

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

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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, and other aspects of the Middle East peace process.

This issue covers the period from October 1994 to the end of October 1995.

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Excerpt from an interview with the Prime Minister of Jordan, 1 October 1994	1
Policy statement by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin before the Knesset, Jerusalem, 3 October 1994	1
Text of Joint United States-Jordan-Israel Communiqué, Washington, D.C., 3 October 1994	8
Text of statement by the United States Secretary of State following meeting with President al-Assad, Damascus, 13 October 1994	11
Remarks by King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on the initialling of the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel, Amman, 17 October 1994	11
King Hussein	11
Prime Minister Rabin	12
Text of the Jordanian Cabinet decision regarding the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel, Amman, 18 October 1994	13
Excerpt from the text of the Israeli Cabinet decision regarding the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, Jerusalem, 23 October 1994	13
Address by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin during the Knesset debate on the approval of the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel, Jerusalem, 25 October 1994	14
Text of joint press communiqué of the Holy See and the PLO, Vatican City, 25 October 1994	19
Text of the Treaty of Peace between Israel and Jordan, Arava/Araba crossing-point, 26 October 1994	20
Ceremony for the signing of the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, Arava/Araba crossing-point, 26 October 1994	48
King Hussein	48
Prime Minister Rabin	49
Secretary of State Christopher	50
Foreign Minister Kozyrev	51

Foreign Minister Peres	52
President Clinton	52

	<u>Page</u>
Address by President Bill Clinton before the Jordanian Parliament, Amman, 26 October 1994	54
Remarks by President al-Assad and President Clinton at a news conference, Damascus, 27 October 1994	57
President al-Assad	57
President Clinton President Clinton	58
Speeches by President Clinton and Prime Minister Rabin at the Knesset, Jerusalem, 27 October 1994	59
President Clinton	59
Prime Minister Rabin	62
Text of the Declaration of Casablanca, 30 October-1 November 1994	65
Text of Summary Conclusions by the Chair of the Meeting of Experts on the Middle East Development Bank, Washington, D.C., 11 January 1995	68
Text of the Blair House Joint Communiqué, Washington, D.C., 12 February 1995	70
Text of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Washington, D.C., 28 September 1995	72
Speech by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at the Knesset on ratifying the Interim Agreement, Jerusalem, 5 October 1995	91
Remarks by Foreign Minister Shimon Peres at the Knesset, Jerusalem, 23 October 1995	98
Text of the Amman Declaration, Amman, 31 October 1995	104
Notes	107

**Excerpt from an interview with the Prime Minister of Jordan,  
1 October 1994**

In an interview with a *UAE Television of Abu Dhabi* correspondent aired at Amman, on 1 October 1994, Prime Minister of Jordan Dr. Abdulsalam Al-Majali explained his country's position with respect to the *awqaf* \* \**Waqf* (pl. *awqaf*) - Islamic endowment (of importance in the context of ownership of real property). and the issue of Jerusalem. Asked about a possible Jordanian decision regarding Jerusalem and lifting of the trusteeship over it, Dr. Al-Majali replied:

"...

"If you are saying there is a crisis regarding the *awqaf*, then this crisis should be considered over now that Jordan has decided to sever links with the *awqaf* that belong to the brothers in the [Palestinian] autonomy. Of course, autonomy has not reached Jerusalem yet. Negotiations over Jerusalem will take place between the Palestinian brothers and Israel during the final stage. When these negotiations are held, the issue will again be reconsidered.

"The Palestinian brothers own the rights to the *awqaf* in their territories. This is something natural. Therefore, there is no crisis."1

**Policy statement by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin before the Knesset,  
Jerusalem, 3 October 1994**

On 3 October 1994, speaking in the Knesset at the opening of its winter session, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin discussed the various elements of the peace process and the role of Israel therein. He said, *inter alia* :

"Honourable President, Mr. Speaker, Honourable Knesset: It is to be hoped that this is the dawn of a new year and, in the name of the government, I wish to congratulate the members of the Knesset and their families; the IDF [Israel Defence Forces] soldiers and the members of the security services, those who stand guard for us; and all the people of Israel.... [Rabin's remarks interrupted by Likud Knesset Member Tzahi Hanegbi, who is forcibly removed from the plenum for trying to play a recording of previous Rabin statements]. What he [Hanegbi] did makes no difference. He agreed to the evacuation of Rafah; therefore, he has no right to talk.

"I reiterate: I wish the members of the Knesset, their families, the IDF soldiers and the members of all the security services who stand guard for us and all the people of Israel a happy new year, a year of ongoing success, a year of peace, a year of security and the hope that, as it is written: And I will give peace in the land and you shall lie down and none shall make you afraid; and I will remove evil beasts from the land and the sword shall not go through your land. [Leviticus 22:6]

"We face the start of the new year stronger than ever, with more conviction than ever and in 5755 we hope, pray and say: This may be the year of peace with all the Arab States and with the Palestinians in Gaza and Jericho, in Amman and in Damascus, in Beirut and in Cairo and in Jerusalem. We will bid shalom to each other.

"Members of the Knesset, year after year, speech after speech, Israeli Prime Ministers have stood at this podium: David Ben-Gurion and Moshe Sharet, Levi Eshkol and Golda Meir, Menachem Begin, all of blessed memory, as well as Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Shamir. They appealed from this podium to the Arab rulers; they called for peace and invited them to this house to be partners in the journey toward peace.

"We believe that this house in Jerusalem; this house, which for a generation has heard our voices calling out for peace; this house, which saw our hands outstretched in peace; this house, which saw us in our finest hours and in our most painful moments, will perhaps as early as this year host the King of Jordan, the Syrian President, the President of Lebanon and others who will come to the gates of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the city of peace.

"Members of the Knesset, the festive atmosphere that embraces every Jewish home each year in the Jewish month of Tishrey has also been accompanied by a lot of pain over the past 21 years. Since that Yom Kippur, 21 years have passed. We have experienced a great deal, both good and bad. A generation has gone and a new generation has come. We have forgotten a lot of the events in our lives, we have wiped them from our memories, but we have not forgotten the events of that day and the voices reverberate in our ears as though it happened yesterday. We remember every moment of that day, everything we did and everything we said. The festive atmosphere and the quiet in the streets, the masses praying in the synagogues, the military vehicles violating the sanctity of the holy day, the questions we asked and to which we had no answers at that time, the siren at 1400.

"History does not recognize the concept of: what if. We are still shackled by the bitter memory of that Yom Kippur. We are not free of the events. We cannot ask: What would have happened had things gone differently? Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat said at the time and I quote: I am prepared to sacrifice the lives of 1.5 million Egyptian soldiers in order to free the lands; and the late Moshe Dayan, who was Defence Minister at the time, said: We are waiting for a telephone call from the Arabs. He also said: I prefer Sharm al-Shaykh without peace to peace without Sharm al-Shaykh. We responded to the Egyptian President's remarks with ridicule and arrogance. Moshe Dayan's remarks made a deep impression on many people in Israel. A bloody war with Egypt and Syria and thousands of fatalities among IDF soldiers dear to us and among soldiers in the Egyptian and Syrian Armies were needed for Cairo to reach the correct conclusion that peace is preferable to war and for Jerusalem to reach the correct conclusion that peace is preferable to Sharm al-Shaykh.

"Members of the Knesset, I wish to note that this Government has decided to do everything necessary and possible to prevent wars, blood and tears. This Government has decided to lift the receiver to the Arab states because the telephone is ringing. This Government has decided that under certain circumstances, peace is preferable to Sharm al-Shaykh, just as the Likud Government under the late Menachem Begin courageously decided. The telephone rang years ago in Cairo and it is now ringing in Gaza and Jericho, in Amman, Damascus and in Beirut. And, gentlemen, we are lifting the receiver and there is somebody at the other end who responds with shalom.

"Members of the Knesset, for a generation we knew how to overrun enemy outposts, to capture enemy cities and hit them hard. We were the best at war. Now we are using the same determination in a different war. We are once again overrunning, but this time in order to be the best at peace. We are ready for any negotiations with the Arab states and the Palestinians on the basis of a genuine



partnership for peace and security. At the same time, however, we do not fail to see that in a world of wolves, we have no intention of being an innocent lamb. We do not intend for one moment to stop bolstering the IDF, building up our strength, keeping our eyes wide open, preparing. We are prepared for peace. We are also prepared for war if it is forced on us.

"Members of the Knesset, we have grown tired of the expression 'window of opportunities', but what can we do? That is the correct term to describe these days. In recent years, we have been witnessing contrasting trends in the world. On one hand, there is a spirit of conciliation and peace that has been shaking the entire world - perhaps mainly the Soviet empire, since its collapse. On the other hand, however, there is also an opposite trend. A dark wave of radical Islam is trying to overrun many countries. The radical Islamic terrorist organizations operate in several directions. Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and the Islamic Jihad carry out most of the terrorist attacks against Israelis in Israel and in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. Hizballah, a branch of that same wave, perpetrates most of the attacks against IDF and SLA [South Lebanese Army] soldiers in Lebanon. International terrorism, which is also part of that wave, harms Israelis, Jews and others around the entire world. There is no need to remind you of what occurred in Buenos Aires and London this year, in Buenos Aires and in Istanbul in 1992.

"The radical Islamic terrorist organizations are trying to harm moderate Arab regimes prepared for peace with Israel. In recent years, Iranian aid to such terrorism, both direct and indirect, has been prominent. Iran's involvement is found in the attacks carried out by the radical Islamic terrorist elements in the Middle East and around the world.

"As members of the Jewish people, we respect the beliefs of other religions because, as Jews, we are sensitive to freedom of religious ritual for all religions, but we will fight and struggle against Khomeinism without Khomeini, which is the main axis characterizing the wave of radical Islamic terrorism.

"We welcome the trends for peace and view with concern the dark wave of radical Islam. Never has comprehensive peace been so close to us while, at the same time, the danger of radical Islam hovers over it like a shadow. Many in the Arab states surrounding us share our deep concern regarding radical Islam and they say and know that almost the only way to dry up the swamp of radical Islam is through economic development and the improvement of the standard of living. Poverty and want are the incubator of that dangerous wave and only - and I stress - only economic support and the improvement of the conditions in Egypt and Syria, in Jordan and Lebanon and of the Palestinians will hinder those extremists. Such an improvement, such economic development can be carried out only when peace reigns throughout the Middle East.

"We consider ourselves partners in this important battle and we view comprehensive peace as one of the important tools that will help the Arab states help themselves and thereby also help us reach peace.

"Members of the Knesset, in the year that has just passed, we began an arrangement with the Palestinians, peace negotiations with Jordan and the very initial stages of peace negotiations with Syria and Lebanon. The present government adopted the Madrid formula begun by the previous Government under Mr. Yitzhak Shamir; however, when we learned that while the principle is correct, the system is leading us to a deadlock, we chose to change the system and start separate talks. I never supported an international conference. We managed to convert the Madrid

Conference into a bilateral conference in the true meaning of the term. This path has been fruitful. In the past year, the Government signed the Declaration of Principles [DOP] with the Palestinians, the Gaza-Jericho First Agreement and early empowerment for several areas in the territories. Negotiations on the following stages will commence in the coming days.

"We added our signature to the agreement with the Palestinians with a heavy heart. Bitter memories of 100 years of bloody conflicts prevent complete reconciliation. We said we owe it to the coming generations; we said we would try to start a new, historic chapter in relations between the Palestinians and the State of Israel. A year ago, in the wake of the festivals and festivities, the Palestinian leaders faced the tough reality in Gaza and in the refugee camps of Jabalyah and Khan Yunis. Poverty and hunger, the incubator of all radical terrorist activity, were and still are the enemies of the current Palestinian leadership. In our view, their leadership will be tested by the improvement in the economic welfare of the residents there. It is that which, to a large extent, will decide whether the peace with the Palestinians will succeed. Following totally erroneous moves - at least from our point of view - which were made at the outset, following confusion and disorder, we are witnessing these very days the first buds of law and order.

"Many countries have agreed to help the Palestinians economically and we encourage that in every way, because it is also in our interest, in terms of security and otherwise, that Gazans and residents of Jericho be economically well off and live a good life. But we will not hide and will not deny that radical Palestinian terrorism continues to take its toll. Since the DOP was signed in Washington over a year ago, 62 IDF soldiers and civilians have been murdered or wounded in Israel and in the territories by terrorists, most of them from Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. I would like to express the Government's condolences to the families and wish the wounded a speedy recovery.

"Members of the Knesset, we will not tire of stressing that security is our main concern and that peace will not come to this land without security. Therefore, we regard terrorist actions with the deepest gravity. We have not ignored that here and there certain actions are being taken by the Palestinian Authority [PA] to prevent terrorism or to capture its perpetrators, but we do not believe it is enough. From our point of view, there is only one test: the results. So far, these fall far from satisfying us, to put it mildly.

"In my meetings - especially my last meeting - with the PLO chairman, I announced in the firmest way to him and his colleagues in the PA that further progress along the path to peace depends greatly on the ability of the PLO chairman and his people to overcome terrorism within the territory under their control. If terrorism continues, it will make it difficult for us to continue the peace process with the Palestinians.

"Members of the Knesset, the signing of the DOP with the Palestinians paved the way for the negotiating table with King Hussein I, king of the Hashemite Kingdom. During the year, peace negotiations started between Israel and Jordan and we are in the midst of these negotiations these very days. In recent weeks, Israeli and Jordanian negotiators have sat daily until late into the night in an attempt to find honourable solutions to problems raised by Amman and Jerusalem. The great achievement is already behind us. We came to Washington for an occasion symbolizing a big step forward, the non-belligerency agreement or, as the Jordanian monarch called it, the end of the state of war. An even bigger achievement, however, is still before us. In my meeting with them last Thursday in Al-Aqaba, the King and

the Crown Prince made it clear to me that they intend to reach the signing of a full peace treaty between Israel and Jordan's Hashemite Kingdom as soon as possible. The King said he plans to create a warm peace between Israel and Jordan. He said to me and I quote: In our peace, the border between Israel and Jordan will be meaningless. There are still several problems to be resolved in the areas of borders, water and security. In the coming days, our emissaries will again sit down at the negotiating table with representatives of the Jordanian Kingdom in order to secure another peace treaty for the State of Israel. Therefore, I must tell the members of the Knesset with satisfaction, happiness and pride that as far as I know, the signing of a full peace treaty between Israel and the Kingdom of Jordan may take place soon, even before the end of the Gregorian calendar year.

"I know that everything I have said may sound like a dream and may even bring a smile to your faces. Yet this week I read in a newspaper, among the regular reports about cheap holiday deals in Tiberias and advertisements for apartment sales, notices about trips from Israel to Petra, tours of Amman, trips to Jarash. Nobody in Israel even gets excited about this any more, as though it were an everyday event, a commonplace advertisement on page 3 of a newspaper. Knesset members, more than 27 years ago, when a sharp knife was put to our neck, the IDF set out to war in defence of our lives. That great victory put us on the banks of the Suez Canal, along the Jordan River and at the top of the Golan Heights, known until then as the Syrian Heights. During the 27 years that have elapsed since the Six Day War, the Golan Heights have turned from a rocky land to a blooming garden. Families and homes were set up and children were born on the black basalt rocks. The State of Israel, all Israeli Governments, sent the best people to the Golan. We do not have any better than these, these pioneers, visionaries and combatants, who engaged in an honourable and admirable enterprise there. It is no coincidence that sympathy for the Golan people crosses party lines and sweeps through crowds. All that is beautiful, all that we dreamed to see in the State of Israel and in its Israeli sons is embodied in Drora and Yehuda from Merom Golan, Sami from Qatzrin and Dganit from Kfar Haruv, the residents of the Golan. We did not make a mistake when we sent them to the Golan. We did not make a mistake when we encouraged them to build a home, raise children, plant a vineyard and pick fruits. That was the right thing at the right time and the right place. With all due respect to the Golan settlement - and I do have such respect - it has never been the main point for me. Regardless of what has been said here, the importance of the Golan is in terms of Israel's security, with or without settlements.

"Allow me to say a few personal words. Most of my adult life I spent in service in the IDF and part of that service was as commander of the Northern Command. Every corner, every settlement, every stone in the north is familiar to me. It was during my service in the north that the serious incidents with the Syrians began and names which have fallen from usage were routine to me and my IDF colleagues: Al-Durayjat, Al-Julaybinah, Al-Tawafiq, Khirbat Al-Aziziyat. I was a witness and a party to the suffering of villages which valiantly and resolutely withstood the firing of shells. An important part of what I have witnessed in my life was the ruins of the children's rooms in Gadot, the burning barns of Tel Qazir and the burning fields of Hulata, Gonen and Lahavot Habashan. We did not climb the Golan Heights and occupy it during the Six Day War so that these scenes will return, and no power in the world will move us even a single centimetre on the Golan if no full and true peace - a peace with perfect security arrangements and, yes, a peace of the brave - is established between Israel and Syria. Only a true peace will make us ready for changes. Members of the Knesset, for 27 years we held our political and security views and did not change them because the world and the Arab States had not changed, but one

would have to be an ostrich not to notice that the world, including some of the Arab States, has changed in recent years. Members of the Knesset, as long as Syria did not recognize Israel's right to live in peace, there was no room for any dialogue with it. As long as Damascus rejected our outstretched arm, we strengthened our military and civilian hold on the Golan, several dozen kilometres from Damascus.

