 July 1994, at the White House, King Hussein of Jordan and the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr.

Yitzhak Rabin, signed the Washington Declaration. The Declaration was also initialled by President Clinton as a witness and as host to their meeting. The following is the text of the document, as released by the White House:

- "A. After generations of hostility, blood and tears and in the wake of years of pain and wars, His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin are determined to bring an end to bloodshed and sorrow. It is in this spirit that His Majesty King Hussein of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Israel, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, met in Washington today at the invitation of President William J. Clinton of the United States of America. This initiative of President Clinton constitutes an historic landmark in the United States untiring efforts in promoting peace and stability in the Middle East. The personal involvement of the President has made it possible to realize agreement on the content of this historic declaration. The signing of this declaration bears testimony to the President's vision and devotion to the cause of peace.
- "B. In their meeting, His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin have jointly reaffirmed the five underlying principles of their understanding on an Agreed Common Agenda designed to reach the goal of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace between the Arab States and the Palestinians with Israel.
  - "1. Jordan and Israel aim at the achievement of just, lasting and comprehensive peace between Israel and its neighbours and at the conclusion of a treaty of peace between both countries.
  - "2. The two countries will vigorously continue their negotiations to arrive at a state of peace, based on Security Council resolutions 242 [(1967)] and 338 [(1973)] in all their aspects, and founded on freedom, equality and justice.
  - "3. 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 priority to the Jordanian historic role in these shrines. In addition the two sides have agreed to act together to promote interfaith relations among the three monotheistic religions.
  - "4. The two countries recognize their right and obligation to live in peace with each other as well as with all States within secure and recognized boundaries. The two States affirmed their respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area.
  - "5. The two countries desire to develop good-neighbourly relations of cooperation between them to ensure lasting security and to avoid threats and the use of force between them.
- "C. The long conflict between the two States is now coming to an end. In this spirit the state of belligerency between Jordan and Israel has been terminated.
- "D. Following this declaration and in keeping with the Agreed Common Agenda, both countries will refrain from actions or activities by either side that may adversely affect the security of the other or may prejudice the final outcome of negotiations. Neither side will threaten the other by use of force, weapons or any other means, against each other and both sides will thwart threats to security resulting from all kinds of terrorism.
- "E. His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin took note of the progress made in the bilateral negotiations within the Jordan/Israel track last week on the steps

decided to implement the sub-agendas on borders, territorial matters, security, water, energy, environment and the Jordan Rift Valley.

"In this framework, mindful of items of the Agreed Common Agenda (borders and territorial matters) they noted that the Boundary Subcommission has reached agreement in July 1994 in fulfilment of part of the role entrusted to it in the sub-agenda. They also noted that the Subcommission for Water, Environment and Energy agreed to mutually recognize, as a result of their negotiations, the rightful allocations of the two sides in Jordan River and Yarmouk River waters and to fully respect and comply with the negotiated rightful allocations, in accordance with agreed acceptable principles with mutually acceptable quality.

"Similarly, His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin expressed their deep satisfaction and pride in the work of the trilateral commission in its meeting held in Jordan on Wednesday, 20 July 1994, hosted by the Jordanian Prime Minister, Dr. Abdulsalam Al-Majali, and attended by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. They voiced their pleasure at the association and commitment of the United States in this endeavour.

"F. His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin believe that steps must be taken both to overcome psychological barriers and to break with the legacy of war. By working with optimism towards the dividends of peace for all the people in the region, Jordan and Israel are determined to shoulder their responsibilities towards the human dimension of peacemaking. They recognize that imbalances and disparities are a root cause of extremism which thrives on poverty and unemployment and the degradation of human dignity. In this spirit His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin have today approved a series of steps to symbolize the new era which is now at hand:

- "1. Direct telephone links will be opened between Jordan and Israel.
- "2. The electricity grids of Jordan and Israel will be linked as part of a regional concept.
- "3. Two new border crossings will be opened between Jordan and Israel - one at the southern tip of Aqaba-Eilat and the other at a mutually agreed point in the north.
- "4. In principle free access will be given to third-country tourists travelling between Jordan and Israel.
- "5. Negotiations will be accelerated on opening an international air corridor between both countries.
- "6. The police forces of Jordan and Israel will cooperate in combating crime with emphasis on smuggling and particularly drug smuggling. The United States will be invited to participate in this joint endeavour.
- "7. Negotiations on economic matters will continue in order to prepare for future bilateral cooperation, including the abolition of all economic boycotts.

"All these steps are being implemented within the framework of regional infrastructural development plans and in conjunction with the Jordan/Israel bilaterals on boundaries, security, water and related issues and without prejudice to the final outcome of the negotiations on the items included in the Agreed Common Agenda between Jordan and

Israel.

"G. His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin have agreed to meet periodically or whenever they feel necessary to renew the progress of the negotiations and express their firm intention to shepherd and direct the process in its entirety.

"H. In conclusion, His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin wish to express once again their profound thanks and appreciation to President William J. Clinton and his Administration for their untiring efforts in furthering the cause of peace, justice, and prosperity for all the peoples of the region. They wish to thank the President personally for his warm welcome and hospitality. In recognition of their appreciation to the President, His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin have asked President William J. Clinton to sign this document as a witness and as host to their meeting.

(Signed) "His Majesty King HUSSEIN

(Signed) "Prime Minister Yitzhak RABIN

(Signed) "President William J. CLINTON"27

**The signing of the Washington Declaration,  
Washington, D.C., 25 July 1994**

On 25 July 1994, at the White House, President William J. Clinton, King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin made the following statements:

*Remarks at the White House welcoming ceremony*

*United States President William J. Clinton*

"History is made when brave leaders find the power to escape the past and to create a new future. Today, two such leaders come together - as we welcome King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin to the White House on this extraordinary occasion.

"On this morning of promise, these visionary statesmen from ancient lands have chosen to heal the rift that for too long has divided their people. They have seen the outlines of a better day where others have seen darkness. They have sought peace in place of violence. On both sides of the River Jordan there have lived generations of people who thought this day would never come. King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin have reached out to each other across the river - to build a future where hatred gives way to hope. The Koran instructs us, 'Requite evil with good, and he who is your enemy will become your dearest friend'. And the Talmud teaches

that 'man is a hero that can make a friend out of a foe'. Before us today stand friends and heroes.