"Syria made the first step towards the possibility of peace during the Likud Government's term, when it agreed to participate in the Madrid Conference. We welcomed that and continued the arduous journey toward peace. The situation has changed. In recent weeks, we have observed several signs pointing to Syria's willingness to partake in the peace journey. The road is still long. There is still a great deal of work ahead and peace with Syria is still far away, but we have no intention of ignoring these signs. We will not return to those days when the motto was that we had nobody to talk to; we will not return to those days of saying that we are waiting for a telephone call and that the whole world is against us. We will not return to those days, ladies and gentlemen. We are marching ahead. The following is my statement to the Golan people today: I accompanied you for a whole generation, during both your finest hours and your moments of pain; I witnessed your prosperity and was a loyal party to your path. I also always told you my views honestly and faithfully. My opinion, then and today, is that many security risks are involved in any territorial concession to Syria. We are placing a great deal on the scales, both peace and security, but we will not sign any peace agreement with Damascus if we are not convinced that security - the maximum achievable security - is guaranteed us.

"I appeal to you, Drora and Yehuda from Merom Golan; to you, Amitay and Roni from Mevo Hama; to you, Sami from Qatzrin and Ori from Ortal; to the Golan people in general, and tell you that my supreme duty as Prime Minister, our duty as a government *vis-à-vis* the Israeli people, is to choose every option for peace. For years we looked for any crack, for years we desired and pursued peace and now, for the first time since the establishment of the State of Israel, there is a chance for peace with Syria. Peace with Syria is, to a large extent, the key to peace in general. I would like to ask you, my friends on the Golan: What should we do? Should we not try to make an effort to reach peace? Should we reject outright the possibility of putting an end to all wars? It is not only I who owes an answer to this to all Israeli citizens including those on the Golan, but you on the Golan owe an answer, too. Remember - and after all, you know this - there is not only an apple orchard on the Golan but also a valley of tears and perhaps your son, Drora, the son of whom you spoke in an emotional television appearance, who, as you said, might fight for the Golan Heights again, perhaps your son and thousands of others in Israel will never need to fight. Can we pass this up? I, we in the Government, decided to give a chance that did not exist before to peace with Syria. If going for peace is a change in position, then I have changed my position. Nonetheless, and let me repeat, we will not abandon the security of the State of Israel, God forbid. We will add peace to it. Members of the Knesset, what is the situation in the negotiations with the Syrians today? Contrary to the good relationship we maintain with the Palestinians and the Jordanians, we do not have a good dialogue with the Syrians. It is our friends, the Americans, who maintain the contacts between Jerusalem and Damascus with dedication, loyalty and perseverance. This is an opportunity to thank the United States, the US President, the Secretary of State and the peace team for their effort and their outstretched arm.

"Members of the Knesset, our intention is to reach the signing of a full peace treaty with Syria. In order to do so, we have to reach agreement with Syria on four components simultaneously, as a package deal - a case of all or nothing. The first component: What will the peace border laid out in the peace treaty be? As of today, there is no agreement between us and the Syrians on the location of this border. The

second component is the timetable for the implementation of the elements of the peace treaty - namely, the duration of this timetable, which will involve implementation of the withdrawal to the peace border, the stages of the withdrawal, implementation of full normalization and the establishment of security arrangements. The third component involves testing full normalization after the initial stage, which will involve a very limited withdrawal that will not necessitate the uprooting of settlements on the Golan. The intention is to test full normalization over a period of three years, in which we will hold on to most of the Golan. The word normalization means everything; it is life itself. This is the peace of which we dreamed, peace as it is practiced daily: an Israeli Embassy in Damascus, a Syrian Embassy in Israel, an Egged bus travelling to Aleppo, Israeli tourists in Hims, Israeli ships at Tartus, El Al planes landing and commercial and cultural ties - everything and in both directions. Last but not least, the fourth component - the most important one in any peace treaty with Syria - is security, the security arrangements. This dry term also means everything: a mutual reduction of regular forces, demilitarizing territories and not on a symmetrical geographic basis and deploying multinational forces in the format invented by the Likud, as is the case in the Sinai. Approximately 1,000 US soldiers have been present in the Sinai for 15 and 1/2 years. Their task there is one of supervision and they were entrusted with this mission by an Egyptian-Israeli-US decision and not by a UN resolution. Initially, there were more than 1,000, whereas today there are 980 US soldiers in the Sinai supervising the military annex of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty. We will not demand anything else of the Americans when we secure a peace treaty with Syria on the Golan - the same thing, the very same thing.

"Do not play games with the US Congress. It was you, the Likud, who invented the idea of the US Army presence to uphold the peace treaty between Israel and an Arab State. I am not deceiving anybody. Go and check. How many Americans are there in the Sinai today? Was I the one who said they would prevent a war? You know who lied to Congress and who thought up the American military presence in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict and its resolution.

"We will have a multinational force deployed on the Golan like that which exists in the Sinai today and it will include American troops, also similar to those we now have in the Sinai, as well as early warning stations, periodic checks, etc. I have reiterated that only security arrangements that satisfy us will permit us to take the risks involved in a Golan withdrawal.

"Members of the Knesset, I must tell you once again that at this stage, there is a dispute between Israel and Syria regarding all four components. To my regret, the gaps are still wide and deep. I am aware of the complaints against us. There are those who say: That is not what you told us prior to the elections. They say they did not think this is what would happen. The Labour platform in the elections to the current Knesset said specifically that we want a territorial compromise for peace and this includes Syria. A withdrawal on the Golan Heights, therefore, is part of the Government's declared policy presented to the electorate prior to the elections to the current Knesset. Nevertheless, in the case of any significant withdrawal we are determined to bring the issue to a resolution through a national referendum. What is more democratic than that? What is fairer than a national referendum?

"I reiterate my promise that if we have to pay for a peace treaty approved by the Government with a significant withdrawal, we will present it in detail to every citizen of Israel and ask: Do you support this peace? We will not sign a peace treaty with Syria before asking for the nation's opinion in a national referendum.

"Members of the Knesset, I do not like the Massada and Gamla examples,

because they are symbols of failure. It is for this reason that, when referring to them, we say: Never again.

"Prior to the comprehensive peace and while still in an atmosphere of discussions and agreements, we are witnessing anew wind blowing throughout the entire world in its relations with the State of Israel. The claim that the whole world is against us has blown away on the winds of peace. The world is not against us; the world is with us and we are already reaping the fruits of peace. Dozens of distinguished visitors come here and seek our friendship. Yesterday we hosted the Lithuanian Prime Minister, today the Chilean Defence Minister, tomorrow we will host a Chinese Deputy Prime Minister for the first time. In the coming weeks, 30 high-level visitors will arrive and that is only the beginning. The gates of hostile countries have been opened wide. Israelis are now in Oman and Qatar, Amman and Tunisia. Citizens of hostile Arab states are coming to us and forging initial economic, trade and cultural links and that is only the beginning. Only recently were we told about the opening of an interests office in Morocco and this week we have more good news: the opening of an interests office in Tunisia. Thanks to the efforts of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and the people in his ministry, we will see more and more such offices shortly.

"The Gulf States, headed by Saudi Arabia, have announced that in practice, the secondary and tertiary Arab boycott of companies that traded with Israel, which has gone on for dozens of years, has ended. Therefore, a new track, a new world of economic and trade ties has been forged for the State of Israel. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the President of the United States and the Secretary of State for their decisive contribution to this important political achievement.

"Peace does not blind us. We are keeping our eyes wide open and are closely scrutinizing what is happening around us. We know that together with the readiness for peace, the Arab armies, including the Syrian Army, bolster their might. We have not for one moment stopped training and upgrading the IDF's capability in all fields.

"US aid did not stop coming for one moment. This year was characterized by the continuation of regular civilian aid as well as defence aid to the tune of \$1.8 billion - of which \$500 million are, in fact, used in defence industries and research institutes. Within the framework of US aid, huge contracts were signed this year. Over 20 F-15I's costing over \$2 billion were procured. Artillery rocket launchers and the first Saar-5 vessel arrived and two others are still being completed.

"The US Administration under President Bill Clinton understood that Israel must be militarily strengthened in order to guarantee peace, just as we are convinced that this is the case. He put at our disposal 24 Apache assault helicopters, 10 Blackhawk helicopters, 50 F-16's, antitank missiles, sea-to-sea missiles, air-to-surface bombs. Everything I have just mentioned is new, after having been decided between Clinton and myself. Everything I mentioned is Clinton's contribution in the wake of a dialogue with me. There is not a single item from before 1993. You are not speaking the truth. I did not talk about what was received beforehand. I tell you that 24 Apaches and 10 Blackhawks were given to me by Clinton. You are not aware of the details. Check with those who know.

"Members of the Knesset, this is the political situation with its lights and shadows and there are many lights, many more than there are shadows.

"We continue our journey toward peace so that in the month of Jewish

holidays next year, we will be able to face you as the representatives of the people of Israel and say to the entire people of Israel: we brought peace unto you."2

**Text of Joint United States-Jordan-Israel Communiqué,  
Washington, D.C., 3 October 1994**

The following is the text of a communiqué issued at the White House, on 3 October 1994, by the United States, Jordan and Israel:

"1. President William J. Clinton met at the White House today with His Royal Highness Crown Prince El Hassan Bin Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel to pursue their common purpose of creating a new era of peace in the Middle East.

"2. Jordan and Israel reaffirmed the five underlying principles of their understanding on an Agreed Common Agenda and commemorated the first trilateral meeting, convened by President Clinton one year ago in Washington, D.C., establishing the US-Jordan-Israel Trilateral Economic Committee. The Trilateral Economic Committee created new momentum which led to the first ministerial-level trilateral meetings in the region, at the Dead Sea in Jordan and at the Eilat-Aqaba border crossing and to the 25 July 1994 Washington Declaration ending the state of war between Jordan and Israel.

"3. HRH Crown Prince El Hassan and Foreign Minister Peres outlined to President Clinton the significant progress that was recently made in Aqaba in the bilateral negotiations between Jordan and Israel and reaffirmed their commitment enshrined in the Washington Declaration signed by President Clinton, King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin to achieve a full peace treaty between the two countries, hopefully in the near future.

"The progress made in the bilateral and trilateral negotiations are also based on a shared view of the need for comprehensive peace in the region. In this context the three leaders believe in the importance of gradual implementation of regional cooperation that would address in a balanced manner the basic economic and social needs of the peoples of the region, the struggle against unemployment and poverty, development of human resources and lead to the development of a regional and comprehensive security concept. This will also require regional institution-building based on the Multilateral Working Groups, leading to the possible development of a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East (CSCME) concept. The three leaders called upon other regional and non-regional partners to participate in the exploration of these concepts and targets to create a new Middle East.

"4. To implement further the provisions contained in the Washington Declaration of 25 July 1994, the US-Jordan-Israel Trilateral Economic Committee today announced agreement on:

- "a. The finalized terms of reference for the Jordan Rift Valley Joint Master Plan, that portrays an integrated concept for the development of the Jordan Rift Valley and entails a wide variety of economic projects that are of mutual benefit to the two countries, as well as for the region.

- "b. The importance of the Middle East/North Africa Economic Summit in Casablanca (30 October-1 November). In this context it is important that the work of the Trilateral Committee will be highlighted, including joint projects, business and investment opportunities and the promotion of partnership between the public and private sectors.

"In view of the fact that the next Middle East/North Africa Economic Summit will be held in Amman, the Trilateral Committee favours the establishment of a continuous mechanism to promote the investment of private sector and to develop necessary strategies for regional economic development, in conjunction with the Regional Economic Development Working Group (REDWG) of the multilateral peace process. The three sides will coordinate on preparations for the Economic Summits within the trilateral framework.

- "c. Regarding the importance of regional economic development, the three sides believe it is essential to pursue and explore the creation of a regional organization for economic development linked to the creation of a multilateral financing mechanism. These concepts will be further developed in the upcoming meeting of the REDWG Monitoring Committee and in the Casablanca Conference.

- "d. In order to encourage economic progress resulting from the ongoing peace process, it was also decided:

"1. To address in the upcoming US-Jordan Bilateral Commission ways in which the US can assist Jordan's economic development by encouraging private investment, business development and entrepreneurship and promoting bilateral trade.

"2. To explore the creation of a cooperative Free Trade Zone in Aqaba-Eilat based on the principle of free flow of goods between countries, at the upcoming expert level meeting in Israel from 10-13 October and Jordan from 17-20 October 1994.

"3. The exchange of selective delegations in the economic field between Jordan and industrialists, bankers, heads of Chambers of Commerce and economic media leaders.

- "e. Regarding tourism as a major component of economic development, it was agreed:

"1. The completion of construction, by 15 October 1994, of a new northern border crossing-point for third country nationals.

"2. A Red Sea Marine Peace Park, with a US start-up grant from the State Department's Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs Bureau's Special Fund.



- "3. The Trilateral Committee also agreed to promote Israel and Jordan as a joint tourism destination, citing Jordanian-Israeli collaboration on the 28-29 September Tourism in the New Middle East Workshop in Cairo, the 6-12 November Lisbon Conference of the American Society of Travel Agents and the January-February 1995 Peace Trips for US and international tourism and travel sector representatives and the news media (including representatives of the two countries).
- "4. The new northern border crossing-point for third country nationals, the Red Sea Marine Peace Park and the inclusion of tourism in the terms of reference of the Jordan Rift Valley Joint Master plan will enhance both countries' appeal as a joint tourism destination, in addition to the Aqaba-Eilat southern border crossing-point and the Dead Sea Lowest Point on Earth Park.
- "5. Establishment of an Eilat/Aqaba Free Tourism Zone, where citizens of Jordan and Israel can visit, in addition to third country nationals.
- "f. Water Resources:
  - "1. Based on the necessity to develop new and alternative water resources on a regional scale, the Trilateral Committee will develop Terms of Reference in order to conduct relevant feasibility studies.
  - "2. Jordan and Israel will pursue in common financing of the dams as agreed upon in recent Aqaba talks.
  - "3. Under the auspices of the Trilateral Economic Committee and with technical assistance and support from the US Trade and Development Agency and the US private sector, a symposium on the Red Sea-Dead Sea Canal proposal will be hosted by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, in conjunction with the Government of Israel."3

**Text of statement by the United States Secretary of State  
following meeting with President al-Assad,  
Damascus, 13 October 1994**

On 13 October 1994, at Damascus, the United States Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, made the following statement after his meeting with the President of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafez al-Assad:

"President Assad, Foreign Minister Shara, Dennis Ross, and our Ambassador and I met for about three and a half hours. We had a very substantive discussion. I

was renewed in my feeling that both parties are very serious; both parties are seeking and pursuing a peace agreement with great determination. I find them in a problem-solving mode, more so than on any prior occasion. I feel that the parties are moving in the right direction and that we are on a steady course. At the same time, there are gaps that remain, and much hard work is yet to be done. I want to compliment both President Assad and Prime Minister Rabin, who I met with this morning, for the seriousness with which they are going about this endeavour. I believe this is probably the most substantive and serious discussion I have had with both of them all through this process, but, as I said, there is a lot of work ahead."<sup>4</sup>

**Remarks by King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin  
on the initialling of the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel,  
Amman, 17 October 1994**

On 17 October 1994, at Amman, the following remarks were made by King Hussein of Jordan and the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin, on the initialling of the peace treaty between the two countries:

*King Hussein*

"I'd like to welcome the Prime Minister once again. We have worked together with commitment and determination since our meeting in Washington. Prime Minister, I must express my deep gratitude on behalf of both of us, for maintaining the spirit of the negotiations, as agreed upon at the very onset, until this point in time. Hopefully you will witness shortly the initialling of the peace treaty of our two countries, in preparation for the coming event that will follow when we ratify it with all the annexes and then the preparation for this very very important document going to the constitutional Governments in both our countries.

"I would like to salute your determination and your untiring efforts. I hope and pray that this is something that we leave behind for all the generations to come for both of our people. So that we can enjoy what you have been denied for so long, peace, dignity and the chance to live and to achieve what is just and right.

"I would like to say a few words to everybody here in Jordan. I would like to say to the people of Israel, it was a very hard deal and this is what we could be hoping for - that the future will be a future of peace, that this step will be a very important one and what we are all committed to is a comprehensive peace in this region. Hopefully it is a fresh beginning and a fresh start. We will guard this and hope that the generation beyond us will guard this, enjoy it and cherish it.

"In this very important part of the world for all the followers of the three great monotheistic religions, the children of Abraham. I believe that we are coming together in the right way.

"I thank you and I will be proud to be associated with you in this opportunity and as our Koran says, (Arabic)."<sup>5</sup>

*Prime Minister Rabin*

"Your Majesty, Your Highness, the Prime Minister of Jordan, the Foreign Minister of Israel:

"It is a great and historic day. It is the first peace treaty that will be initialled between Jordan and Israel since the convening of the Madrid Peace Conference. The Madrid Peace Conference set as its purpose to achieve comprehensive peace, between all the Arab neighbouring countries and Israel and the Palestinians. And no doubt, that for us, for Israel, for the people of Israel, there is a very soft point and warm admiration for the courage of King Hussein, the leader of his country and people during the period of trial, war and development.