"King Hussein, Prime Minister Rabin: All Americans welcome your presence here today. You give us great hope that this house - our people's house - will be a constant witness to a lasting peace that spreads forth to embrace your region."<sup>28</sup>

#### *King Hussein of Jordan*

"Mr. President, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, ladies and gentlemen: Out of all the days of my life, I do not believe that there is one such as this in terms of the feelings, the emotions relating to a long, long struggle - the memory of those who passed away; the memories of the victims of war - feelings towards the present and the future; feelings of responsibilities towards generations to come - and Israel and Jordan, the whole Arab world and our entire region.

"For many, many years, and with every prayer, I have asked God, the Almighty, to help me be a part of forging peace between the children of Abraham, as Muslims, for the word Islam means submitting to the one God.

"This is a dream that those before me had - my dead grandfather, and now I. And to feel that we are close to fulfilling that dream and presenting future generations in our region with a legacy of hope and openness where normality is that which replaces the abnormal in our lives - which, unfortunately, over the years, has become normal - where neighbours meet; where people meet; where human relations thrive; where all seek with their tremendous talents a better future and a better tomorrow.

"This day is a day of commitment, and this day is a day of hope and vision. We must admit - Prime Minister and for myself - that we owe President Clinton and our American friends much in having made this possible. You are our partners as we seek to construct and build a new future in our region for all our peoples and for all mankind. Thank you very much, indeed, for your courtesy and kindness and the warmth of your reception. We are proud to be here with you today, sir. Thank you."<sup>28</sup>

#### *Prime Minister of Israel Yitzhak Rabin*

"President of the United States; King Hussein, the King of Jordan: They say that the ancient custom of shaking hands developed out of the need to prove that neither person was holding a weapon. The first public handshake between His Majesty, the King of Jordan, and myself a minute ago symbolizes much more than that two people will no longer take up arms against one another.

"Honourable Mr. President, Your Majesty the King: What is actually described here - hundreds of millions of people around the world shake hands many times each day. It is perhaps the most routine action, done almost automatically, without thinking. And it is actually a greeting of peace that unites almost all of the peoples of the world.

"And, here, the handshake and excitement, the many photographers, the live broadcast of television to all corners of the globe - I share this excitement and know that at this moment in Jerusalem and Amman, perhaps all over the Middle East, a new era is dawning.

"What I do wish, Your Majesty, is that there will be another day of excitement - and another - and that finally no one will photograph our handshakes. It will have become part of the routine of our lives, a custom among all people, the behaviour of every human being. And

meanwhile, Your Majesty, the entire state of Israel is shaking your hand. Thank you."28

*Remarks during the signing ceremony at the White House*

*President Clinton*

"Your Majesties, Prime Minister and Mrs. Rabin, distinguished guests: Today, we gather to bear witness to history. As this century draws to a close, a new era of peace opens before us in ancient lands as brave men choose reconciliation over conflict. Today, our faith is renewed.

"As we write a new chapter in the march of hope over despair on these grounds and at this historic table, we remember the courage of Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin, and the leadership of President Carter at Camp David 15 years ago; the efforts of President Bush to bring Israel and her neighbours together in Madrid two years ago; and that shining September day last year when Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat declared that their two peoples would fight no more.

"Today, in that same spirit, King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin will sign the Washington Declaration. After generations of hostility, blood and tears, the leaders of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the State of Israel will solemnly declare, with the world as their witness, that they have ended the state of belligerency between them. From this day forward, they pledge to settle their differences by peaceful means. Both countries will refrain from actions that may adversely affect the security of the other and will thwart all those who would use terrorism to threaten either side.

"The Washington Declaration is the product of much hard work. Less than a year ago, Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan and Foreign Minister Peres of Israel met here publicly for the first time. Together - with the wise counsel and persistent energy of Secretary of State Warren Christopher - Israel and Jordan have pursued peace. And we are all in their debt.

"It takes but a minute or two to cross the River Jordan, but for as long as most of us can remember, the distance has seemed immense. The awful power of ancient arguments and the raw wounds of recent wars have left generations of Israelis, Jordanians and Palestinians unable to imagine - much less build - a life of peace and security. Today, King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin give their people a new currency of hope and the chance to prosper in a region of peace.

"Under the Washington Declaration, Jordan and Israel have agreed to continue vigorous negotiations to produce a treaty of peace based on Security Council resolutions 242 [(1967)] and 338 [(1973)]. King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin will meet as often as necessary to shepherd and personally direct those negotiations. Their objective is a just, lasting and comprehensive peace between Israel and all its neighbours; a peace in which each acknowledges and respects the territorial integrity and political independence of all others, and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

"In the meantime, Jordan and Israel have decided to take immediate steps to normalize relations and resolve disputes in areas of common concern. They have agreed to survey the international border based on the work of their boundary subcommission. They have resolved that negotiations on resources should aim to establish allocation between the two sides of the waters of the Jordan and Yarmouk Rivers. They have determined that their police forces will cooperate in combating crime with a special emphasis on drug smuggling. They have set up as their joint purpose the abolition of all economic boycotts and the establishment of a bilateral economic cooperation.

"And as of today, Jordan and Israel have agreed to take the first practical steps to draw their people together and to let the peoples of the world share the wonders of their lands. They will establish direct telephone links; connect their two nations' electricity grids; open two border crossings between their nations, including one at Aqaba and Eilat and another in the north; accelerate the negotiations aimed at opening an international air corridor between the two countries and give free access to third-country tourists travelling between their two nations. These are the building blocks of a modern peace and ancient holy lands.

"Your Majesty, after our first meeting, you wrote me a heartfelt letter in which you referred to your revered grandfather, King Abdullah. You told me that his untimely assassination at the entrance to Jerusalem's Al-Aqsa Mosque had come at a time when he was intent on making peace with Israel. Had he completed his mission, you said to me, your region would have been spared four decades of war. Today, 43 years later, Abdullah's grandson has fulfilled his legacy.

"And in the declaration you will sign, your role as guardian of Jerusalem's Muslim holy sites, Al-Aqsa among them, has been preserved. And Israel has agreed to accord a high priority to Jordan's historic role regarding these holy sites in final status negotiations.

"Mr. Prime Minister, when you first visited me in the White House, you spoke eloquently of your soldiers' life defending and guiding your nation through four bloody decades of struggling to survive. You told me your people had had enough bloodshed, that this was the time to make peace. Ten months ago, you stood on this same lawn and shook the hand of Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian people. Today, you stand together with King Hussein, descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, to declare that Jordan and Israel have ended their conflict. In holding out to your people the hope of a normal, secure life, you, sir, have fulfilled the mission of your life and of all those who have fought by your side for so long.

"Now as we go forward, we must guard against illusions. Dark forces of hatred and violence still stalk your lands. We must not let them succeed.

"King Hussein, Prime Minister Rabin: As you and your people embark on this journey of peace, we know the road will not be easy. Just as we have supported you in coming this far, the United States will walk the final miles with you. We must all go on until we ensure that the peace you are seeking prevails in the Holy Land and extends to all Israel's Arab neighbours. Our common objective of a comprehensive peace must be achieved.

"Now as we witness the signing of this declaration and applaud the bravery of these men, let us remember that peace is much more than a pledge to abide by words on a page; it is a bold attempt to write a new history. Guided by the blessings of God, let us now go forward and give life to this declaration. For if we follow its course, we will truly achieve a peace of the generations. Thank you very much."<sup>29</sup>

[The Declaration is signed]



*King Hussein*

"President Clinton, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, ladies and gentlemen: And so it is that on this day, at this house of the great American people, we have been able to take a historic step which we hope and pray will be to the benefit of our peoples within our entire region - Jordanians, Israelis, and others. This is the moment of a commitment and of a vision. Not all of what is possible is within the document we have just ratified, but it is a modest, determined beginning to bring to our region and our peoples the security from fear, which, I must admit, has prevailed over all the years of our lives; the uncertainty of every day as to how it might end; the suspicion, the bitterness, the lack of human contact. We are on our way now, truly, towards what is normal in relations between our peoples and ourselves, and what is worthy. We will meet as often as we are able to and is required, with pleasure, to shepherd this process on in the times ahead.

"At this moment, I would like to share with you all the pride I have in my people - the people of Jordan - in their maturity; in their courage; in what I have been blessed with, their trust, and confidence; and, I believe, in the commitment of the overwhelming majority to the cause of peace.

"The term used in international documents as have affected us so far is 'the state of belligerency' and the 'end of the state of belligerency'. I think, both in Arabic and in Hebrew, our people do not have such a term. What we have accomplished and what we are committed to is the end of the state of war between Jordan and Israel.

"Thank you so very much, indeed, Mr. President, for all your kindness. Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister. Thank you, all our dear friends. A warm thanks to the American people - our partners in the past, in the present and in the future. And bless you and bless our march for the future and towards the future of peace in our region."30

*Prime Minister Rabin*

"The President of the United States, His Majesty King Hussein of the Kingdom of Jordan, friends, ladies and gentlemen: I start with the Hebrew word, shalom.

"A million eyes all over the world are watching us now with great relief and great joy. Yet another nightmare of war may be over. At the same time, a million eyes in the Middle East are looking at us now with great heartfelt hope that our children and grandchildren will know no more war.

"Ladies and gentlemen: Today, we submit to our respective people a wonderful present. The declaration we have signed just now here in Washington is the closest thing to a treaty of peace. We have come a long way towards a full treaty of peace. And even though our work has not yet ended, it is my hope and belief that not long from today we shall return to sign a final and a permanent treaty of peace.

"Mr. President, Your Majesty: It is dusk at our homes in the Middle East. Soon, darkness will prevail, but the citizens of Israel and Jordan will see a great light. We have today taken a major step on the road to peace. We and Jordan have chosen to speak to each other rather than to continue the state of war. From here in the distance of thousands of miles from home, I would like to congratulate today the inhabitants of Israel and of Jordan, to remember the fallen in the wars on both sides, and to tell children on both sides of the border we hope and pray

that your life will be different from ours.

"I believe that we are a small country with a big heart. We are aware of world agonies and suffering of human beings anywhere. At this hour, when we are celebrating here in Washington, Israeli defence soldiers and medical units are trying to save the lives of thousands, if not more, of people on the verge of death in Rwanda. But at the very same time, Israeli soldiers, a rescue team in Buenos Aires, at the invitation of the Argentinian Government, are endeavouring to rescue the lives or bodies of those who were attacked, killed and disappeared bodies of their own brothers, as well as of the other human beings, from buildings destroyed by vicious terrorists. This terrible crime was committed against Jews just because they were Jews. The Israeli rescue soldiers in Rwanda, as well as those in Argentina, together with their comrades in arms defending us at home, are on the same side of the same coin.

"Mr. President, Your Majesty, there is much more in the Washington Declaration than parties were planning when they decided to prepare this declaration 10 days ago. It bears witness to our ability in Israel and Jordan to accelerate our efforts towards peace, to overcome obstacles, to achieve a breakthrough and to put an end to 46 years of hostility.

"Mr. President, thank you - thank you for all you have done for us and for what you will do. We embark on a road which must still be completed. And I am appealing to the United States -the leader of peace efforts in the Middle East - to assist those countries, those peoples who demonstrate courage and who take risks - risks for peace because it is a worthwhile goal.

"The political achievements presented today to the public here in Washington are part of a whole agenda that must still be clarified in serious deliberations ahead of us - from the difficult subjects of boundaries and water, to trade and economic relations on which peace in our region will be based, and, of course, security and diplomatic relations. Our duty, starting today, is to turn the articles written on the paper into a living reality.

"This fine job could not have been completed without your leadership and determination in the Middle East peacemaking. You have already established your place in our history, an honourable place. And thank you.

"Our heartfelt gratitude goes also to Secretary of State Warren Christopher and his peace team, who devotedly seek peace, and to generations of former US administration members who have, for years, searched for a bridge between Israel, Jordan and the other Arab peoples.