"No doubt the unique courage that is so characteristic of King Hussein in whatever he has done brought him to take a courageous decision to put an end to the war between Jordan and Israel with the help the Washington Declaration in which we ended the first state of belligerency between Jordan and Israel. And to guide the efforts since then through the working of the committees in Aqaba and Eilat, south of the Lake of Galilee, in Amman; to bring us to build the structure of peace, peace which is based on international legitimate rights of independent sovereign people and above all peace with dignity - dignity to both sides.

"We have decided about the major elements that are needed to bring about the signing of the peace treaty - the initialling of the peace treaty. For me especially, it's a unique day. It started today as a foggy day and ended with bright sunshine. The sun is shining and I'm sure that what has been done by you, your Majesty, by your colleagues on the Jordanian side and those on the part of Israel will serve as a cornerstone for a new Middle East in which peace, development, cooperation will replace animosity, hatred, violence and wars. I believe this is a very important day to both our countries and our peoples, but I believe also above all it's a source of inspiration, an example that peace is attainable and for that, Your Majesty, I would like to thank you, for your courage, vision and determination.

"Thank you very much."6

**Text of the Jordanian Cabinet decision**  
**regarding the peace treaty**  
**between Jordan and Israel, Amman, 18**  
**October 1994**

The following text of the decision by the Cabinet of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan regarding the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel was broadcast in Amman by Radio Jordan Network , on 18 October 1994:

"The cabinet has discussed the draft peace treaty between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Israel, which was initialled last night, Monday. It was clear to the cabinet that the draft treaty is in line with the Jordanian constants in terms of restoring Jordan's full rights to its territories and waters and in terms of demarcating the permanent international borders between the two countries. The cabinet discussed the possibilities of cooperation in all fields based on agreements that will be

reached later. The cabinet decided to approve the treaty and to authorize the Prime Minister to sign it in its final form.

"The cabinet extends its thanks to His Majesty King Hussein for his tireless efforts to achieve Jordan's full rights and elevate Jordan's role in the region. The cabinet wishes His Majesty continuous good health and success in leading this homeland in the battles of prosperity and progress.

"The cabinet also noted the efforts His Highness Crown Prince Hassan Bin Talal exerted to reach this treaty. The cabinet commended the sincere efforts and efficiency demonstrated by the Jordanian delegation during the negotiating process."<sup>7</sup>

**Excerpt from the text of the Israeli Cabinet decision  
regarding the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan,  
Jerusalem, 23 October 1994**

At its weekly meeting on 23 October 1994, at Jerusalem the Israeli Cabinet adopted, *inter alia*, a communiqué approving the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan. The following is an excerpt from the text of the communiqué:

"At the weekly cabinet meeting today (Sunday), 23.10.94:

"1. Within the framework of the Ministerial Committee on National Security, the Cabinet was briefed on ongoing security matters.

"2. The Cabinet approved the peace treaty between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan which was initialled on 17.10.94 in Amman.

"The Cabinet authorized the Prime Minister to submit the treaty to the Knesset for approval.

"The Cabinet authorized the Prime Minister to sign the treaty on behalf of the State.

"..."<sup>8</sup>

**Address by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin during the Knesset debate  
on the approval of the peace treaty between Jordan and Israel,  
Jerusalem, 25 October 1994**

On 25 October 1994, addressing the Knesset during a debate on the approval of the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin stated the following:

"Mr. Speaker, Members of the Knesset,

"It is with great satisfaction and gladness that the Government of Israel is placing before the Knesset the treaty of peace between the State of Israel and the Government of Jordan, which has been initialled. Tomorrow afternoon, the peace treaty will be signed at the Arava border crossing near Eilat. Tomorrow afternoon, we

all hope that decades of hostility, war and bloodshed will come to an end. The time of peace has arrived.

"Members of the Knesset,

"For many years we lived in the face of the rifle sights and battlements of Jordanian sharpshooters. Civilians were shot and killed, IDF soldiers fell in reprisal operations, while maintaining security and in war. For many long years, we lived in the shadow of other words: infiltrators, Mandelbaum Gate, the city line, the Fast Hotel, biweekly convoys to Mount Scopus, the Hebrew University, Abu Tor, archaeologists shot at Ramat Rachel, death at Mevo Betar.

"There are many among us who still retain memories of night battles in Nahalin, Husan and Kalkilya. Some of our best soldiers paid with their lives.

"We withstood two major wars against the Arab Legion and the Jordanian army - the War of Independence and the Six Day War. In both, we defended our homes. In both we achieved our goals.

"Generations were brought up here in this pain-filled land on deeds and words rooted in the bloody battles waged against the Jordanians: the falling of Gush Etzion and the murder of some of its residents, the loss of the Old City of Jerusalem, the empty marketplace, those who could not pray on the Temple Mount; Ammunition Hill, Augusta Victoria, the High Commissioner's residence and Tel el-Ful, French Hill and Givat Hamivtar; the War of Attrition which claimed so many lives and the shells fired on Beit She'an; infiltrations from Jordan into Yardena and Beit Yosef.

"Each such name is a heated battle, each such name is a story, each such name is a legend. Each reflects daring and ardent people - those who are no longer with us because they remained on the killing fields and those who have reached this day of peace. It is to those who fell and to you, the living, that this peace is dedicated. Statesmen wrote it, you fought for it.

"Members of the Knesset,

"The road to peace between Israel and Jordan began officially at the Madrid Conference three years ago. But the dialogue between us and the Jordanians has taken many shapes, on both sides of the Jordan, for the past 70 years. All Israeli Governments, all Israeli Prime Ministers, maintained contacts with Jordan and strove for peace with that country. Historians and scholars will have much to relate in the generations to come about the complex relations between Amman and Jerusalem, relations of love and animosity, of war and peace.

"The time of peace with Jordan has now come. In Madrid and in Washington, in the Arava, on both sides of the Dead Sea, in Beit Gavriel on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, in the Knesset, in Eilat, in Aqaba and in Amman - over the past year, we have moved step by step towards peace.

"In the Washington Declaration, signed in the presence of the US President on July 25 this year, we announced the end of belligerency, of war, between Israel and Jordan. We presented this Declaration to you and it was approved in the Knesset by a large majority, reflecting the broad national consensus in favour of the efforts to achieve peace with Jordan, of which we are glad. In the days that have passed since the Washington Declaration, the negotiations took on new momentum and throughout the nights representatives of Israel and Jordan met and worked to formulate the draft

treaty of peace between Israel and Jordan.

"In addressing the opening of the winter session of the Knesset, I said that I believed that a peace treaty with Jordan would be signed before the end of the current year. We kept our promise.

"Following intensive negotiations in Aqaba and in Amman, we have arrived at the momentous hour. Last week, the peace treaty was initialled in Amman. The draft treaty was approved by the Government of Israel and to the best of my knowledge, by the Government of Jordan as well. Today we are presenting it for the Knesset's approval.

"This is a time of grace and a time of thanks. I would like to thank the many people in the various government ministries and the ministers who head them, certainly the Foreign Minister who invested great effort - all those who worked day and night in order to arrive at this moving day. I would like to express special thanks to two faithful civil servants - Elyakim Rubinstein and Ephraim Halevy. The praise which they deserve is boundless.

"Mr. Speaker, Members of the Knesset,

"You have before you the peace treaty with Jordan, in Hebrew and in English, where the English text is binding. The peace treaty with Jordan comprises 30 articles and includes five annexes which address among others boundary matters, boundary demarcation, the Baqura/Naharayim and Zofar areas. The treaty also deals with water issues, police cooperation, environment and interim arrangements for mutual border crossings. I would like to bring your attention to the 'agreed minutes' which have also been placed before you, which deal with various activities or the interpretation of certain articles. A map is appended as well. The actual treaty contains aerial photographs and detailed satellite photographs.

"Members of the Knesset,

"What does the peace treaty with Jordan contain? In the Washington Declaration we announced the end to the state of belligerency between Israel and Jordan. The peace treaty which will be signed tomorrow elevates our relations to the highest level - full peace - and it comprises everything: from full diplomatic relations, the appointment of ambassadors and the establishment of embassies, to environment, the economy and every field of endeavour.

"What did we argue about, discuss? About the demarcation of the international boundary, water, security, the refugee problem, the nature of bilateral relations - in short, normalization. Normalization means an Israeli bus departing from the central bus station in Jerusalem for Amman; normalization means Jordanian commercial planes crossing Israeli airspace on their way to Europe.

"The international boundary is delimited, according to the treaty, with reference to the Mandatory boundary between the land of Israel and Transjordan. I must note here that this boundary was defined only verbally at the beginning of the Mandate period and, with the exception of several kilometers at its southern end, was never demarcated. We had to jointly delimit the boundary and agree on how to mark it. We agreed, following negotiations, on a boundary based on the Mandate boundary - the armistice line between Jordan and Israel in 1949, which has appeared on our maps since the early days of the State.

"However, both sides also agreed to take into consideration the reality that has been created over the years, by means of mutual, minor border corrections. Neither State conceded a single square centimeter of land in relation to the boundary defined in the armistice agreement. These corrections will enable the settlements in the Arava to continue to cultivate the land as they do today. These lands will remain under Israeli sovereignty and they will continue to use the same water for irrigation. The minor border corrections also took into account security considerations and the proximity to the Arava road. In one location, a special arrangement was agreed upon with regard to some of the lands of Zofar.

"Members of the Knesset,

"The question of the transfer of land to Jordan in return for land transferred from Jordan to Israeli sovereignty was reviewed by the Attorney General, along with the other legal aspects of the treaty. To the extent that the implementation of the peace treaty will require legislation, appropriate bills will be submitted to the Knesset in order to complete the legislation within the three months allotted in the treaty.

"The peace treaty with Jordan stipulates that the supply of water to the settlements in the Arava will be provided from the Jordanian side in the current quantity and perhaps beyond that. Parallel to this, we shall transfer to Jordan considerable amounts of water, as detailed in the treaty, from the north. The existing wells, whether under Israeli or Jordanian sovereignty, will be operated technically by an Israeli company - under Jordanian sovereignty.

"Minor border corrections could not be applied to the cultivated lands of the settlement of Zofar, which are located several kilometers inside Jordan, according to the new international boundary. A special arrangement was therefore agreed upon, to continue for 25 years, with an option of extension. This arrangement, which will allow for the continued cultivation of the land, is based on an arrangement previously arrived at through negotiation with regard to the small island [on the Jordan River] located near Ashdot Yaacov. This tract of land, 830 dunams, under the private ownership of the Israeli Electric Company since the time of Pinhas Rotenberg, remained within Israeli territory after 1948, although under Jordan sovereignty. This is not a leasing arrangement but rather an arrangement that will allow for the continuation of current activity as well as for the development of joint projects with Jordan. The Arava settlements and Kibbutz Ashdot Yaacov which will be affected by the arrangement have expressed their consent.

"Members of the Knesset,

"With regard to water, Israel agreed to transfer to Jordan 50 million cubic meters of water annually from the northern part of the country. The parties agreed to establish two dams, on the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers, once funds are found for this purpose. These will provide Jordan with an additional, similar quantity of water. Future plans also include water projects in the Arava which will allow for joint development, in both Israeli and Jordanian sovereign territory.

"Mr. Speaker, Members of the Knesset,

"The major purpose of the security provisions of the treaty is to ensure that neither State and for us the emphasis is of course on Jordan, will be able to join a hostile coalition. We believe that the treaty provides an apt solution to this. Jordan

committed itself to wage war against terrorism, both operatives and infrastructure, and to cooperate to prevent the infiltration of terrorists across the border between us.

"Our Jordanian neighbours also raised the refugee issue. The negotiations were not easy. Article 8 of the treaty addresses this issue. It notes that the Arab-Israeli conflict gave rise to human problems on both sides, not only on one. The treaty defines frameworks to deal with the problems of the refugees and displaced persons. Of course, and this is the basic premise of all parties, these problems can only be resolved on a bilateral basis.

"The reference to the sites holy to Islam in Jerusalem reiterates precisely the wording in the Washington Declaration, with no addition or detraction. The treaty makes no other reference to Jerusalem.

"Most of the remaining articles of the treaty deal with bilateral matters, namely normalization. A series of negotiations was decided upon, from culture and science to the war against crime and drugs, transportation and roads, civil aviation, posts and telecommunications, tourism, environment, energy, the development of the Jordan Rift Valley, health, agriculture and the Aqaba/Eilat area.

"A joint committee will monitor the negotiations on economic agreements. These include, of course, the termination of boycotts and the formation of trade agreements, including a free trade zone.

"Members of the Knesset,

"We very much wanted the people of Israel to actually sense the peace. It was therefore agreed that even before the establishment of diplomatic relations and before the completion of the tourism agreement within three months, controlled mutual tourism will begin immediately after the exchange of the instruments of ratification of the treaty. According to Jordanian law, the Jordanian parliament will ratify the agreement only after the signing ceremony tomorrow and the instruments of ratification will be exchanged after the ratification of the treaty by the Government of Israel. I presume that this will take place within about 10 days.

"The agreed minutes also include a mutual commitment to consult on all economic and monetary issues in Judea and Samaria, in order to prevent detriment to either side.

"Mr. Speaker, Members of the Knesset,

"The peace treaty presented today for the approval of the Knesset is a balanced document, which each side can see as fulfilling his major demands and so it should be. For only a peace between two satisfied parties is a lasting peace. In this peace, there are no losers. In this peace, we are all winners.

"This is the second peace treaty for the Israeli people, following after the peace treaty with Egypt signed by the late Prime Minister Menachem Begin. It constitutes another important step in consolidating the status of the Jewish people in the land of Israel, its historic homeland.

"The peace treaty is not only a political agreement, but a fundamental and substantial change in our lives here. No longer are we a people living apart. This is a profound and fundamental change, which will affect our daily lives - trucks will leave Haifa carrying freight to Amman; planes will take off from Sde Dov in Tel Aviv and land 30 minutes later in Amman; businessmen will fly to Jordan in the morning to



close a deal and return in the evening to Jerusalem; families will take their children on a trip to Petra, three hours from Tel Aviv. This change will affect each and every one of us, every day.

"A word about Syria: We want to believe that the peace treaty with Jordan will advance an agreement with Syria. We do not yet have an agreement with Syria; talks yes, agreement no. The agreement with the Kingdom of Jordan, following upon the treaty with Egypt and the agreement with the Palestinians, proves that patience has its compensation, that there is validity in a serious approach.

"I cannot conclude without addressing the problem of terrorism - the current terrorism carried out by the enemies of peace, the radical Islamic terrorist organizations who are responsible for 90 per cent of the terrorist attacks carried out against us from among the Palestinian population in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, as well as the Lebanese organizations which carry out attacks against IDF and SLA forces in southern Lebanon. This terrorism hurts us and we have been living with it for a long time.

"There are those who ask: What is the sense of peace if terrorism continues? I say to them: I cannot promise that terrorism will cease. I can only promise that, in the end, we will defeat it. Peace is the only way to isolate terrorism. Peace will prove to the peoples of the region that there is an alternative.

"Mr. Speaker, Members of the Knesset, citizens of Israel,

"Last week, we stood at night on the balcony of the royal palace in Amman and saw the lights of Jerusalem glowing. So near, only several dozen kilometers away, but 46 years of hostility separated Amman from Jerusalem. Members of the Knesset, from now on the road is safe.

"The government of Israel is today submitting to the people of Israel the peace treaty initialled with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. In Jerusalem and Amman, in Eilat and Aqaba, in Irbid and in Tiberias, a new page in the history of the State of Israel will be opened tomorrow, a wonderful page. Blessed is the people who have achieved this.

"I shall conclude with the words of the prophet Isaiah: 'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger of good tidings, that announceth peace; the harbinger of good tidings, that announceth salvation.' [Isaiah 52:7]

"Members of the Knesset, I ask that you approve the treaty of peace between Jordan and Israel.

"Thank you."9

**Holy See and the PLO,**

**Text of joint press communiqué of the**

**Vatican City, 25 October 1994**

The following joint press communiqué, agreed upon by the Holy See and the PLO, was released by the Vatican on 25 October 1994:

"A Delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, led by M. Abdul Lateef Abu Hijleh, Director-General of the Political Department of the same Organization, met this morning with His Excellency Archbishop Jean-Louis Tauran, Secretary for the Holy See's Relations with States.

"The meeting concluded a series of talks begun some months ago, with the principal purpose of strengthening mutual cooperation between the Holy See and the Palestine Liberation Organization, in its capacity as representative of the Palestinian people.

"It was decided to give to the already long-existing and fruitful working contacts a permanent and official character. The Palestine Liberation Organization will, therefore, open an office of representation at the Holy See, with its own Director. The Apostolic Nuncio in Tunisia will be responsible for contacts with the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization. These will be open channels for continuing the development of mutual relations, understanding and cooperation.

"The two Parties are convinced that their decision will be useful between the Holy See and the entire Palestinian People and in opening to the Catholic Church a further possibility of carrying out its spiritual, educational and social service in favour of the Palestinian Catholics and of all Palestinians without distinction wherever they are.

"This increase in dialogue between the Holy See and the Palestine Liberation Organization is designed also to enable both parties to contribute jointly to the search for peace and justice which is proceeding in the Middle East. In particular, it will be an element of encouragement and of hope in the delicate and complex historic moment through which the Palestinian people is passing in its efforts to attain, in freedom and independence, its inalienable rights.