"Your Excellency, the President of the United States; Your Majesty, the King of Jordan; let me say a few words in Hebrew to the citizens of Israel who are watching us now: [Words spoken in Hebrew]. Thank you very much."31

**Rabin**

**Addresses by King Hussein and Prime Minister  
at a joint meeting of the United States Congress,  
Washington, D.C., 26 July 1994**

On 26 July 1994, at Washington, D.C., King Hussein of Jordan and the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, addressed a joint meeting of the United States Congress. The following are the texts of their statements:

*King Hussein*

"Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, honoured guests, Members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen: It is an honour 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 people. We seek for them a future of peace, stability and security - the prospects for which are growing before our eyes. It is a heart-warming 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 their creative energies, to allow them to realize their true potential, and to 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 towards 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 that meeting hosted by President Clinton at the White House in October 1993.

"Following my recent visit to the United States, in the 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 Abdullah, 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, in 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 laboured 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 this 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 peoples - 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 fulfil 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 defence of his homeland; a man who understands the fears of his neighbours 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 [(1967)] and 338 [(1973)].

"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 their 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. In 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 the achievement of comprehensive peace.

"Mr. Speaker, the state of war between Israel and Jordan is over. We have accepted United Nations Security Council resolution 338 [(1973)] which calls for negotiations between the parties concerned - under appropriate auspices - to establish a just and durable peace in the Middle East. We have accepted United Nations Security Council resolution 242 [(1967)], which sought acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area, and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force.

"I want to reaffirm, without any reservation, that we, together with the other parties concerned, have exercised our sovereign right to make peace. We are moving forward and tackling, one by one, all the problems listed in our 'Common Agenda'. We have great faith in our joint progress towards the ultimate goal - the culmination of all our efforts - a Jordanian/Israeli peace treaty.

"In this, we take courage from the words of God, in His holy book, The Koran:

`Then if they should be inclined to make peace, do thou incline

towards it also, and put thy trust in Allah. Surely, it is he who is all-hearing, all-knowing. (The Koran, Chapter 8, Verse 61)'

"Mr. Speaker, I value the long friendship between Jordan and the United States, inherited from the era of my grandfather. I have sought over 34 years, since the presidency of Dwight Eisenhower, to ensure that it be honest and true. It has been a friendship built of mutual respect and common interests. I am proud to remind you how we stood shoulder to shoulder during the long years of the cold war. And now, together, we share a great hope to establish a lasting peace in the Middle East. We believe that an enduring partnership for cooperation and development between Jordan and the United States is essential to the realization of this dream.

"We aim to build a better future under peace; to change the pattern of life for our people from despair and hopelessness to honour and dignity. We want to fashion a new commonwealth of hope on our ancient soil. We want all voices to be heard in shaping a new regional order.

"If we are to achieve our aims, all of us must be given the opportunity and the tools to play our part in this historic endeavour. The creative drive of our region has been crippled by the conflict; the healing hand of the international community is now essential.

"It should never be forgotten that peace resides, ultimately, not in the hands of Governments, but in the hands of the people. For unless peace can be made real to the men, women and children of the Middle East, the best efforts of negotiators will come to nought.

"Mr. Speaker, Mr. President: I have come before you today to demonstrate that we are ready to open a new era in our relations with Israel. With the help and cooperation of this august body, the peace we all want can be achieved. With your help, I am certain that the imbalances between our societies can be remedied and that the sources of frustration and enmity can be eradicated. It is in this spirit and with these hopes that I share this platform with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

"To all of you and to the American people, I offer my thanks for your kindness, hospitality and for all your support. May God bless you all. Wa Assalamu Alaykum Wa Rahmatullahi Wa Barakatuhu."32

*Prime Minister Rabin*

"Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, distinguished Members of the Congress, His Majesty the King of Jordan: I start with the Jewish word *shalom* .

"Each year on memorial day for the fallen of the Israeli [wars] - I go to the cemetery of Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem. Facing me are the graves, the headstones, the colourful flowers blooming on them, and thousands of pairs of weeping eyes. I stand there in front of that large, silent crowd and read in their eyes the words of the young, dead soldiers. As the famous American poet, Archibald MacLeish, entitled [ ... ] the poem from which I take these lines. I quote:

'They say, whether our lives and our death were for peace and a new hope or for nothing, we cannot say. It is you who must say this'.

"Mr. Speaker, we have come from Jerusalem to Washington because it is we who must say - and we are here to say - peace is our goal. It is peace we desire.

"With me here in this house today are my partners in this great doing. Allow me to refer to some Israelis that are with me - here with you. Amiram Kaplan, whose first brother was killed in an accident, whose second brother was killed in the pursuit of terrorists, whose third brother

was killed in war, and whose parents died of heartbreak. And today he is a seeker of peace. Moshe Sasson, who, together with his father, was an emissary to the talks with King Abdullah and to other missions of peace. Today, he is also an emissary of peace.

"With me, a classmate of mine from the elementary school, Chana Rivlin, of Kibbutz Gesher, which faces Jordan - who endured bitter fighting and lost a son in war. Today, she looks out of her window, onto Jordan, and wants the dream of peace to come, too. Avraham Daskal, almost 90 years old, who worked for the electric company in Transjordan and was privileged to attend the celebrations marking King Hussein's birth, is hoping for peace in his lifetime. Dani Matt, who fought against Jordan in the war of independence, was taken prisoner of war and devoted his life to the security of the State of Israel. He hopes that his grandchildren will never know war. And Mrs. Penina Herzog, whose husband wove the first threads of political ties with Jordan with us here in this [ ... ]. The Mayor of Eilat, Mr. Gabi Kadosh, which touches the frontier with Jordan and will be a focus of common tourism; Mr. Shimon Cahaner, who fought against the Jordanians, memorializes his fallen comrades and hopes that they will have been the last to fall;

Mr. Talal al-Krienawi, the Mayor of a Bedouin town in Israel, who looks forward to renewing the friendship with their brothers in Jordan; Mr. David Coren, a member of a kibbutz which was captured by the Jordanians in 1948, who awaits the day when the borders will be open; Dr. Asher Susser, a scholar who has done research throughout his adult life; and Dr. Sharon Regev, whose father was killed while pursuing terrorists in the Jordan Valley, and who yearns for peace with all his heart: Here they are before you.

"All of them wanted to come. Here they are - people who never rejoice in the victories of war but whose hearts are now filled with the joy of peace. I have come here from Jerusalem on behalf of those thousands of bereaved families, though I have not asked their permission. I stand here on behalf of the parents who have buried their children, of the children who have no fathers, and of the sons and daughters who are gone but return to us in our dreams. I stand here today on behalf of those youngsters who wanted to live, to love, to build a home. I have come from Jerusalem in the name of our children who began their lives with great hope and are now names, graves and memorial stones, old pictures in albums, fading clothes in the closets; whose lips are chanting Kaddish, the Jewish memorial prayer, ringing in my ears the words of the same famous Archibald MacLeish, who echoes the plea of the young, dead soldiers who say, 'relieve you our death, give them their meaning'. Let us give them meaning. Let us make an end to the bloodshed. Let us make true peace. Let us today be victorious in ending war.

"Mr. Speaker, the debate goes on. Who shapes the face of history - leaders or circumstances? My answer to you is we all shape the face of history; we the people - the farmers behind our ploughs, the teachers in our classrooms, the doctors saving lives, the scientists at our computers, the workers on the assembly line, the builders on our scaffolds; we, the mothers blinking back tears as our sons are drafted into the army; we, the fathers who stay awake at night worried and anxious for our children's safety; we Jews and Arabs; we Israelis and Jordanians; we, the people - we shape the face of history.

"And we, the leaders, hear the voices and sense the deepest emotions and feelings of thousands and millions and translate them into reality. If my people did not desire peace so strongly, I would not be standing here today. And I am sure that if the children of Amman and the soldiers of Irbid and the women of Es Salt and the citizens of Aqaba did not seek peace, our partner in this great quest, the King of Jordan, would not be here now, shaking hands, calling for peace. We bear the responsibility. We have the power to decide, and we dare not miss this great opportunity, for it is the duty of the leaders to bring peace and well-being to their peoples. We are graced with the privilege of fulfilling the duty for our people. This is our responsibility.

"The complex relations between Israel and Jordan have continued for a generation. Today, so many years later, we carry with us good memories of the special ties between your

country - Your Majesty - and mine, and we carry with us the grim reminders of the times we found ourselves at war. We remember the days of your grandfather, King Abdullah, who sought avenues of peace with the heads of the Jewish people and the leaders of the young State of Israel.

"There is much work before us. We face psychological barriers. We face genuine practical problems. Walls of hostilities have been built on the River Jordan which runs between us. You in Amman and we in Jerusalem must bring down those barriers and walls - must solve those concrete problems. And I am sure that we will do it. Yesterday, we took a giant step towards peace which will embrace it all - borders and water, security and economics, trade boycotts, tourism and environment, and diplomatic relations. We want peace between countries, but above all, between human beings.

"Beyond the ceremonies, after the festivities, we will move on to the negotiations. They will not be easy, but when they are completed, a wonderful, common future awaits us. The Middle East - the cradle of the great monotheistic civilizations, Judaism, Christianity and Islam - the Middle East that was a valley of the shadow of death will be a place where it is a pleasure to live. We live on the same stretch of land: The same rain nourishes our soil; the same hot wind parches our fields. We find shade under the same fig tree. We savour the fruit of the same green vine; we drink from the same well. Only a 70-minute journey separates these cities - Jerusalem and Amman - and 46 years. And just as we have been enemies, so can we be good and friendly neighbours.

"Since it is unprecedented that in this joint meeting two speakers will be invited, allow me to turn to His Majesty. Your Majesty, we have both seen a lot in our lifetime. We have both seen too much suffering. What will you leave to your children? What will I leave to my grandchildren? I have only dreams to build a better world - a world of understanding and harmony, a world in which it is a joy to live. This is not asking for too much. The State of Israel thanks you - thanks you for accepting our hand in peace, for your political wisdom and courage, for planting a new hope in our hearts and in the hearts of your subjects and the hearts of all peace-loving people. And I know that you enjoy the highest esteem of the United States - this great America which is helping the bold to make a peace of the brave.

"From this hall that represents freedom, liberty and democracy, I would like to thank President Clinton, the former Presidents of the United States, Secretary of State Christopher, former Secretaries of State, and former administrations. To you - the Speaker and the Vice-President, we are more than thankful to you - the distinguished Members of the Congress, representatives of the American people, and to you - the wonderful people of America. I do so because no words can express our gratitude to you and to the American people for each of your generous support, understanding and cooperation, which are beyond compare in modern history. Thank you, America. God bless America.

"Tomorrow, I shall return to Jerusalem, the capital of the State of Israel and the heart of the Jewish people. Lining the road to Jerusalem are rusting bulks of metal - burned-out, silent, cold. They are the remains of convoys which brought food and medicine to the war-torn and besieged city of Jerusalem 46 years ago. For many of Israel's citizens, their story is one of heroism - part of our national legend. For me and for my comrades in arms, every scrap of cold metal lying there by the wayside is a bitter memory. I remember - I remember it as though it was just yesterday. I remember then I was their commander in war. For them, this ceremony has come too late. What endures are their children, their comrades. It's their legacy.

"Allow me to make a personal note. I, military ID number 30743, retired General in the Israel Defence Forces in the past, consider myself to be a soldier in the army of peace today.

I, who served my country for 27 years as a soldier - I say to you, to Your Majesty: This is the only battle which is a pleasure to wage - the battle for peace.

"Tomorrow, on the way up to Jerusalem, thousands of flowers will cover the remains of those rusting armoured vehicles, the ones that never made it to the city. Tomorrow, from those silent metal heaps, thousands of flowers will smile to us with the word peace - shalom.

"In the Bible, our book of books, peace is mentioned in its various idioms 237 times. In the Bible - from which we draw our values and our strength - in the book of Jeremiah, we find a lamentation for Rachel, the matriarch. It reads:

'Refrain your voice from weeping and your eyes from tears, for their works shall be rewarded, saith the Lord'.

"I will not refrain from weeping for those who are gone, but on this summer day in Washington, far from home, we sense that our work will be rewarded as the prophet foretold.

"The Jewish tradition calls for a blessing on every new tree, every new fruit, on every new season. Let me conclude with the ancient Jewish blessing that has been with us in exile and in Israel for thousands of years, and allow me to do it in Hebrew.

'Blessed are you, O Lord, who has preserved us and sustained us and enabled us to reach this time.'

"God bless the peace. Thank you."<sup>33</sup>

**Prime Minister Rabin**

**D.C., 26 July 1994**

**Remarks by President Clinton, King Hussein and  
at a White House press conference, Washington,**

On 26 July 1994, at a White House press conference, the following opening remarks were made by President Clinton, King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin:

*President Clinton*

"Good afternoon. I am happy to once again welcome King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin.