"The two Parties have also committed themselves to cooperate, each with its own means and according to its own characteristics and responsibilities, in preserving the religious and cultural values which mark the peoples of the region and which properly belong to the Holy Land and especially to the Holy City of Jerusalem. They will do this in accordance with international law and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly of [the] Security Council and of UNESCO.

"Mr. Abdul Lateef Abu Hijleh was accompanied by MM. Zuhdi Terzi and Nemer Hammad.

"H.E. Archbishop Tauran was assisted by Under-Secretary for the Holy See's Relations with States, Monsignor Claudio Maria Celli, and by Counsellor of Nunciature, Monsignor Luigi Gatti.

"The present Communiqué has been agreed on by the two Parties at the conclusion of the working meeting held at the Secretariat of State, in the Apostolic Palace.

"From the Vatican, 25 October 1994."10

1994

**Arava/Araba crossing-point, 26 October**

On 26 October 1994, at the Arava/Araba crossing-point, the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan signed a peace treaty. The following is the text of the Treaty (with annexes and agreed minutes):

"Treaty of Peace

"between

"The State of Israel

"and

"The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

"Preamble

"The Government of the State of Israel and the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan:

"Bearing in mind the Washington Declaration, signed by them on 25 July 1994 and which they are both committed to honour;

"Aiming at the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) in all their aspects;

"Bearing in mind the importance of maintaining and strengthening peace based on freedom, equality, justice and respect for fundamental human rights, thereby overcoming psychological barriers and promoting human dignity;

"Reaffirming their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and recognizing their right and obligation to live in peace with each other, as well as with all states, within secure and recognized boundaries;

"Desiring to develop friendly relations and cooperation between them in accordance with the principles of international law governing international relations in time of peace;

"Desiring as well to ensure lasting security for both their States and in particular to avoid threats and the use of force between them;

"Bearing in mind that in their Washington Declaration of 25 July 1994, they declared the termination of the state of belligerency between them;

"Deciding to establish peace between them in accordance with this Treaty of Peace;

"Have agreed as follows:

#### "Article 1 - Establishment of Peace

"Peace is hereby established between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (the 'Parties') effective from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

#### "Article 2 - General Principles

"The Parties will apply between them the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law governing relations among states in time of peace. In particular:

- "1. They recognize and will respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence;
- "2. They recognize and will respect each other's right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries;
- "3. They will develop good neighbourly relations of cooperation between them to ensure lasting security, will refrain from the threat or use of force against each other and will settle all disputes between them by peaceful means;
- "4. They respect and recognize the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the region;
- "5. They respect and recognize the pivotal role of human development and dignity in regional and bilateral relationships;
- "6. They further believe that within their control, involuntary movements of persons in such a way as to adversely prejudice the security of either Party should not be permitted.

#### "Article 3 - International Boundary

"1. The international boundary between Israel and Jordan is delimited with reference to the boundary definition under the Mandate as is shown in Annex I (a), on the mapping materials attached thereto and coordinates specified therein.

"2. The boundary, as set out in Annex I (a), is the permanent, secure and recognized international boundary between Israel and Jordan, without prejudice to the status of any territories that came under Israeli military government control in 1967.

"3. The Parties recognize the international boundary, as well as each other's territory, territorial waters and airspace, as inviolable and will respect and comply with them.

"4. The demarcation of the boundary will take place as set forth in Appendix (I)

to Annex I and will be concluded not later than nine months after the signing of the Treaty.

"5. It is agreed that where the boundary follows a river, in the event of natural changes in the course of the flow of the river as described in Annex I (a), the boundary shall follow the new course of the flow. In the event of any other changes the boundary shall not be affected unless otherwise agreed.

"6. Immediately upon the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, each Party will deploy on its side of the international boundary as defined in Annex I (a).

"7. The Parties shall, upon the signature of the Treaty, enter into negotiations to conclude, within 9 months, an agreement on the delimitation of their maritime boundary in the Gulf of Aqaba.

"8. Taking into account the special circumstances of the Naharayim/Baqura area, which is under Jordanian sovereignty, with Israeli private ownership rights, the Parties agreed to apply the provisions set out in Annex I (b).

"9. With respect to the Zofar/Al-Ghamr area, the provisions set out in Annex I (c) will apply.

#### "Article 4 - Security

"1. a. Both Parties, acknowledging that mutual understanding and cooperation in security-related matters will form a significant part of their relations and will further enhance the security of the region, take upon themselves to base their security relations on mutual trust, advancement of joint interests and cooperation, and to aim towards a regional framework of partnership in peace.

"b. Towards that goal the Parties recognize the achievements of the European Community and European Union in the development of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and commit themselves to the creation, in the Middle East, of a CSCME (Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East).

"This commitment entails the adoption of regional models of security successfully implemented in the post World War era (along the lines of the Helsinki process) culminating in a regional zone of security and stability.

"2. The obligations referred to in this Article are without prejudice to the inherent right of self-defence in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

"3. The Parties undertake, in accordance with the provisions of this Article, the following:

"a. to refrain from the threat or use of force or weapons, conventional, non-conventional or of any other kind, against each other, or of other actions or activities that adversely affect the security of the other Party;

"b. to refrain from organizing, instigating, inciting, assisting or

participating in acts or threats of belligerency, hostility, subversion or violence against the other Party;

- "c. to take necessary and effective measures to ensure that acts or threats of belligerency, hostility, subversion or violence against the other Party do not originate from and are not committed within, through or over their territory (hereinafter the term 'territory' includes the airspace and territorial waters).

"4. Consistent with the era of peace and with the efforts to build regional security and to avoid and prevent aggression and violence, the Parties further agree to refrain from the following:

- "a. joining or in any way assisting, promoting or cooperating with any coalition, organization or alliance with a military or security character with a third party, the objectives or activities of which include launching aggression or other acts of military hostility against the other Party, in contravention of the provisions of the present Treaty.
- "b. allowing the entry, stationing and operating on their territory, or through it, of military forces, personnel or matériel of a third party, in circumstances which may adversely prejudice the security of the other Party.

"5. Both Parties will take necessary and effective measures and will cooperate in combating terrorism of all kinds. The Parties undertake:

- "a. to take necessary and effective measures to prevent acts of terrorism, subversion or violence from being carried out from their territory or through it and to take necessary and effective measures to combat such activities and all their perpetrators.
- "b. without prejudice to the basic rights of freedom of expression and association, to take necessary and effective measures to prevent the entry, presence and cooperation in their territory of any group or organization, and their infrastructure, which threatens the security of the other Party by the use of, or incitement to the use of, violent means.
- "c. to cooperate in preventing and combating cross-boundary infiltrations.

"6. Any question as to the implementation of this Article will be dealt with through a mechanism of consultations which will include a liaison system, verification, supervision and, where necessary, other mechanisms, and higher level consultation. The details of the mechanism of consultations will be contained in an agreement to be concluded by the Parties within 3 months of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

"7. The Parties undertake to work as a matter of priority and as soon as possible in the context of the Multilateral Working Group on Arms Control and Regional Security, and jointly, towards the following:

- "a. the creation in the Middle East of a region free from hostile alliances and coalitions;

- "b. the creation of a Middle East free from weapons of mass destruction, both conventional and non-conventional, in the context of a comprehensive, lasting and stable peace, characterized by the renunciation of the use of force, reconciliation and goodwill.

#### "Article 5 - Diplomatic and Other Bilateral

##### Relations

"1. The Parties agree to establish full diplomatic and consular relations and to exchange resident ambassadors within one month of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

"2. The Parties agree that the normal relationship between them will further include economic and cultural relations.

#### "Article 6 - Water

"With the view to achieving a comprehensive and lasting settlement of all the water problems between them:

- "1. The Parties agree mutually to recognize the rightful allocations of both of them in Jordan River and Yarmuk River waters and Araba/Arava ground water in accordance with the agreed acceptable principles, quantities and quality as set out in Annex II, which shall be fully respected and complied with.
- "2. The Parties, recognizing the necessity to find a practical, just and agreed solution to their water problems and with the view that the subject of water can form the basis for the advancement of cooperation between them, jointly undertake to ensure that the management and development of their water resources do not, in any way, harm the water resources of the other Party.
- "3. The Parties recognize that their water resources are not sufficient to meet their needs. More water should be supplied for their use through various methods, including projects of regional and international cooperation.
- "4. In light of paragraph 3 of this Article, with the understanding that cooperation in water-related subjects would be to the benefit of both Parties and will help alleviate their water shortages and that water issues along their entire boundary must be dealt with in their totality, including the possibility of trans-boundary water transfers, the Parties agree to search for ways to alleviate water shortages and to cooperate in the following fields:
  - "a. development of existing and new water resources, increasing the water availability, including cooperation on a regional basis as appropriate, and minimizing wastage of water resources through the chain of their uses;
  - "b. prevention of contamination of water resources;
  - "c. mutual assistance in the alleviation of water shortages;

"d. transfer of information and joint research and development in water-related subjects and review of the potentials for enhancement of water resources development and use.

"5. The implementation of both Parties' undertakings under this Article is detailed in Annex II.

#### "Article 7 - Economic Relations

"1. Viewing economic development and prosperity as pillars of peace, security and harmonious relations between states, peoples and individual human beings, the Parties, taking note of understandings reached between them, affirm their mutual desire to promote economic cooperation between them, as well as within the framework of wider regional economic cooperation.

"2. In order to accomplish this goal, the Parties agree to the following:

"a. to remove all discriminatory barriers to normal economic relations, to terminate economic boycotts directed at each other and to cooperate in terminating boycotts against either Party by third parties;

"b. recognizing that the principle of free and unimpeded flow of goods and services should guide their relations, the Parties will enter into negotiations with a view to concluding agreements on economic cooperation, including trade and the establishment of a free trade area, investment, banking, industrial cooperation and labour, for the purpose of promoting beneficial economic relations, based on principles to be agreed upon, as well as on human development considerations on a regional basis. These negotiations will be concluded no later than 6 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

"c. to cooperate bilaterally, as well as in multilateral forums, towards the promotion of their respective economies and of their neighbourly economic relations with other regional parties.

#### "Article 8 - Refugees and Displaced Persons

"1. Recognizing the massive human problems caused to both Parties by the conflict in the Middle East, as well as the contribution made by them towards the alleviation of human suffering, the Parties will seek to further alleviate those problems arising on a bilateral level.

"2. Recognizing that the above human problems caused by the conflict in the Middle East cannot be fully resolved on the bilateral level, the Parties will seek to resolve them in appropriate forums, in accordance with international law, including the following:

"a. in the case of displaced persons, in a quadripartite committee together with Egypt and the Palestinians:

"b. in the case of refugees,



- "i. in the framework of the Multilateral Working Group on Refugees;
- "ii. in negotiations, in a framework to be agreed, bilateral or otherwise, in conjunction with and at the same time as the permanent status negotiations pertaining to the territories referred to in Article 3 of this Treaty;

"3. Through the implementation of agreed United Nations programmes and other agreed international economic programmes concerning refugees and displaced persons, including assistance to their settlement.

#### "Article 9 - Places of Historical and

##### Religious Significance

- "1. Each party will provide freedom of access to places of religious and historical significance.
- "2. In this regard, in accordance with the Washington Declaration, Israel respects the present special role of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in Muslim Holy shrines in Jerusalem. When negotiations on the permanent status will take place, Israel will give high priority to the Jordanian historic role in these shrines.
- "3. The Parties will act together to promote interfaith relations among the three monotheistic religions, with the aim of working towards religious understanding, moral commitment, freedom of religious worship, and tolerance and peace.

#### "Article 10 - Cultural and Scientific

##### Exchanges

"The Parties, wishing to remove biases developed through periods of conflict, recognize the desirability of cultural and scientific exchanges in all fields and agree to establish normal cultural relations between them. Thus, they shall, as soon as possible and not later than 9 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, conclude the negotiations on cultural and scientific agreements.

#### "Article 11 - Mutual Understanding and

##### Good Neighbourly Relations

- "1. The Parties will seek to foster mutual understanding and tolerance based on shared historic values, and accordingly undertake:
  - "a. to abstain from hostile or discriminatory propaganda against each other and to take all possible legal and administrative measures to prevent the dissemination of such propaganda by any organization or individual present in the territory of either Party;
  - "b. as soon as possible and not later than 3 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, to repeal all adverse or discriminatory references and expressions of hostility in their respective legislation;

- "c. to refrain in all government publications from any such references or expressions;
  - "d. to ensure mutual enjoyment by each other's citizens of due process of law within their respective legal systems and before their courts.
- "2. Paragraph 1 (a) of this Article is without prejudice to the right to freedom of expression as contained in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
- "3. A joint committee shall be formed to examine incidents where one Party claims there has been a violation of this Article.

#### "Article 12 - Combating Crime and Drugs

"The Parties will cooperate in combating crime, with an emphasis on smuggling, and will take all necessary measures to combat and prevent such activities as the production of, as well as the trafficking in illicit drugs and will bring to trial perpetrators of such acts. In this regard, they take note of the understandings reached between them in the above spheres, in accordance with Annex III, and undertake to conclude all relevant agreements not later than 9 months from the date of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

#### "Article 13 - Transportation and Roads

"Taking note of the progress already made in the area of transportation, the Parties recognize the mutuality of interest in good neighbourly relations in the area of transportation and agree to the following means to promote relations between them in this sphere:

- "1. Each party will permit the free movement of nationals and vehicles of the other into and within its territory according to the general rules applicable to nationals and vehicles of other states. Neither party will impose discriminatory taxes or restrictions on the free movement of persons and vehicles from its territory to the territory of the other.
- "2. The Parties will open and maintain roads and border-crossings between their countries and will consider further road and rail links between them.
- "3. The Parties will continue their negotiations concerning mutual transportation agreements in the above and other areas, such as joint projects, traffic safety, transport standards and norms, licensing of vehicles, land passages, shipment of goods and cargo, and meteorology, to be concluded not later than 6 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.
- "4. The Parties agree to continue their negotiations for a highway to be constructed and maintained between Egypt, Israel and Jordan near Eilat.

#### "Article 14 - Freedom of Navigation and

## Access to Ports

"1. Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 3, each Party recognizes the right of the vessels of the other Party to innocent passage through its territorial waters in accordance with the rules of international law.

"2. Each Party will grant normal access to its ports for vessels and cargoes of the other, as well as vessels and cargoes destined for or coming from the other Party. Such access will be granted on the same conditions as generally applicable to vessels and cargoes of other nations.

"3. The Parties consider the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba to be international waterways open to all nations for unimpeded and non-suspendable freedom of navigation and overflight. The Parties will respect each other's right to navigation and overflight for access to either Party through the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba.

## "Article 15 - Civil Aviation

"1. The Parties recognize as applicable to each other the rights, privileges and obligations provided for by the multilateral aviation agreements to which they are both party, particularly by the 1944 Convention on International Civil Aviation (The Chicago Convention) and the 1944 International Air Services Transit Agreement.

"2. Any declaration of national emergency by a Party under Article 89 of the Chicago Convention will not be applied to the other Party on a discriminatory basis.

"3. The Parties take note of the negotiations on the international air corridor to be opened between them in accordance with the Washington Declaration. In addition, the Parties shall, upon ratification of this Treaty, enter into negotiations for the purpose of concluding a Civil Aviation Agreement. All the above negotiations are to be concluded not later than 6 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

## "Article 16 - Posts and Telecommunications

"The Parties take note of the opening between them, in accordance with the Washington Declaration, of direct telephone and facsimile lines. Postal links, the negotiations on which having been concluded, will be activated upon the signature of this Treaty. The Parties further agree that normal wireless and cable communications and television relay services by cable, radio and satellite will be established between them, in accordance with all relevant international conventions and regulations. The negotiations on these subjects will be concluded not later than 9 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

## "Article 17 - Tourism

"The Parties affirm their mutual desire to promote cooperation between them in the field of tourism. In order to accomplish this goal, the Parties - taking note of the understandings reached between them concerning tourism - agree to negotiate, as soon as possible and to conclude not later than 3 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, an agreement to facilitate and encourage

mutual tourism and tourism from third countries.

#### "Article 18 - Environment

"The Parties will cooperate in matters relating to the environment, a sphere to which they attach great importance, including conservation of nature and prevention of pollution, as set forth in Annex IV. They will negotiate an agreement on the above, to be concluded not later than 6 months from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

#### "Article 19 - Energy

"1. The Parties will cooperate in the development of energy resources, including the development of energy-related projects such as the utilization of solar energy.

"2. The Parties, having concluded their negotiations on the interconnecting of their electric grids in the Eilat-Aqaba area, will implement the interconnecting upon the signature of this Treaty. The Parties view this step as a part of a wider binational and regional concept. They agree to continue their negotiations as soon as possible to widen the scope of their interconnected grids.

"3. The Parties will conclude the relevant agreements in the field of energy within 6 months from the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

#### "Article 20 - Rift Valley Development

"The Parties attach great importance to the integrated development of the Jordan Rift Valley area, including joint projects in the economic, environmental, energy-related and tourism fields. Taking note of the Terms of Reference developed in the framework of the Trilateral Israel-Jordan-US Economic Committee towards the Jordan Rift Valley Development Master Plan, they will vigorously continue their efforts towards the completion of planning and towards implementation.