"In the last two days, history has been made in Washington, and a brighter future has been built - a future that offers more peace and security not only for the people of Israel and Jordan, but also for the people of the United States.

"With great courage and foresight, the King and the Prime Minister have united in their conviction that it is time to end more than four decades of bloodshed and loss. They have demonstrated that contact can overcome conflict, that direct talks can produce peace. They have declared an end to the state of war between their two countries and have determined to secure a lasting peace. They have personally committed to making sure that a treaty is concluded as rapidly as possible.

"When we met yesterday, the King, the Prime Minister and I agreed to designate representatives to ensure that the provisions of the Washington Declaration are implemented quickly. In a week of extraordinary sets of events, this morning we witnessed another, as the



King and the Prime Minister appeared jointly before Congress. Their eloquent remarks articulated a common vision of cooperation that will yield specific and concrete benefits for all peoples on both sides of the Jordan River. The outpouring of support by Members of Congress for these two heroes of peace, I believe, clearly reflects the feelings of all the American people.

"As I have made clear since my first meetings with the King and the Prime Minister, America will stand by those who take risks for peace. We will support leaders whose boldness and wisdom are creating a new Middle East. Today, I have reaffirmed to Prime Minister Rabin that as Israel moves forward in the peace process, the constant responsibility of the United States will be to help ensure its security. I also have reaffirmed to King Hussein my determination to assist Jordan in dealing with its burden of debt and its defence requirements. I am working with Congress to achieve rapid action on both these matters.

"The United States is committed to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East and an end to hostility between Israel and all her Arab neighbours. I spoke yesterday with President al-Assad of Syria and reaffirmed my personal dedication to achieving a comprehensive peace. Secretary Christopher has devoted a great deal of time and effort to the negotiations with Syria, and I have asked him to return to the region soon to continue that work.

"In these two days, we have taken great strides on the road to peace. But even as these two leaders have come together, the enemies of peace have not been silent. In recent days, terrorists have struck in Buenos Aires, Argentina and in London. We will not, we must not, allow them to disrupt this peace process.

"This week's events here in Washington and the bravery of King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin prove that a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East is within reach. Inspired by the extraordinary events of the last two days, now we go forward with a new sense of determination and a new sense of confidence to take the next steps in the days and weeks ahead."<sup>34</sup>

#### *King Hussein*

"Mr. President, Prime Minister Rabin, ladies and gentlemen: These have been unique days in our lives - yesterday and today. They have witnessed dreams, hopes and prayers realized in terms of an end to the state of war between Jordan and Israel. More important, in terms of our determination to move ahead in executing our duties towards our peoples - towards our peoples in the entire region in the present and in the future - that they live secure in peace with the ability to come together, for the opportunity to give their talents a chance to make a difference, to create at the breaking dawn of peace in the Middle East what is worthy of them.

"I would like, Mr. President, to thank you very, very much indeed for your personal support and continued interest. We are proud to have you as our partner. We are proud and happy that these meetings between myself and Prime Minister Rabin have taken place here in Washington. We are overwhelmed by all the warmth and support that we have seen during these last two days. We recall and appreciate the efforts of the Secretary of State, the efforts of so many friends here that enabled us to get this far.

"I hope, together, we will build from now on and will continue and succeed in giving all our peoples the chance to live under conditions that have been denied us, certainly, as far as I am concerned, throughout my life. And I am proud to say that the overwhelming majority of Jordanians rejoice with me, as I am sure is the case in Israel and here in the United States."<sup>34</sup>

#### *Prime Minister Rabin*

"Mr. President, Your Majesty King Hussein, ladies and gentlemen: I believe that the last two days represent a landmark in the positive developments towards peace in the Middle East.

I believe to understand the meaning of what has been done by Jordan and Israel - with the assistance and support of the United States - it has to be looked at in proportion to what the trends are today in the Middle East.

"We see two conflicting trends in the Middle East - one, the rise of extreme, radical Islamic terrorist movements within the Palestinian side, within the Lebanese side, in other Arab countries, derived from a certain source that each is purposely undermining any possibility to achieve peace. I believe that we see their fingers in the international terrorist acts that have taken place not so long ago - in Thailand, in Buenos Aires, in London - in addition to what goes on from Lebanon, and in the territories by the extreme, radical Islamic terrorist groups. It's an all-out war waged by these elements against the possibility of the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict in all its parts. I believe that they have an infrastructure of terror all over the world. We saw it lately in Argentina. I do not want to talk about what is going on here, in Europe, in the Far East, in addition to the Middle East.

"And, therefore, what we have done in the last two days is a major step of brave people on both sides to come up and to say we are making an important, important phase towards peace, because the Washington Declaration is, first and foremost, an end of a state of belligerency - or as the King declared, end of a state of war. Believe me, today in the Middle East, to reach commitment by the countries of the region for non-belligerency - no violence, no terror - can be the greatest contribution to peace in the region and not only in the region.

"Between Jordan and Israel, we have reached the end of the state of belligerency. But there is a need beyond the end of war, threats of war, violence and terror to build a structure of peace - the relations of peace. We lay the foundations to this world, to this work, to this place. The test will be to what extent we will succeed in building this structure of peace - to reach the kind of relations between Jordan and Israel that the man in the street in Amman and in Tel Aviv will call peace.

"Therefore, hard work is before us. We are committed, I believe, on both sides, to do what is needed in addition to the elimination of war - to build the relations of peace. We need your assistance, Mr. President, in doing so.

"The first responsibility lies with the parties - with Jordan and Israel. But without the United States - the leader of peace in the region and, hopefully, other countries and the European Union assisting those who take risks - calculated risks for peace - we will not achieve it in the way and at the pace needed.

"We open a new chapter. We created a new landmark. But the road is still, hopefully, not too long - but still work has to be done. We will do it. We need the participation of those who preach peace to translate their words to realities, to practical support of those who take the risk for peace."<sup>35</sup>

On 29 August 1994, at the Erez checkpoint in the Gaza Strip, the following early empowerment agreement was signed by the Government of Israel and the PLO (annexes and appendices, which constitute an integral part of the Agreement, are not included here):

## "AGREEMENT ON PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

"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 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 the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements as signed at Washington, D.C., 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 term '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 statutory 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 OF 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 fully 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 sides 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 utmost to 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 gatherings 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 Spheres not transferred.