#### "Article 21 - Health

"The Parties will cooperate in the area of health and shall negotiate with a view to the conclusion of an agreement within 9 months of the exchange of instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

#### "Article 22 - Agriculture

"The Parties will cooperate in the areas of agriculture, including veterinary services, plant protection, biotechnology and marketing, and shall negotiate with a view to the conclusion of an agreement within 6 months from the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification of this Treaty.

#### "Article 23 - Aqaba and Eilat

"The Parties agree to enter into negotiations, as soon as possible and not later than one month from the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, on

arrangements that would enable the joint development of the towns of Aqaba and Eilat with regard to such matters, *inter alia* , as joint tourism development, joint customs, free trade zone, cooperation in aviation, prevention of pollution, maritime matters, police, customs and health cooperation. The Parties will conclude all relevant agreements within 9 months from the exchange of instruments of ratification of the Treaty.

#### "Article 24 - Claims

"The Parties agree to establish a claims commission for the mutual settlement of all financial claims.

#### "Article 25 - Rights and Obligations

"1. This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way, the rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations.

"2. The Parties undertake to fulfil in good faith their obligations under this Treaty, without regard to action or inaction of any other party and independently of any instrument inconsistent with this Treaty. For the purposes of this paragraph each Party represents to the other that in its opinion and interpretation there is no inconsistency between their existing treaty obligations and this Treaty.

"3. They further undertake to take all the necessary measures for the application in their relations of the provisions of the multilateral conventions to which they are parties, including the submission of appropriate notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and other depositories of such conventions.

"4. Both Parties will also take all the necessary steps to abolish all pejorative references to the other Party, in multilateral conventions to which they are parties, to the extent that such references exist.

"5. The Parties undertake not to enter into any obligation in conflict with this Treaty.

"6. Subject to Article 103 of the United Nations Charter, in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Parties under the present Treaty and any of their other obligations, the obligations under this Treaty will be binding and implemented.

#### "Article 26 - Legislation

"Within 3 months of the exchange of ratification of this Treaty, the Parties undertake to enact any legislation necessary in order to implement the Treaty and to terminate any international commitments and to repeal any legislation that is inconsistent with the Treaty.

#### "Article 27 - Ratification

"1. This Treaty shall be ratified by both Parties in conformity with their

respective national procedures. It shall enter into force on the exchange of instruments of ratification.

"2. The Annexes, Appendices and other attachments to this Treaty shall be considered integral parts thereof.

"Article 28 - Interim Measures

"The Parties will apply, in certain spheres, to be agreed upon, interim measures pending the conclusion of the relevant agreements in accordance with this Treaty, as stipulated in Annex V.

"Article 29 - Settlement of Disputes

"1. Disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of this Treaty shall be resolved by negotiations.

"2. Any such disputes which cannot be settled by negotiations shall be resolved by conciliation or submitted to arbitration.

"Article 30 - Registration

"This Treaty shall be transmitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for registration in accordance with the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

"Done at the Arava/Araba Crossing-Point this day Heshvan 21st, 5775, Jumada Al-Ula 21st, 1415 which corresponds to 26 October 1994 in the Hebrew, English and Arabic languages, all texts being equally authentic. In case of divergence of interpretation the English text shall prevail.

"For the State of Israel  
Yitzhak Rabin  
Prime Minister

"For the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan  
Abdul Salam Majali  
Prime Minister

"Witnessed by:

"William J. Clinton  
President of the United States of America

"List of Annexes, Appendices and Other

Attachments

- "Annex I:       "(a)     International Boundary  
                  "(b)     Naharayim/Baqura Area  
                  "(c)     Zofar Area

"Appendices (27 sheets):

- "I.    Emer Ha'arava (10 sheets), 1:20,000 orthophoto maps
- "II.   Dead Sea (2 sheets), 1:50,000 orthoimages
- "III.   Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers (12 sheets), 1:10,000 orthophoto maps
- "IV.   Naharayim Area (1 sheet), 1:10,000 orthophoto map
- "V.   Zofar Area (1 sheet), 1:20,000 orthophoto map
- "VI.   Gulf of Eilat (1 sheet), 1:50,000 orthoimage

"Annex II:       Water

"Annex III:       Crime and Drugs

"Annex IV:        Environment

"Annex V:         Interim Measures

#### "ANNEX I (a)

#### "ISRAEL-JORDAN INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY DELIMITATION AND DEMARCATION

"1.       It is agreed that, in accordance with Article 3 of the Treaty, the international boundary between the two states consists of the following sectors:

- "A.       The Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers
- "B.       The Dead Sea
- "C.       The Emek Ha'arava/Wadi Araba
- "D.       The Gulf of Aqaba

"2.       The boundary is delimited as follows:

"A.   Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers:

- "1.       The boundary line shall follow the middle of the main course of the flow of the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers.
- "2.       The boundary line shall follow natural changes (accretion or erosion) in the course of the rivers unless otherwise agreed. Artificial changes in or of the course of the rivers shall not affect the location of the boundary unless otherwise agreed. No artificial changes may be made except by agreement between both Parties.
- "3.       In the event of a future sudden natural change in or of the course of the rivers (avulsion or cutting of new bed) the Joint Boundary Commission (Article 3 below) shall meet as soon as possible, to decide on necessary measures, which may include physical restoration of the prior location of the river course.

- "4. The boundary line in the two rivers is shown on the 1:10,000 orthophoto maps dated 1994 (Appendix III attached to this Annex).
- "5. Adjustment to the boundary line in any of the rivers due to natural changes (accretion or erosion) shall be carried out whenever it is deemed necessary by the Joint Boundary Commission or once every five years.
- "6. The lines defining the special Naharayim/Baqura area are shown on the 1:10,000 orthophoto map (Appendix IV attached to this Annex).
- "7. The orthophoto maps and image maps showing the line separating Jordan from the territory that came under Israeli military government control in 1967 shall have that line indicated in a different presentation and the legend shall carry on it the following disclaimer:

'This line is the administrative boundary between Jordan and the territory which came under Israeli military government control in 1967. Any treatment of this line shall be without prejudice to the status of the territory.'

#### "B. Dead Sea and Salt Pans

"The boundary line is shown on the 1:50,000 image maps (2 sheets, Appendix II attached to this Annex). The list of geographic and Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) coordinates of this boundary line shall be based on Israel Jordan Boundary Datum (IJBD 1994) and, when completed and agreed upon by both Parties, this list of coordinates shall be binding and take precedence over the maps as to the location of the boundary line in the Dead Sea and the salt pans.

#### "C. Emek Ha'arava/Wadi Araba

- "1. The boundary line is shown on the 1:20,000 orthophoto maps (10 sheets, Appendix I attached to this Annex).
- "2. The land boundary shall be demarcated, under a joint boundary demarcation procedure, by boundary pillars which will be jointly located, erected, measured and documented on the basis of the boundary shown in the 1:20,000 orthophoto maps referred to in Article 2-C-(1) above. Between each two adjacent boundary pillars the boundary line shall follow a straight line.
- "3. The boundary pillars shall be defined in a list of geographic and UTM coordinates based on a joint boundary datum (IJBD 94) to be agreed upon by the Joint Team of Experts appointed by the two parties (hereinafter the JTE) using joint Global Positioning System (GPS) Measurements. The list of coordinates shall be prepared, signed and approved by both parties as soon as possible and not



later than 9 months after this Treaty enters into force and shall become part of this Annex. This list of geographic and UTM coordinates when completed and agreed upon by both Parties shall be binding and shall take precedence over the maps as to the location of the boundary line of this sector.

- "4. The boundary pillars shall be maintained by both Parties in accordance with a procedure to be agreed upon. The coordinates in article 2-C-(3) above shall be used to reconstruct boundary pillars in case they are damaged, destroyed or displaced.
- "5. The line defining the Zofar/Al-Ghamr area is shown on the 1:20,000 Emek Ha'arava/Wadi Araba orthophoto map (Appendix V attached to the Annex).

#### "D. The Gulf of Aqaba

"The parties shall act in accordance with Article 3.7 of the Treaty.

#### "3. Joint Boundary Commission

- "A. For the purpose of the implementation of this annex, the Parties will establish a Joint Boundary Commission comprised of three members from each country.
- "B. The Commission will, with the approval of the respective governments, specify its work procedures, the frequency of its meetings and the details of its scope of work. The Commission may invite experts and/or advisors as may be required.
- "C. The Commission may form, as it deems necessary, specialized teams or committees and assign to them technical tasks.

"ANNEX I (b)

"THE NAHARAYIM/BAQURA AREA

"1. The two Parties agree that a special regime will apply to the Naharayim/Baqura area ('the area') on a temporary basis, as set out in this Annex. For the purpose of this Annex the area is detailed in Appendix IV.

"2. Recognizing that in the area which is under Jordan's sovereignty with Israeli private land ownership rights and property interests ('land owners') in the land comprising the area ('the land') Jordan undertakes:

- "a. to grant without charge unimpeded freedom of entry to, exit from land usage and movement within the area to the landowners and to their invitees or employees and to allow the landowners freely to dispose of their land in accordance with applicable Jordanian law;
- "b. not to apply its customs or immigration legislation to landowners, their invitees or employees crossing from Israel directly to the area for the purpose of gaining access to the land for agricultural or any agreed purposes;
- "c. not to impose discriminatory taxes or charges with regard to the land or activities within the area;
- "d. to take all necessary measures to protect and prevent harassment of or harm to any person entering the area under this Annex;
- "e. to permit with the minimum of formality, uniformed officers of the Israeli police force access to the area for the purpose of investigating crime or dealing with other incidents solely involving the landowners, their invitees or employees.

"3. Recognizing Jordanian sovereignty over the area, Israel undertakes:

- "a. not to carry out or allow to be carried out in the area activities prejudicial to the peace or security of Jordan;
- "b. not to allow any person entering the area under this Annex (other than the uniformed officers referred to in paragraph 2(e) of this Annex) to carry weapons of any kind in the area; unless authorized by the licensing authorities in Jordan after being processed by the liaison committee referred to in Article 8 of this Annex.
- "c. not to allow the dumping of wastes from outside the area into the area.

"4. a. Subject to this Annex, Jordanian law will apply to this area.

- "b. Israeli law applying to the extraterritorial activities of Israelis may be applied to Israelis and their activities in the area and Israel may take measures in the area to enforce such laws.

- "c. Having regard to this Annex, Jordan will not apply its criminal laws to activities in the area which involve only Israeli nationals.
- "5. In the event of any joint projects to be agreed and developed by the Parties in the area, the terms of this Annex may be altered for the purpose of the joint project by agreement between the Parties at any time. One of the options to be discussed in the context of the joint projects would be the establishment of a Free-Trade Zone.
- "6. Without prejudice to private rights of ownership of land within the area, this Annex will remain in force for 25 years and shall be renewed automatically for the same periods, unless one year prior notice of termination is given by either Party, in which case, at the request of either Party, consultations shall be entered into.
- "7. In addition to the requirement referred to in Article 4 (a) of this Annex, the acquisition of land in the area by persons who are not Israeli citizens shall take place only with the prior approval of Jordan.
- "8. An Israeli-Jordanian Liaison Committee is hereby established in order to deal with all matters arising under this Annex.

"ANNEX I (c)

"THE ZOFAR/AL-GHAMR AREA

- "1. The two Parties agree that a special regime will apply to the Zofar/Al-Ghamr area ('the area') on a temporary basis, as set out in this Annex. For the purpose of this Annex, the area is in Appendix V.
- "2. Recognizing that in the area which is under Jordan's sovereignty with Israeli private land use rights ('land-owners') in the land comprising the area ('the land'), Jordan undertakes:
- "a. to grant without charge unimpeded freedom of entry to, exit from land usage and movement within the area to the land-owners and to their invitees or employees and to allow the land-owners freely to dispose of their land in accordance with applicable Jordanian law;
  - "b. not to apply its customs or immigration legislation to land-owners, their invitees or employees crossing from Israel directly to the area for the purpose of gaining access to the land for agricultural or any agreed purposes;
  - "c. not to impose discriminatory taxes or charges with regard to the land or activities within the area;
  - "d. to take all necessary measures to protect and prevent harassment of or harm to any person entering the area under this Annex;
  - "e. to permit with the minimum of formality, uniformed officers of the Israeli police force access to the area for the purpose of investigating crime or dealing with other incidents solely involving the land-owners, their invitees or employees.
- "3. Recognizing Jordanian sovereignty over the area, Israel undertakes:

- "a. not to carry out or allow to be carried out in the area activities prejudicial to the peace or security of Jordan;
  - "b. not to allow any person entering the area under this Annex (other than the uniformed officers referred to in paragraph 2 (e) of this Annex) to carry weapons of any kind in the area; unless authorized by the licensing authorities in Jordan after being processed by the liaison committee referred to in Article 8 of this Annex.
  - "c. not to allow the dumping of wastes from outside the area into the area.
- "4. a. Subject to this Annex, Jordanian law will apply to this area.
- "b. Israeli law applying to the extraterritorial activities of Israel may be applied to Israelis and their activities in the area and Israel may take measures in the area to enforce such laws.
- "c. Having regard to this Annex, Jordan will not apply its criminal laws to activities in the area which involve only Israeli nationals.
- "5. In the event of any joint projects to be agreed and developed by the Parties in the area the terms of this Annex may be altered for the purpose of the joint project by agreement between the Parties at any time.
- "6. Without prejudice to private rights of use of land within the area, this Annex will remain in force for 25 years and shall be renewed automatically for the same periods, unless one year prior notice of termination is given by either Party, in which case, at the request of either Party, consultations shall be entered into.
- "7. In addition to the requirement referred to in Article 4 (a) of this Annex, the acquisition of land in the area by persons who are not Israeli citizens shall take place only with the prior approval of Jordan.
- "8. An Israeli-Jordanian Liaison Committee is hereby established in order to deal with all matters arising under this Annex.

## "ANNEX II

### "WATER RELATED MATTERS

"Pursuant to Article 6 of the Treaty, Israel and Jordan agreed on the following Articles on water related matters:

#### "Article I: Allocation

- "1. Water from the Yarmuk River
- "a. Summer period - 15th May to 15th October of each year. Israel pumps (12) MCM and Jordan gets the rest of the flow.
  - "b. Winter period - 16th October to 14th May of each year. Israel pumps (13) MCM and Jordan is entitled to the rest of the flow subject to provisions outlined hereinbelow: Jordan concedes to Israel pumping an additional (20) MCM from the Yarmuk in winter

in return for Israel conceding to transferring to Jordan during the summer period the quantity specified in paragraphs (2.a) below from the Jordan River.

- "c. In order that waste of water will be minimized, Israel and Jordan may use, downstream of point 121/Adassiya Diversion, excess flood water that is not usable and will evidently go to waste unused.

"2. Water from the Jordan River

- "a. Summer period - 15th May to 15th October of each year. In return for the additional water that Jordan concedes to Israel in winter in accordance with paragraph (1.b) above, Israel concedes to transfer to Jordan in the summer period (20) MCM from the Jordan River directly upstream from Deganya gates on the river. Jordan shall pay the operation and maintenance cost of such transfer through existing systems (not including capital cost) and shall bear the total cost of any new transmission system. A separate protocol shall regulate this transfer.
- "b. Winter period - 16th October to 14th May of each year. Jordan is entitled to store for its use a minimum average of (20) MCM of the floods in the Jordan River south of its confluence with the Yarmuk (as outlined in Article II below). Excess floods that are not usable and that will otherwise be wasted can be utilized for the benefit of the two Parties, including pumped storage off the course of the river.
- "c. In addition to the above, Israel is entitled to maintain its current uses of the Jordan River waters between its confluence with the Yarmuk and its confluence with Tirat Zvi/Wadi Yabis. Jordan is entitled to an annual quantity equivalent to that of Israel, provided, however, that Jordan's use will not harm the quantity or quality of the above Israeli uses. The Joint Water Committee (outlined in Article VII below) will survey existing uses for documentation and prevention of appreciable harm.
- "d. Jordan is entitled to an annual quantity of (10) MCM of desalinated water from the desalination of about (20) MCM of saline springs now diverted to the Jordan River. Israel will explore the possibility of financing the operation and maintenance cost of the supply to Jordan of this desalinated water (not including capital cost). Until the desalination facilities are operational and upon the entry into force of the Treaty, Israel will supply Jordan (10) MCM of Jordan River water from the same location as in (2.a) above, outside the summer period and during dates Jordan selects, subject to the maximum capacity of transmission.

"3. Additional Water

"Israel and Jordan shall cooperate in finding sources for the supply to Jordan of an additional quantity of (50) MCM/year of water of drinkable standards. To this end, the Joint Water Committee will develop, within one year from the entry into force of the Treaty, a plan for the supply to Jordan of the abovementioned additional water. This plan will be forwarded to the respective governments for discussion and

decision.

"4. Operation and Maintenance

- "a. Operation and maintenance of the systems on Israeli territory that supply Jordan with water, and their electricity supply, shall be Israel's responsibility. The operation and maintenance of the new systems that serve only Jordan will be contracted at Jordan's expense to authorities or companies selected by Jordan.
- "b. Israel will guarantee easy unhindered access of personnel and equipment to such new systems for operation and maintenance. This subject will be further detailed in the agreements to be signed between Israel and the authorities or companies selected by Jordan.