## "ARTICLE VII

### PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY "LEGISLATIVE POWERS OF THE

"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 fulfil 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 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 Spheres, 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 by 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 responsibility 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 wilful malfeasance, the Palestinian Authority shall not bear financial responsibility.
  - "g. Notwithstanding subparagraphs l.d through l.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 l.g above, the Palestinian Authority shall defend it and, in accordance with subparagraph l.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 l.g above shall agree on arrangements for the transfer of proceedings from Israeli courts or tribunals pursuant to subparagraph l.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 VI (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 Spheres, 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"<sup>36/</sup>

**Text of the Oslo Declaration,  
13 September 1994**

On 13 September 1994, at Oslo, as a result of negotiations on the issue of providing development assistance to the Palestinian Authority, the following declaration was signed by the Foreign Minister of Norway, Mr. Bjørn Tore Godal, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Mr. Yasser Arafat and the Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr. Shimon Peres:

"Oslo, 13 September 1994

**"OSLO DECLARATION**

"1. On the occasion of meeting in Oslo on 13 September for the first anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Principles, Foreign Minister Bjørn Tore Godal, Chairman Yasser Arafat and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres declared their appreciation for the gradual implementation of the Declaration of Principles in Gaza and Jericho first and the beginning of the implementation of the agreement regarding early empowerment in the West Bank.

"Mr. Arafat and Mr. Peres expressed their appreciation to the people and the Government of Norway for their unique role in the historic breakthrough between the Israeli people and the Palestinian people.

"Representatives of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, in her capacity as President of the European Union, Japan, the European Union Commission and the United Nations were present at an unofficial meeting between the parties and the donor community.

"2. The two sides, Israel and the PLO, declared their commitment to fully implement the Declaration of Principles and to continue the process between them based on the Declaration of Principles and on subsequent agreements.

"3. The two sides declared that they see the role of the ongoing political process between them as contributing to the security of both sides and are committed to taking the necessary measures to put an end to acts of violence, moving to implement outstanding agreements and mutual confidence-building measures, promoting their economic relationship and developing the economy of the Palestinian Authority.

"4. In this context, the two sides have agreed to ask the Government of Norway, as chair of the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee, to convene a meeting at an appropriate early date in Paris to be guided by the following principles and needs:

- "a. The two sides call on the donor community to make an immediate effort to meet the recurrent costs of the Palestinian Authority and the early empowerment.
- "b. Both sides accept the request by the AHLC chairman that they shall not bring before the donor community (the AHLC or the Consultative Group) those political issues that are of disagreement between them. They will deal with such issues between themselves, based on the Declaration of Principles and subsequent agreements.
- "c. The PLO reaffirms its commitment to develop the tax collection system of the Palestinian Authority in order to limit the timetable for foreign assistance to cover recurrent costs. Donor contributions to finance recurrent costs will gradually decrease with the increase of Palestinian revenues.
- "d. The emergency financial needs, including existing arrears, of the Palestinian Police should be financed by the donor community preferably until the end of 1994 only, and not exceeding the end of March 1995.

"Mr. Arafat and Mr. Peres will together approach the Secretary-General of the United Nations to request that the United Nations Development Programme should serve as the mechanism for immediately channelling existing funds to the Palestinian Police.

- "e. The parties have decided that they will seek an agreement setting out their respective responsibilities and those of the donor communities at the forthcoming meeting of the AHLC, concerning financing of the early empowerment based on Palestinian-Israeli cooperative efforts to establish a fully functioning Palestinian tax collection mechanism. A draft agreement will be distributed among the donors prior to the meeting.
- "f. Subsequently, regarding the operation of the Holst Fund, the United States, Norway, the United Nations and others will commence a high level and intensive effort to generate funds and to reallocate existing funds. The United States has informed the parties that it will dispatch envoys to various capitals, including those in the region. Donors will be advised that they should make a great effort to contribute to the Holst Fund and other recurrent cost instruments.
- "g. A special effort will be made to seek support for transitional projects and short-term job creation projects which donors can implement quickly.
- "h. The successful implementation of the above efforts to cover the urgent needs of the Palestinian Authority, the Palestinian Police and early empowerment will enable the donor community to focus on the longer-term development needs of Gaza and the West Bank.
- "i. In order to encourage fast implementation of Palestinian project development in the West Bank, the Civil Administration and PECDAR will discuss their means of cooperation under the existing system and regulations until full empowerment in the West Bank is reached.

"5. Mr. Arafat and Mr. Peres expressed their satisfaction with the recent positive developments in the peace process, including the recent developments between Jordan and Israel, the recent statements by Syria and by Israel and the upcoming Casablanca conference.

"(Signed) Chairman  
Yasser ARAFAT

"(Signed) Foreign Minister  
Bjørn Tore GODAL

"(Signed) Foreign Minister  
Shimon PERES"37/

**and the Foreign Minister  
Cooperation Council  
Israel,**

**Remarks by the United States Secretary of State  
of Saudi Arabia on the decision of the Gulf  
to end the secondary and tertiary Arab boycott of  
New York, 30 September 1994**

On 30 September 1994, in New York, after a meeting with the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), the following remarks were made by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia, Crown Prince Saud Al-Faisal:

*Secretary of State Warren Christopher*

"We have had a very productive discussion here today, an extremely useful exchange of views, and a very useful outcome. Our dialogue on regional security, on the peace process and on Iraq, illustrates the deep cooperation that exists between the United States and the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council and their officials and diplomats.

"The Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, Crown Prince Saud, will be reading a statement on their behalf, and we will be issuing that to you in the near future. But let me make a couple of comments on the statement that you will be receiving and that he will be either reading or summarizing.

"As you know, ending the Arab boycott of Israel has long been a key objective of the United States as we work to advance peace in the region. That is why I want to emphasize the great importance of what has been done today. Essentially, there is a commitment from the States of the Gulf Cooperation Council no longer to enforce the secondary and tertiary aspects of the boycott and not to discriminate against American companies. These are very significant moves.