"Article II: Storage

"1. Israel and Jordan shall cooperate to build a diversion/storage dam on the Yarmuk River directly downstream of the point 121/Adassiya Diversion. The purpose is to improve the diversion efficiency into the King Abdullah Canal of the water allocation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and possibly for the diversion of Israel's allocation of the river water. Other purposes can be mutually agreed.

"2. Israel and Jordan shall cooperate to build a system of water storage on the Jordan River, along their common boundary, between its confluence with the Yarmuk River and its confluence with Tirat Zvi/Wadi Yabis, in order to implement the provision of paragraph (2.b) of Article I above. The storage system can also be made to accommodate more floods; Israel may use up to (3) MCM/year of added storage capacity.

"3. Other storage reservoirs can be discussed and agreed upon mutually.

"Article III: Water Quality and Protection

"1. Israel and Jordan each undertake to protect, within their own jurisdiction, the shared waters of the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers, and Arava/Araba groundwater, against any pollution, contamination, harm or unauthorized withdrawals of each other's allocations.

"2. For this purpose, Israel and Jordan will jointly monitor the quality of water along their boundary, by use of jointly established monitoring stations to be operated under the guidance of the Joint Water Committee.

"3. Israel and Jordan will each prohibit the disposal of municipal and industrial wastewater into the course of the Yarmuk and the Jordan Rivers before they are treated to standards allowing their unrestricted agricultural use. Implementation of this prohibition shall be completed within three years from the entry into force of the

Treaty.

"4. The quality of water supplied from one country to the other at any given location shall be equivalent to the quality of the water used from the same location by the supplying country.

"5. Saline springs currently diverted to the Jordan River are earmarked for desalination within four years. Both countries shall cooperate to ensure that the resulting brine will not be disposed of in the Jordan River or in any of its tributaries.

"6. Israel and Jordan will each protect water systems in its own territory, supplying water to the other, against any pollution, contamination, harm or unauthorized withdrawal of each other's allocations.

#### "Article IV: Groundwater in Emek

Ha'arava/Wadi Araba

"1. In accordance with the provisions of this Treaty, some wells drilled and used by Israel along with their associated systems fall on the Jordanian side of the borders. These wells and systems are under Jordan's sovereignty. Israel shall retain the use of these wells and systems in the quantity and quality detailed as Appendix to this Annex, that shall be jointly prepared by 31 December 1994. Neither country shall take, nor cause to be taken, any measure that may appreciably reduce the yields or quality of these wells and systems.

"2. Throughout the period of Israel's use of these wells and systems, replacement of any well that may fail among them shall be licensed by Jordan in accordance with the laws and regulations then in effect. For this purpose, the failed well shall be treated as though it was drilled under license from the competent Jordanian authority at the time of its drilling. Israel shall supply Jordan with the log of each of the wells and the technical information about it to be kept on record. The replacement well shall be connected to the Israeli electricity and water systems.

"3. Israel may increase the abstraction rate from wells and systems in Jordan by up to (10) MCM/year above the yields referred to in paragraph 1 above, subject to a determination by the Joint Water Committee that this undertaking is hydrogeologically feasible and does not harm existing Jordanian uses. Such increase is to be carried out within five years from the entry into force of the Treaty.

"4. Operation and Maintenance

"a. Operation and maintenance of the wells and systems on Jordanian territory that supply Israel with water and their electricity supply shall be Jordan's responsibility. The operation and maintenance of these wells and systems will be contracted at Israel's expense to authorities or companies selected by Israel.

"b. Jordan will guarantee easy unhindered access of personnel and equipment to such wells and systems for operation and maintenance. This subject will be further detailed in the agreements to be signed between Jordan and the authorities or companies selected by Israel.

#### "Article V: Notification and Agreement

"1. Artificial changes in or of the course of the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers can only be made by mutual agreement.

"2. Each country undertakes to notify the other, six months ahead of time, of any intended projects which are likely to change the flow of either of the above rivers along their common boundary, or the quality of such flow. The subject will be discussed in the Joint Water Committee with the aim of preventing harm and mitigating adverse impacts such projects may cause.

#### "Article VI: Cooperation

"1. Israel and Jordan undertake to exchange relevant data on water resources through the Joint Water Committee.

"2. Israel and Jordan shall cooperate in developing plans for purposes of increasing water supplies and improving water use efficiency, within the context of bilateral, regional or international cooperation.

#### "Article VII: Joint Water Committee

"1. For the purpose of the implementation of this Annex, the Parties will establish a Joint Water Committee comprised of three members from each country.

"2. The Joint Water Committee will, with the approval of the respective governments, specify its work procedures, the frequency of its meetings and the details of its scope of work. The Committee may invite experts and/or advisors as may be required.

"3. The Committee may form, as it deems necessary, a number of specialized subcommittees and assign them technical tasks. In this context, it is agreed that these subcommittees will include a northern subcommittee and a southern subcommittee, for the management on the ground of the mutual water resources in these sectors.

#### "ANNEX III

#### "COMBATING CRIME AND DRUGS

"Pursuant to Article 12 of the Treaty, Israel and Jordan have decided to cooperate in the following fields:

##### "A. Cooperation on Combating Dangerous Drugs

"1. The two Parties shall cooperate in fighting illicit drugs according to the legal system of their countries.

"2. The two Parties shall take all necessary measures to prevent drug smuggling between the two countries.

"3. The two Parties shall exchange information regarding drug



trafficking and dealers' activities concerning the two countries.

- "4. Information given by one of the Parties may not be shared with a third party without the consent of the Party which provided the information.
- "5. The two Parties shall exchange and share the experience of fighting against drugs, including anti-drug education, prevention, treatment, rehabilitation programmes, technical means and methods of concealment.
- "6. In order to identify the persons involved in drug activities, the two Parties shall facilitate controlled deliveries of drugs between the two countries according to their laws.
- "7. Drug law enforcement officers from both sides shall meet periodically to coordinate efforts pertaining to drug problems concerning the two countries.
- "8. The two Parties shall maintain open channels of communication such as fax, telephone and telex for liaison purposes in drug matters concerning the two countries.
- "9. The two Parties shall cooperate with the multilateral forums which deal with drug issues in the area.
- "10. The two Parties shall cooperate in investigating procedures necessary for collecting evidence and indictment in cases against drug dealers which concern either or both countries.
- "11. The two Parties shall exchange information regarding statistics on the type and number of drug crimes committed in each country, including detailed information regarding suspected and convicted persons involved in these cases.
- "12. The two Parties shall exchange all relevant information regarding the narcotic drug producing laboratories if revealed in either of the two countries, including structure, working methods and technical features of the laboratory as well as the type and trademark of the product.
- "13. The cooperation described in this document will be carried out in accordance with the legal systems of the two countries.

#### "B. Crime

"The Parties have agreed that the Agreements to be negotiated pursuant to Article 12 of the Treaty shall cover the following issues:

##### "Crime

- "- Exchange of information concerning all aspects of smuggling, theft (including art objects, vehicles, national treasures, antiquities and documents), etc.
- "- Apprehension of criminals and exchange of information, including

transmission of evidence, in order to carry out judicial procedures in each of the two countries, subject to the relevant treaties and regulations.

"General Cooperation

- "- Exchange of information regarding technical matters.
- "- Exchange of information regarding training and research.
- "- Joint police research projects on topics of mutual interest to both countries.

"Additional Issues

- "- Rescue.
  - "- Unintentional border crossing, fugitives from justice.
  - "- Notification of detention of nationals of the other country.
  - "- Establishment of a liaison mechanism between the sides.

"C. Cooperation on Forensic Science

- "1. The two Parties shall cooperate on the subjects of criminal identification and forensic science.
- "2. The two Parties shall share and exchange professional experience and training programmes, *inter alia* :
  - "a. Use of field kits for preliminary examinations.
  - "b. Analysis of illicit drugs.
  - "c. Analysis of poisons and toxic materials.
  - "d. Forensic biology and DNA examinations.
  - "e. Toolmarks and materials examinations.
  - "f. Questionable documents examinations.
  - "g. Analysis of voice prints.
  - "h. Analysis of firearms.
  - "i. Detection of latent fingerprints.
  - "j. Analysis of explosive traces.
  - "k. Examination for arson in laboratories.
  - "l. Identification of victims in mass disasters.
  - "m. Research and development in forensic science.

"ANNEX IV

"ENVIRONMENT

"Israel and Jordan acknowledge the importance of the ecology of the region, its high environmental sensitivity and the need to protect the environment and prevent danger and risks for the health and well-being of the region's population. They both recognize the need for conservation of natural resources, protection of biodiversity and the imperative of attaining economic growth based on sustainable development principles.

"In light of the above, both Parties agree to cooperate in matters relating to environmental protection in general and to those that may mutually effect them. Areas of such cooperation are detailed as follows:

"A. Taking the necessary steps both jointly and individually to prevent damage and risks to the environment in general and in particular those that may affect people, natural resources and environmental assets in the two countries respectively.

"B. Taking the necessary steps by both countries to cooperate in the following areas:

"- Environmental planning and management, including conducting Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), and exchanging of data on projects possessing potential impact on their respective environments.

"- Environmental legislation, regulations, standards and enforcement thereof.

"- Research and applied technology.

"- Emergency response, monitoring, related notification procedures and control of damages.

"- Code of conduct through regional charters.

"This may be achieved through the establishment of joint modalities and mechanisms of cooperation to ensure exchange of information, communication and coordination regarding matters and activities of mutual environmental concern between their environmental administrations and experts.

"C. Environmental subjects to be addressed:

"1. Protection of nature, natural resources and biodiversity, including cooperation in planning and management of adjacent protected areas along the common border and protection of endangered species and migratory birds.

"2. Air quality control, including general standards, criteria and all types of man-made hazardous radiations, fumes and gases.

"3. Marine environment and coastal resources management.

"4. Waste management including hazardous wastes.

- "5. Pest control including house flies and mosquitoes and prevention of diseases transferred by pests, such as malaria and leishmaniosis.
  - "6. Abatement and control of pollution, contamination and other man-made hazards to the environment.
  - "7. Desertification: combating desertification, exchange of information and research knowledge and the implementation of suitable technologies.
  - "8. Public awareness and environmental education, encouraging the exchange of knowledge, information, study materials, education programmes and training through public actions and awareness campaigns.
  - "9. Noise: reducing noise pollution through regulation, licensing and enforcement based on agreed standards.
  - "10. Potential cooperation in case of natural disasters.
- "D. In accordance with the above, the two Parties agree to cooperate in activities and projects in the following geographical areas:
- "I. The Gulf of Aqaba
    - "I.1 The Marine Environment:
      - "- Natural resources.
      - "- Coastal reef protection.
      - "- Marine pollution:
        - "- Marine sources: such as oil spills, littering and waste disposal and others.
        - "- Land-based sources: such as liquid waste, solid waste and littering.
        - "- Abatement, including monitoring and emergency response actions.
    - "I.2 Coastal Zone Management - The Littoral
      - "- Nature reserves and protected areas.
      - "- Environmental protection of water resources.
      - "- Liquid waste.
      - "- Solid waste.
      - "- Tourism and recreational activities.
      - "- Ports.
      - "- Transport.
      - "- Industry and power generation.
      - "- Air quality.
      - "- Hazardous materials.
      - "- Environmental assessments.
  - "II. The Rift Valley
    - "II.1 The Jordan River

"Israel and Jordan agree to cooperate along the common boundaries in the following aspects:

- "- Ecological rehabilitation of the Jordan River.
- "- Environmental protection of water resources to ensure optimal water quality, at reasonably usable standards.
- "- Agricultural pollution control.
- "- Liquid waste.
- "- Pest control.
- "- Nature reserves and protected areas.
- "- Tourism and historical heritage.

"II.2 The Dead Sea

- "- Nature reserves and protected areas.
- "- Pest control.
- "- Environmental protection of water resources.
- "- Industrial pollution control.
- "- Tourism and historical heritage.

"II.3 Emek Ha'arava/Wadi Araba

- "- Environmental protection of water resources.
- "- Nature reserves and protected areas.
- "- Pest control.
- "- Tourism and historical heritage.
- "- Agricultural pollution control.

"ANNEX V

"INTERIM MEASURES

"BORDER CROSSING-POINTS PROCEDURES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN

"In pursuance of Article 28 of the Treaty of Peace, the Parties have agreed as follows:

- "1. The Crossing-Points between Israel and Jordan shall be opened in both directions for Jordanians, Israelis and third country nationals.
- "2. Procedures of crossing shall be in accordance with the regulations in both countries.
- "3. Both Parties shall recognize passports of the other and the stamps and visas affixed by the other Party on passports. The stamps on the passports will include English and Hebrew/Arabic and will include the date of the crossing, the name of the country which stamps the document and the name of the crossing-point.
- "4. The Crossing-Points shall be open 5 days a week, from Sunday to Thursday, during all the year, except for Yom Kippur and the first day of Al Hijrah calendar. The dates of these two holy days shall be

communicated to the other side beforehand.

- "5. The Crossing-Points shall be open from 08:00 to 18:30 hours.
- "6. Each Party has the right to refuse entry to a person, in accordance with its regulations. In this case, each Party undertakes to accept this person back into the country, without delay, according to international practices.
- "7. Each Party shall apply its customs regulations.
- "8. Each Party shall provide the passengers with the A.17 international immigration form of the other Party, before crossing.
- "9. Direct links, both telephonic and fax, shall be established between the authorities of both sides of the Crossing-Points, in order to provide solutions to any problem.
- "10. The passenger's passport should be valid for at least six months after the date of the crossing, in accordance with the international practices.
- "11. Each Party shall provide the other with a list of the countries whose citizens are exempted from visa requirements.
- "12. These arrangements shall go into effect as from the next day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty.
- "13. Within a period of up to 3 months from the date stated in paragraph 12 above, interim arrangements regulating passage of persons through the Crossing-Points and visa procedures shall be applied. Both Parties may shorten this period by mutual agreement.
- "14. During the interim period mentioned in paragraph 13 above, visas to Israeli and Jordanian citizens shall be granted as agreed between the Parties.
- "15. Pending the mutual opening of the Embassies in the two countries, Israeli and Jordanian nationals shall be granted the necessary visas through the following procedures:
  - "a. The tourist should apply for the visa through a travel agent in his country, who shall convey the application to his counterpart travel agent in the other country. This correspondent travel agent shall apply for the visa to the Ministry of Interior in his country. The visa shall then be collected at the Crossing-Point with a copy to be sent to the travel agent, and another one shall be delivered to the terminals on each side.

"Upon the opening of the Embassies in both countries, the Parties will adjust the above procedures as necessary.
  - "b. Visitors such as businessmen, scientists, officials and journalists shall contact the respective counterpart who in

turn shall apply on their behalf to the Ministry of Interior as above. The visa shall then be collected at the Crossing-Point and a copy shall be delivered to the terminals on each side.

"Upon the opening of the Embassies in both countries, these persons will apply for visas through the respective Embassies.

- "16. a. Visa fees shall be collected on a reciprocal basis.
- "b. Terminal fees shall be collected in accordance with applicable regulations in both countries.
- "17. This system shall be revised after two months and a half from the date mentioned in paragraph 12 above, in accordance with any relevant bilateral agreements to be signed as an outcome of this Treaty.
- "18. The existing arrangements for Muslim Israeli nationals who cross into Jordan in transit to Saudi Arabia for Muslim Pilgrimage shall continue to be applicable.
- "19. Transportation for Israeli and Jordanian tourists between the terminals of each of the Crossing-Points shall be by shuttle bus, and the tourist vehicles provided by travel agents of the visited country shall carry them from its terminal to their final destination.
- "20. The Parties agree that matters relating to persons entering one of the two countries by one Crossing-Point, Harbours or Airports and wishing to exit that country also through other border Crossing-Points, Harbours or Airports shall be discussed during the interim period mentioned in paragraph 13 above.
- "21. The Parties agreed that matters relating to the passage of vehicles through the Crossing-Points shall be discussed during the interim period mentioned in paragraph 13 above, taking into account the transportation, tourism and any other relevant bilateral agreements, to be concluded between the parties.
- "22. Teams of the two Parties shall monitor the implementation of this Annex.

#### "AGREED MINUTES

- "A. Concerning Article 3 (f) stating that:

'Immediately upon the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this Treaty, each Party will deploy on each side of the international boundary as defined in Annex I (a).'

"The Parties recognize the practical questions connected with the deployment

(such as demarcation, minefields, fences) and therefore would interpret the language to mean that the deployment would start immediately, continue uninterruptedly and expeditiously and conclude no later than 3 months after the exchange of the instruments of ratification.

"B. With regard to economic and monetary matters pertaining specifically to the territories under Israeli Military control, the two governments shall consult with each other with the aim of:

"1. eliminating or mitigating adverse effects on their economies;

"2. giving each other enough time to make the necessary adjustments.

"The above is without prejudice to activities which are the result of relations with other states or to former obligations with regard to the territories referred to above, except to the extent that the implementation of such obligations may have adverse effects and to the extent that the implementation is within their control.

"C. In the spirit of peace, the two Parties attach high priority to the planned recreation joint venture project in the Naharayim/Baqura area, they favourably consider the partnership in peace to be created there, and will endeavour together to promote its implementation as soon as possible.

"D. The parties will, upon the signature of this Treaty, establish a joint committee headed by senior officials to monitor the implementation of this Treaty and the conclusion of relevant agreements, in accordance with the Treaty provisions."<sup>11</sup>

**Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty,**  
**1994**

**Ceremony for the signing of the**  
**Arava/Araba crossing-point, 26 October**

On 26 October 1994, at the Arava/Araba crossing-point, during the ceremony for the signing of the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, the following remarks were made by King Hussein of Jordan, Prime Minister of Israel Yitzhak Rabin, United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Andrei Kozyrev, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel Shimon Peres and United States President Bill Clinton:

*King Hussein*

"Peace be upon you; God's peace: the greeting with which Muslims and Arabs receive their guests - exchange amongst each other the greeting that has been taken to every part of the world over a long and cherished history and past.

"It is with a sense of enormous pride, a sense of fulfilment, that I stand here before you today, together with President Clinton, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin,



President Weizman and all our distinguished colleagues and friends. An unusual day, a day like no other in terms of the hopes, in terms of the promise and in terms of the determination.

"God willing and with God's blessing of us all. To remember this day as long as we live and for future generations - Jordanians, Israelis, Arabs, Palestinians - all children of Abraham; to remember it as a dawning of the new era of peace, mutual respect between us all, tolerance and the coming together of people of generations to come beyond this time to build and achieve what is worthy of them.

"We will always cherish the memory and honour all those who have fallen over the years from amongst all of our peoples. I believe they are with us on this occasion and at this time, as we come together to ensure, God willing, that there will be no more death, no more misery, no more suspicion, no more fear, no more uncertainty of what each day might bring, as has been the case in the past.

"Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and I had the honour of signing the Washington Declaration with President Clinton, our partner and our friend and we took it upon us, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and myself, to shepherd the process of negotiations to a successful conclusion. I believe that both of us share in this moment of achievement and pride and relief, for hopefully we have contributed towards a better future of our peoples for all times to come.

"The Prime Minister of Israel and the Prime Minister of Jordan will shortly ratify the peace treaty between our two countries. This will be witnessed by President Clinton. In a matter of days, we will have completed in Jordan the passage of this peace treaty through the legislature. I, who have accompanied my colleagues throughout this process - Prime Minister Majali since Madrid, my brother Crown Prince Hassan and every Jordanian who has been involved and honoured to be involved in this peace process - fully support every word and every letter in this peace process between Jordan and Israel.

"I know it is supported by the overwhelming majority of our people, who have learned today of its passage through the Israeli Knesset by an overwhelming majority. These are the moments in which we live, the past and the future.

"This great valley in which we stand will become the valley of peace. And one may come together to build it and to make it bloom, as never before. When we come to live next to each other, as never before, we will be doing so, Israelis and Jordanians, together, without the need for any to observe our actions or supervise our endeavours. This is peace with dignity, this is peace with commitment. This is our gift to our peoples and the generations to come.

"It will herald the change in the quality of life of people. It will not be simply a piece of paper ratified by those responsible, blessed by the world. It will be real, as we open our hearts and minds to each other, as we discover a human face to everything that has happened and to each other. For all of us have suffered for far too long.

"President Clinton, you have been our partner, you have been our friend, you have given us your support, together with the Administration of the United States of America. You are at the helm during this historic moment. We will always remember the warmth of your welcome to us both in Washington and the warmth of the welcome of the people of the United States of America with which they received our news and lauded our achievements.

"No one will ever forget this day and in particular we will always remember the fact that you personally came to be with us here on this most happy of occasions, at the end of a chapter of darkness and the opening of a book of light.

"I am proud of our friendship, God bless you and give you every future success. Maybe the world needs some good examples of what should happen between people and hopefully this might herald similar progress, not only on all the tracks here in this region, because we are all committed to a comprehensive peace - we wish it and hopefully it will be - but throughout the world, the world that is the home of all of us, that in itself is so small, where so much needs to be addressed and met, for humanity and for the future.

"Behind us here you see Eilat and Aqaba, the way we have lived over the years, in such close proximity - unable to meet, to visit each other, to develop this beautiful part of the world. No more - as we look into the future beyond this point, with determination, with hope, with commitment. We survived the hard times. Let our people beyond this point in time enjoy the good times.

"I would like to thank all our friends, all our distinguished guests, who join us here today - the representative of President Yeltsin, Foreign Minister of Russia, distinguished Foreign Ministers, our Arab brethren from our greater Arab homeland, our guests from throughout the world, our friends. A very hearty welcome to all of you, Jordanians and Israelis alike, at this very precious moment. God bless you."12

#### *Prime Minister Rabin*

"Your Majesty King Hussein I, President Clinton, President Weizman, the Foreign Ministers of our countries, distinguished guests from all over the world, the peoples of Jordan and Israel: from this podium, I look around and I see the Arava. Along the horizon, from the Jordanian side and the Israeli side, I see only a desert. There is almost no life here. There is no water, no well and not a spring - only minefields.

"Such were the relations between Israel and Jordan during the last 47 years: a desert; not one green leaf, no trees, not even a single flower. There comes a time when there is a need to be strong and to make courageous decisions, to overcome the minefields, the drought, the barrenness between our two peoples.

"We have known many days of sorrow, you have known many days of grief, but bereavement unites us, as does bravery and we honour those who sacrificed their lives. We both must draw on the springs of our great spiritual resources, to forgive the anguish we caused each other, to clear the minefields that divided us for so many years and to supplant it with fields of plenty.

"For nearly two generations, desolation pervaded the heart of our two peoples. The time has now come not merely to dream of a better future, but to realize it. Leaders should clear the path, should show the way, but the road itself must be paved by both peoples. I don't believe that we would have reached this great moment without the desire for peace in the hearts of both peoples; in the hearts of the soldiers and the intellectuals, in the hearts of the farmers and of the lorry drivers who drive through the Arava highways in Jordan and Israel, in the hearts of teachers and of the little children. Both nations were determined that the great revolution in the Middle East would take place in their generation.

"From this podium, I look around and I see the Arava and I see you - our generation and the next. We are the ones who will transform this barren place into a fertile oasis. The drab browns and the dull grays will burst forth in living vibrant greens.

"Your Majesty, peace between states is peace between peoples. It is an expression of trust and esteem. I have learned to know and admire the quiet and the smiling power with which you guard your nation and the courage with which you lead your people.

"It is not only our states that are making peace with each other today, not only our nations that are shaking hands in peace here in the Arava. You and I, your Majesty, are making peace here, our own peace, the peace of soldiers and the peace of friends.

"President Clinton, thank you for your tremendous support throughout the entire process, which was vital for the achievement of this final result. I would like to thank many others on the Israeli side, on the Jordanian side, that worked very hard - day and night - that we be allowed to reach this great moment. The Foreign Minister of Israel; the head of our team, Elyakim Rubinstein; Ephraim Halevy; and many others who no doubt contributed a lot to this great achievement.

"A dawn broke this morning and a new day began, new life came into the world - babies were born in Jerusalem. Babies were born in Amman. But this morning is different. To the mother of the Jordanian newborn - a blessed day to you. To the mother of the Israeli newborn - a blessed day to you. The peace that was born today gives us all the hope that the children born today will never know war between us - and their mothers will know no sorrow.

"Allow me to end by the simple words: Shalom, Salaam, Peace."13

*Secretary of State Christopher*

"Your Majesty, King Hussein, President Weizman, President Clinton, Prime Minister Rabin, Prime Minister Majali, fellow Foreign Ministers, Crown Prince Hassan, ladies and gentlemen: Less than 90 days ago I had the great honour of witnessing from this very spot the opening of the Israeli-Jordanian border crossing. This place that for decades was nothing more than a field of mines was turned overnight into a field of dreams. Today we're, again, honoured to bear witness as those dreams come true.

"King Hussein, Prime Minister Rabin, the entire world salutes your courage, your vision and your skill. Each of you has dedicated your distinguished careers to a single, noble calling: to build for your peoples and your nations a future of hope and a future of peace. By your extraordinary achievement here this afternoon, your life's work is a long step toward completion.

"As President Clinton has said, the United States stands shoulder to shoulder with Israel and Jordan. We did three months ago when you ended your state of war and we do today when you inaugurate your state of peace and we will be there tomorrow and beyond as you build the bonds of human contact and the common interest that will ensure a lasting reconciliation. This is truly a day of rejoicing, of reconciliation and of recommitment. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen."14

*Foreign Minister Kozyrev*

"Your Majesty, King Hussein bin Talal, Your Excellencies, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, President Weizman, President Bill Clinton of the United States, dear colleagues, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to convey to this gathering a welcoming address of the President of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin. I quote:

'I wish to extend my cordial congratulations to His Majesty King Hussein and His Excellency Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, as well as to the peoples of Jordan and Israel, with the historic accomplishment, signature of the treaty of peace. It has become possible due to political courage and statesmanship of the leaders of Jordan and Israel. Having surmounted all the apprehensions and having broken down the wall of mistrust, you extended a hand of peace to each other. And now, you lay down a foundation for further reinforcement and development of mutual understanding and good neighbourly relations between Jordan and Israel.

'We are confident now that the creative energy of the peoples of both countries will be aimed at their prosperity and well-being and at building a happy future for succeeding generations.

'Today's event is impressive success of the Madrid peace process that has developed under the co-sponsorship of Russia and the United States of America. Russia intends to go on with its practical promotion of the final cessation of the Arab-Israeli conflict and support for implementation of the Israeli-Jordanian agreements.

'(Signed) Boris Yeltsin.'

"Allow me, for my part, just to express my personal admiration for the political courage of all present here - Heads of State and Government of both Jordan and Israel - and to assure you that Russia, as a co-sponsor of the peace process, will be with you and with others on all tracks until there is firm peace and, after that, in building a truly prosperous life in this region.

"Thank you."15

*Foreign Minister Peres*

"Your Majesty, King Hussein, the President of the United States, the President of the State of Israel, the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin, the Prime Minister of Jordan, Majali, my colleagues, Foreign Ministers, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, in addition to expressing my thanks to the President of the United States for his tremendous support, to King Hussein for his outstanding leadership, I shall do something improper and speak about my own Prime Minister - he did a great job, with great character and wisdom.

"We were born as sons of Abraham. Now we have to become brothers in the family of Abraham. Not our [inaudible] but our outlook should be different: Where a person to a person will be a host, not a hostage, that we shall mutually help each other

understand each other and, permit me to say, to pray for each other. It is not just a peace of the braves. Permit me to say, this is a peace of mothers with their children born and unborn - a peace for today and a peace for tomorrow.

"I see that as [inaudible]. Nature made it brown; science will make it green. War made it dead; peace will make it alive. And we shall see an entirely new landscape for us and for our neighbours.

"This is the third time that we are taking steps toward peace. It's not the end of the road. I hope that what has happened today, under the brilliant leadership of King Hussein and Yitzhak Rabin, will go on, will walk on, will march on until the whole Middle East is a region of peace, of promise and of prosperity.

"Now, please don't forget that I am a foreign minister, so I shall take this occasion to thank our friend, the Foreign Minister of Egypt - first to make peace, supporting peace all the time.

"I would like to thank the foreign ministers of Europe and their [inaudible] of today, Dr. Kinkel, for ongoing support to make this peace not just a matter of a policy but an issue of a new reality. Thank you very much.

"We want to thank the United States for its support in the Middle East. It's a God-sent support. No power has ever supported other nations that need peace as has the United States. It's a pleasure to see the United States and Russia working together. This wasn't always the case in the Middle East. This is a new addition and we welcome it with our full hearts.

"We seek among us some other candidates for peace: Welcome to the club; the sooner the better. Ladies and gentlemen: It's a great day; it's a great hope; it's a moving occasion for many of us who dreamed it. Now it has become a reality. It is not just the end of war; this is the beginning of a new cooperation. Let's dream together, we've got the license. Thank you."16

#### *President Clinton*

"King Hussein, President Weizman, Prime Minister Rabin, Prime Minister Majali, Crown Prince Hassan, Foreign Minister Peres, Foreign Minister Kozyrev, the Secretary of State, the people of Jordan and Israel, with special thanks to those who are our cheering section up there - we thank you all.

"At the dawn of this peace of the generations, in this ancient place, we celebrate the history and the faith of Jordanians and Israelis, but we break the chains of the past that for too long have kept you shackled in the shadows of strife and suffering. We thank those who have worked for peace before, we celebrate the efforts of brave leaders who saw the bright horizon of this dawn even while the darkness lingered.

"This vast bleached desert hides great signs of life. Today we see the proof of it, for peace between Jordan and Israel is no longer a mirage. It is real, it will take root in this soil. It will grow to great heights and shelter generations to come.

"Today we honour the constant and devoted work of two courageous leaders - two that have risked everything, so that their children and their children's children need fight nor fear no more. King Hussein, today in this arid place, you bring to full

flower the memory of the man who taught you to seek peace, your grandfather, King Abdullah. When he was martyred four decades ago, he left you with a great burden and a great dream. He believed that one day on both sides of the River Jordan, Arab and Jew would live in peace. How greatly you have shouldered that burden and carried that dream. Now, after so much danger and so much hardship, your Majesty, your day has come. Truly you have fulfilled your grandfather's legacy.

"Prime Minister Rabin, you have spent a lifetime as a soldier fighting first to establish your country and then for so long to defend it. For a lifetime you have fought with skill and tenacity and courage, simply to achieve a secure and lasting peace for your people. Now you have given them the hope of life after the siege. In your own words, you have now given them the challenge to furnish the house of Israel and make it a home. As a general, you have won many battles through strength and courage. But now through strength and courage, you command the army of peace and you have won the greatest victory of all. We salute you.

"As has been said before, this treaty is the product of many hands. Crown Prince Hassan and Foreign Minister Peres know better than any of us that peace does not spring full grown. It requires cultivation, it requires patience and care. We salute their devotion and persistence and the wise and determined counsel of Secretary Christopher. We are in all their debt and we thank them.

"I say to the people of Israel and Jordan, now you must make this peace real. To turn no man's land into every man's home. To take down the barbed wire, to remove the deadly mines, to help the wounds of war to heal. Open your borders, open your hearts. Peace is more than an agreement on paper, it is feeling, it is activity, it is devotion.

"The forces of terror will try to hold you back. Already they take deadly aim at the future of peace and in their zeal to kill hope and keep hatred alive they would deny all that peace can bring to your children. We cannot, we must not, we will not let them succeed.

"The United States stands with you. Since President Truman first recognized Israel, we have wished for and worked for comprehensive peace between Israel and all of her neighbours. On behalf of all Americans, including millions of Jewish and Arab Americans for whom this day means so much, I thank you for trusting America to help you arrive at this moment. The American people are very proud of the opportunity we have had.

"Now let the work of progress bear fruit. Here at the first of many crossing-points to be opened, people from every corner of the earth will soon come to share in the wonders of your land. There are resources to be found in the desert. Minerals to be drawn from the sea. Water to be separated from salt and used to fertilize the fields. Here where slaves in ancient times were forced to take their chisels to the stone, the earth as the Koran says, will stir and swell and bring forth life. The desert as Isaiah prophesied shall rejoice and blossom.

"Here your people will drink water from the same well and savour together the fruit of the vine. As you seize this moment, be assured that you will redeem every life sacrificed along the long road that brought us to this day. You will take the hatred out of hearts and you will pass along to your children a peace for the generations.

"Your Majesty, Mr. Prime Minister: here in the great Rift Valley you have bridged the tragic rift that separated your people for too long. Here in this region

which is the home of not only both your faiths, but mine, I say: Blessed are the peacemakers for their they shall inherit the earth."17

*The peace treaty was signed by the Prime Minister of Jordan, Dr. Abdulsalam Al-Majali, and the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin. The treaty was then signed by United States President Bill Clinton, as a witness. The text was also initialled by the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation, Andrei Kozyrev, the United States Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, and the Foreign Minister of Israel, Shimon Peres.*

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#### **Address by President Bill Clinton before**

**Jordanian Parliament,  
Amman, 26 October 1994**

On 26 October 1994, at Amman, following the signing of the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, United States President Bill Clinton addressed the joint session of the Jordanian Parliament. The following is the text of his speech:

"Your Majesties, Prime Minister Majali, Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the Parliament, citizens of Jordan, citizens of the United States: Mr. President, thank you for that generous introduction. Your Majesty, thank you for welcoming me to your beautiful country and for giving me the opportunity to accept your kind hospitality after your many visits to our capital.

"I thank you all for the honour to address this assembly and to reflect with you on this historic day of peace. On this day - Your Majesty, descendant of the prophet Mohammed - in making peace with your neighbour, you have done even more than fulfil the legacy of King Abdullah. You have sent a signal to the entire Arab world that peace is unstoppable.

"On this day, in the desert of the great Rift Valley, the people of Jordan stepped out of the shadows of strife. You made a bold choice: you rejected the dark forces of terror and extremism; you embraced the bright promise of tolerance and moderation. You spurned those who would draw you back into the hostile past. You chose, instead, a future of opportunity and tranquillity for your children. The United States admires and supports the choice you have made and we will stand with you in months and years ahead.