"In addition, we welcome their indication that they will support an effort in the Arab League to do away with the boycott in its entirety. It is our hope that that effort will be undertaken in the very near future.

"There can be no doubt that the Gulf States have played a very valuable role in the region. The Middle East-North Africa economic summit in Casablanca this year will be an unusual -

I believe an unprecedented - opportunity to break down barriers and build new relationships to provide economic incentives and economic results, which will bring to the area the benefits of peace in a way that can help the lives of people in their day-to-day work.

"We look forward to the participation of the member States of the Gulf Cooperation Council in that Casablanca meeting. The discussion that we had today on Iraq, which is reflected

in the statement of the Council which will be released, underscores the congruence of the views of the United States and the member States.

"Our nations agree that we must maintain sanctions on Iraq as long as Baghdad fails to demonstrate its peaceful intentions and fails to carry out all the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council. We will continue to work with the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council. These meetings will hopefully become an annual fixture of the United Nations General Assembly. I think they are very valuable.

"The steps taken today with respect to the boycott of Israel are very significant steps, and I want to thank each of the ministers for the courage and commitment that enabled them to move forward in this very significant way.

"Your Highness, we would welcome anything that you might want to say."38/

*Crown Prince Saud Al-Faisal*

"Thank you, Mr. Secretary. May I say first of all that the statement on the boycott has already been distributed to the press, and I shall read the joint statement by the Gulf Cooperation Council Ministers as regards the meeting that we had with the Secretary today. Since it is a joint statement, may I be allowed to read it, Mr. Secretary?

"My colleagues of the GCC and myself have had a productive meeting with you, Mr. Secretary, in which the GCC-US economic cooperation, as well as a variety of regional issues, were reviewed.

[Crown Prince Saud Al-Faisal reads from the joint  
statement]

"The GCC Ministers noted with satisfaction the results of the fifth GCC-US meeting held in Riyadh last January and reiterated the importance of the early implementation of the recommendations of that meeting, particularly with regard to the expansion and diversification of trade and improved access to markets.

"The GCC Ministers look forward to the success of the second GCC-US business conference to be held in Bahrain in March 1996. The GCC Ministers welcomed agreements already reached between the PLO and Israel, between Jordan and Israel, and look forward to continued progress on the Syrian, Lebanese and Israeli tracks towards the achievement of a comprehensive peace.

"The GCC Ministers reiterated their countries' continued support for the peace process and their efforts to prepare the environment for further progress. The Ministers expressed appreciation for the continued efforts of the United States to bring about a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 [(1967)] and 338 [(1973)] and the principle of land for peace. The Ministers also called for an Israeli commitment to refrain from introducing any demographic changes in Jerusalem that will prejudice the forthcoming final status negotiations.

"The GCC Ministers express their firm and united stand that Iraq must comply fully with all relevant Security Council resolutions. In particular, the GCC insists that Iraq fulfil all of its obligations towards Kuwait to include formal and irrevocable recognition of Kuwaiti sovereignty, independence and its international border as demarcated by the United Nations Special

Committee and endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 833 [(1993)]; and accounting for and return of all Kuwaitis and other nationals missing in action and property, including military equipment, currently in Iraqi hands.

"The GCC urged the Security Council to bear in mind Iraq's continued threat to peace and stability in the Gulf region when it considers the status of Iraqi compliance with the United Nations Security Council resolution.

"The GCC pledged its strong continuing support for the work of the Special United Nations Commission, UNSCOM. The GCC ministers noted with appreciation the support of the United States for the Gulf Cooperation Council's call to refer the dispute between Iran and the United Arab Emirates over the three Emirate islands to the International Court of Justice."<sup>39/</sup>

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#### Notes

1. United States Department of State Dispatch, 18 April 1994, Vol. 5, No. 16, pp. 219-221.
2. As per the text provided on 5 October 1994 by the Office of the Delegation of the European Commission to the United Nations, New York; also see Official Journal of the European Communities, No. L 119, 7 May 1994, pp. 1 and 2.
3. See the letter dated 27 May 1994 from the Permanent Representatives of the Russian Federation and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/49/180-S/1994/727), annex IV, pp. 123-154.
4. As per the text provided on 13 May 1994 by the Permanent Mission of Denmark to the United Nations.
5. See the letter dated 27 May 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/49/180-S/1994/727), pp. 6-24.
6. Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report: Near East & South Asia, No. FBIS-NES-94-086, 4 May 1994, pp. 1-10.
7. United States Department of State Dispatch, 16 May 1994, Vol. 5, No. 20, pp. 303 and 304.
8. Foreign Broadcast Information Service, op. cit., p. 3.
9. Ibid., pp. 3 and 5.
10. Ibid., pp. 5 and 6.
11. Ibid., pp. 6-8.
12. Ibid., pp. 8 and 9.
13. Ibid., p. 10.
14. United States Department of State Dispatch, 16 May 1994, Vol. 5, No. 20, p. 304.
15. Ibid., pp. 301-303.
16. United States Department of State Dispatch, 13 June 1994, Vol. 5, No. 24, pp. 389 and 390.
17. Ibid., 20 June 1994, Vol. 5, No. 25, pp. 408 and 409.
18. Ibid., August 1994, Vol. 5, No. 7, p. 40.
19. Ibid., p. 2.
20. Ibid., pp. 40 and 41.
21. Ibid., pp. 15-17.
22. Ibid., pp. 17 and 18.
23. Ibid., pp. 18 and 19.
24. Ibid., p. 19.
25. Ibid., p. 14.

- 26. Ibid., p. 16.
  - 27. Ibid., pp. 6 and 7.
  - 28. Ibid., p. 3.
  - 29. Ibid., pp. 3 and 4.
  - 30. Ibid., pp. 4 and 5.
  - 31. Ibid., p. 5.
  - 32. Ibid., pp. 9-11.
  - 33. Ibid., pp. 11 and 12.
  - 34. Ibid., p. 13.
  - 35. Ibid., pp. 13 and 14.
  - 36. Ibid., pp. 32-36.
  - 37. As per the text provided on 26 October 1994 by the Permanent Mission of Norway to the United Nations.
  - 38. United States Department of State Dispatch, 3 October 1994, Vol. 5, No. 40. p. 658.
  - 39. Ibid., pp. 658 and 659.
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