"Today, the people of Jordan pay homage to those who led the great Arab revolt for freedom, independence and unity. You honour the memory of three generations of Jordanians who gave their lives in defence of your country - what Your Majesty has called the shattering toll in blood and tears, the waste of youth and the grief of our forefathers.

"In your address to our Congress two months ago, Your Majesty called for an end to the unnatural and sinister state that has spread fear and isolation. You urged your people to commit themselves to establishing a new, humane and natural order. Now the people of Jordan have said, enough of blood, enough of tears. It is time to move on. In the words of Your Majesty, they have said: Let us make what is abnormal, normal.

"All over the world, people of different faiths and all walks of life celebrated this day. All over the world, people of goodwill rejoiced at the leadership of King Hussein, who, with his courage, discipline and vision, honoured King Abdullah's wish as he embarked on his last journey to Jerusalem when he said: 'Do your very best to see that my work is not lost. Continue it in the service of our people.'

"Now it can be said that Your Majesty has met King Abdullah's charge. And, in so doing, you are meeting the challenge of history and advancing the cause of peace throughout the Arab world.

"Today's victory is also in keeping with the history of Jordan, which has long been a model for progress and a voice of moderation in the Arab world. From the beginning, when King Abdullah brought together disparate peoples in a united kingdom, following this path has never been easy for you. Yet in the midst of hard times and conflicts, you are building a society devoted to the growth of pluralism and openness. You have established a parliament where all voices can be heard.

"You have nurtured a growing partnership between Your Majesty and all Jordanian citizens. Your nation's commitment to pluralism has been matched by a remarkable generosity of spirit, for you have opened your doors to millions of your Arab brethren. They have come here, year after year, seeking refuge in your nation and here they have found a true home. In return, they have enriched your economy and your culture.

"My country, a nation of immigrants from every area of this world, respects your openness and your understanding that diversity is a challenge, but it can be a source of strength. America's commitment to Jordan is as strong tonight as it was when Your Majesty travelled to the United States for the first time 35 years ago and met President Dwight Eisenhower, the first of eight Presidents you have known.

"The President and Your Majesty discussed the great threat that communism then posed to America and to the Arab world. When President Eisenhower asked what America could do to help, Your Majesty said then, 'We need more than anything else the feeling that we do not stand alone.'

"Now, at a time when those who preached hate and terror pose the greatest threat to the cause of peace, President Eisenhower's response still holds true. Thirty-five years ago he told Your Majesty, 'Our country knows what you have done. Believe me, we won't let you down.'

"Both of us - Jordan and America - are fighting the same battle. Today, that battle is the struggle for peace and I say, again, on behalf of the United States, we will not let you down.

"From the outset, America's commitment to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East has been backed by a strong pledge that whenever Arabs and Israelis turn the page on the past, the United States would work with them to write a real, practical future of hope. Those who take risks for peace must not stand alone. We will work with Jordan to meet your legitimate defence requirements and to give you the security you deserve.

"But for peace to endure, it must not only provide protection, it must produce tangible improvements in the quality of ordinary citizens' lives - and, in so doing, give



those citizens a real stake in preserving the peace. The United States understands the need for peace to produce real benefits and we are taking steps to meet that goal.

"We have pledged to forgive all of Jordan's debt to our own government and we have encouraged - indeed, urged - other countries to do the same. From one end of your border with Israel to the other, the US-Jordan-Israel Trilateral Economic Commission is preparing to invest in progress. Visionary designs to develop the great Rift Valley, ambitious projects to produce more energy and fresh water, new efforts to extract minerals from the Dead Sea and exciting plans to encourage visitors to share the wonders of your lands - all these are being brought to life.

"Making these dreams real, of course, will require new investment and new capital. To that end, the United States supports the creation of a Middle East Bank for Cooperation and Development. And we will take the lead in consultations with Governments within and beyond the region to ensure that the bank is properly structured. Our Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation is establishing a \$75-million regional investment fund to encourage American investment in projects like those in the Rift Valley.

"The United States will actively pursue practical means of expanding trade and investment opportunities with Jordan. We will consider a wide array of measures, including a bilateral investment treaty, other trade arrangements and other initiatives that will lessen barriers to trade and increase prosperity in your area. These critical steps and others to provide your citizens with the economic opportunities they deserve are vital to building peace in Jordan and throughout the Middle East. If people do not feel these benefits, if poverty persists in breeding despair and killing hope, then the purveyors of fear will find fertile ground. Our goal must be to spread prosperity and security to all.

"After all, the chance to live in harmony with our neighbours and to build a better life for our children is the hope that links us all together. Whether we worship in a mosque in Irbid, a Baptist church, like my own, in Little Rock, Arkansas, or a synagogue in Haifa, we are bound together in that hope.

"Yet, though we know that in every corner of the world people share that hope, there are those who insist that between America and the Middle East, there are impassable religious and other obstacles to harmony, that our beliefs and our cultures must somehow inevitably clash. I believe they are wrong. America refuses to accept that our civilizations must collide. We respect Islam. Every day in our own land, millions of our own citizens answer the Moslem call to prayer and we know the traditional values of Islam - devotion to faith and good works, to family and society - are in harmony with the best of American ideals. Therefore, we know our people, our faiths and our cultures can live in harmony with each other.

"But in the Middle East, as elsewhere across the world, the United States does see a contest - a contest between forces that transcend civilization, a contest between tyranny and freedom, terror and security, bigotry and tolerance, isolation and openness. It is the age-old struggle between fear and hope.

"This is the conflict that grips the Middle East today. On one side stand the forces of terror and extremism that cloak themselves in the rhetoric of religion and nationalism but behave in ways that contradict the very teachings of their faith and mock their patriotism. These forces of reaction feed on disillusionment, on poverty, on despair. They stoke the fires of violence. They seek to destroy the progress of this peace. To them, I say: You cannot succeed, for you are the past - not the future.

"The people of Jordan and all those throughout the Arab world who are working for peace are choosing progress over decline, choosing reason, not ruin, choosing to build up, not tear down, choosing tomorrow, not yesterday. The people of Jordan on this day, through King Hussein, have pledged themselves to a treaty based on a fundamental law of humanity - that what we have in common is more important than our differences.

"This was the message of Moses' farewell address to the children of Israel as they gathered to cross the River Jordan when he said, 'I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses. Choose life so that you and your descendants may live.' And it is the message the prophet Mohammed brought to the peoples of other faiths when he said, 'There is no argument between us and you. God shall bring us together and unto him is the homecoming.'

"Today, the people of Jordan and the people of Israel have reached across the Jordan River. They have chosen life. They have made a homecoming. And tonight we say, thanks be to God, Al-Hamdulillah".<sup>18</sup>

#### **President Clinton**

#### **Remarks by President al-Assad and at a news conference, Damascus, 27 October 1994**

On 27 October 1994, at Damascus, President Hafez al-Assad of the Syrian Arab Republic and United States President Bill Clinton, following their meeting earlier in the day, made the following opening remarks at a joint news conference:

#### *President al-Assad*

"President Clinton, ladies and gentlemen: I am pleased to welcome President Clinton in Damascus, the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world, in the heart of the region which witnessed the dawn of human civilizations and the cradle of divine religions. This region whose peoples have long suffered - especially throughout the century, through the horrors of wars, the bitterness of conflict and bloodshed - hopes at last to enjoy peace and stability.

"The visit of President Clinton at the head of the high-level American delegation to our country and the positive and fruitful talks we had today constitute an important step toward the realization of this noble objective to which the people of the region and the world at large aspire.

"Our talks today have focused on the different aspects of the peace process and its developments. In this regard, I would like to express my deep satisfaction with the fact that our views were identical regarding the importance of achieving a comprehensive peace on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the principle of land for peace and that the solution we seek has to be just in order to be stable and lasting.

"I have reaffirmed to President Clinton the continued commitment of Syria to

the peace process and its serious pursuit of a comprehensive and just peace as a strategic choice that secures Arab rights, ends the Israeli occupation of the Arab land in conformity with Security Council resolutions 242, 338 and 425 (1978) and enables all peoples of the region to live in peace, security and dignity.

"I also stressed to President Clinton - emanating from the principle - full withdrawal for full peace. I stressed to President Clinton the readiness of Syria to commit itself to the objective requirements of peace through the establishment of peaceful, normal relations with Israel in return for Israel's full withdrawal from the Golan to the line of 4 June 1967 and from the south of Lebanon.

"In this context, the statement of President Clinton on the eve of his trip to the region asserting that no comprehensive peace can be achieved in the region without Syria is a realistic expression that reflects an international consensus regarding this fact. Our nation has sacrificed hundreds of thousands of martyrs, not out of love for war or fighting, but in defence of its rights, dignity and land. That's why we aspire today to transform the region from a state of war to a state of peace - a peace that gives each party its rights, ends occupation, saves the blood of the innocent and preserves man's dignity, a peace that prevails throughout the region and enables its peoples - both Arabs and Israelis - to live in security, stability and prosperity.

"Finally, I would like to convey greetings to the American people through President Clinton and to thank President Clinton for his personal efforts and the efforts of his aides. I would like to express my readiness to work with him for achieving a real, comprehensive and just peace in the region. Thank you."19

#### *President Clinton*

"I am glad to have had the opportunity to stop in Syria to meet with President Assad. After yesterday's signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, I came to Damascus today to continue working for our common goal of peace in the Middle East.

"During our meeting this morning, President Assad and I affirmed our common commitment to that goal and want to accelerate progress toward our objective. Yesterday's signing represents an important step forward. But our job will not be done and we will not rest until peace agreements between Israel and Syria and Israel and Lebanon are achieved.

"A Syrian-Israeli agreement is key to achieving a comprehensive peace. Given Syria's important regional role, it will inevitably broaden the circle of Arab States willing to embrace peace. And it will build confidence throughout the area that peace will endure.

"My talks here with President Assad are a sign of our mutual determination to achieve a peace of the brave as quickly as possible. The United States will do everything possible to help make that a reality.

"For peace to endure, it must also be just. Peace between Israel and Syria must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the principle of land for peace. Peace must also be real - more than mere words on paper, more than just the absence of war. Nations must establish normal peaceful relations.

"Peace must also be secure for both sides. Security for one side should not come at the expense of the other's security. Peace must guarantee security against surprise attack by any side. And peace must enable the parties to invest in economic development, rather than military might.

"All sides must enjoy stability and tranquility; violence must cease. Borders must no longer be subject to aggression, terrorist infiltration, violent acts, or bombardment. The murderous acts of terror that we have witnessed over the past weeks have two targets: first, innocent people, who have been killed and wounded; and second, the very peace that President Assad supports. All who work for peace must condemn these terrorist acts. President Assad and I agree that the peace process allows no place for the killing of innocent civilians.

"I also told President Assad of my desire to see the relations between our two nations improve. In an era of peace, improved relations would benefit both countries and improve regional stability and security.

"Finally, I want to tell the Syrian people how very glad I am to have the opportunity to visit your country, if only briefly. Like your neighbours in Israel, you have waited too long and have suffered too much to be further denied the hope for a new and better future. On behalf of the American people, I pledge that I will work with President Assad to do everything possible to make real this new and peaceful future."<sup>20</sup>

**Minister Rabin**

**1994**

**Speeches by President Clinton and Prime**

**at the Knesset, Jerusalem, 27 October**

On 27 October 1994, at Jerusalem, United States President Bill Clinton and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin made the following statements before the Knesset:

*President Clinton*

"Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Netanyahu, ladies and gentlemen of the Knesset,

"Let me begin by thanking the Prime Minister and the people of Israel for welcoming me to your wonderful country and thanking all of you for giving me the opportunity to address this great democratic body, where clearly people of all different views are welcome to express their convictions.

"Yesterday Israel took a great stride toward fulfilling the ancient dream of the Jewish people, the patriarchs' dream of a strong and plentiful people living freely in their own land, enjoying the fruits of peace with their neighbours. Nearly 17 years after President Sadat came to this chamber to seek peace and Prime Minister Begin reached out in reconciliation and just over a year after Israel and the PLO declared a pathway to peace on the South Lawn of the White House, Israel and Jordan have now written a new chapter.

"Tonight we praise the courage of the leaders who have given life to this treaty - Prime Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Peres. They have shown the vision and the tenacity of other leaders of Israel's past whose names will be remembered always for their devotion to your cause and your people: Ben-Gurion, Meir, Begin.

"In your life, Prime Minister, we see the life of your country. As a youth, you wished to fulfil the commandment to farm the land of Israel, but instead you had to answer the call to defend the people of Israel. You have devoted your life to cultivating strength so that others could till the soil in safety. You have fought many battles and won many victories in war. Now, in strength, you are fighting and winning battles for peace. Indeed, you have shown your people that they can free themselves from siege, that for the first time they can make real a peace for the generations.

"For the American people, too, this peace is a blessing. For decades, as Israel has struggled to survive, we have rejoiced in your triumphs and shared in your agonies. In the years since Israel was founded, Americans of every faith have admired and supported you. Like your country, ours is a land that welcomes exiles, a nation of hope, a nation of refuge. From the Orient and Europe and now from the former Soviet Union, your people have come - Ashkenazim and Sephardim, Yemenites and Ethiopians - all of them committed to living free, to building their common home.

"One in every four of the citizens of this country is an Arab - something very few people know beyond your borders. Even without the blessings of secure borders, you have secured for your own people the blessings of democracy. With all of its turmoil and debate, it is still the best of all systems.

"In times of war and times of peace, every President of the United States since Harry Truman and every Congress has understood the importance of Israel. The survival of Israel is important not only to our interest, but to every single value we hold dear as a people. Our role in war has been to help you defend yourself, by yourself. That is what you have asked. Now that you have taken the road of peace, our role is to help you to minimize the risks of peace.

"I am committed to working with our Congress to maintain current levels of military and economic assistance. We have taken concrete steps to strengthen Israel's qualitative edge - the US-Israel Science and Technology Commission, unprecedented Israeli access to the US high technology market, an acquisition of advanced computers. All these keep Israel in the forefront of global advances and competitive in global markets. I have also taken steps to enhance Israel's military and your capacity to address possible threats, not only to yourselves, but to the region: F-15 aircraft are being provided and F-16's transferred out of US stocks. We worked closely with you to develop the Arrow missile, to protect against the threat of ballistic missiles.

"As we help to overcome the risks of peace, we also are helping to build the peace that will bring with it the safety and security Israel deserves. That peace must be real, based on treaty commitments arrived at directly by the parties, not imposed from outside. It must be secure. Israel must always be able to defend itself by itself. And it must be comprehensive. We have worked hard to end the Arab boycott and we've had some success. But we will not stop until it is completely lifted. There is a treaty with Jordan and an agreement with the PLO. But we must keep going until Syria and Lebanon close the circle of States entering into peace and the other nations of the Arab world normalize their relations with Israel.

"This morning in Damascus, I discussed peace with President Assad. He repeated at our press conference what he had already said to his own parliament: Syria has made a strategic choice for peace with Israel. He also explained that Syria is ready to commit itself to the requirements of peace through the establishment of normal, peaceful relations with Israel. His hope, as he articulated it, is to transform the region from a state of war to a state of peace, that enables both Arabs and Israelis to live in security, stability and prosperity.

"We have been urging President Assad to speak to you in a language of peace that you can understand. Today, he began to do so. Of course, it will take more than words, much more than words. Yet I believe something is changing in Syria. Its leaders understand that it is time to make peace. There will still be a good deal of hard bargaining before a breakthrough. But they are serious about proceeding. Just as we have worked with you from Camp David to Wadi Araba to bring peace with security to your people, so too we will walk with you on the road to Damascus for peace with security.

"There are those who see peace still as all too distant. Surely they include the families of those burned in the rubble of the community centre in Buenos Aires, those in the basement of New York's World Trade Centre, the loved ones of the passengers on bus No. 5; and of course two people who, as has been noted, are in this chamber with us tonight and we honour their presence - the parents of Corporal Nahshon Wachsmann, a son of your nation and I proudly say, a citizen of ours.

"We grieve with the families of those who are lost and with all the people of Israel. So long as Jews are murdered just because they are Jews or just because they are citizens of Israel, the plague of anti-Semitism lives and we must stand against it. We must stand against terror as strongly as we stand for peace. For without an end to terror, there can be no peace. The forces of terror and extremism still threaten us all. Sometimes they pretend to act in the name of God and country. But their deeds violate their own religious faith and make a mockery of any notion of honourable patriotism.

"As I said last night to the Parliament in Jordan, we respect Islam. Millions of American citizens every day answer the Moslem call to prayer. But we know that the real fight is not about religion or culture. It is about a worldwide conflict between those who believe in peace and those who believe in terror, those who believe in hope and those who believe in fear.

"Those who stoke the fires of violence and seek to destroy the peace - make no mistake about it - have one great goal. Their goal is to make the people of Israel, who have defeated all odds on the field of battle, give up on the peace, by giving in to the doubts that terror brings to every one of us. But having come so far, you cannot give up or give in. Your future must lie in the words of a survivor of the carnage of bus No. 5 who said: 'I want the peace process to continue. I want to live in peace. I want my children to live in peace.'

"So let us say to the merchants of terror once again: You cannot succeed, you must not succeed, you will not succeed. You are the past, not the future. The peacemakers are the future.

"I say to you, my friends, in spite of all the dangers and difficulties that still surround you, the circle of your enemies is shrinking. Their time has passed. Their increasing isolation is reflected in the desperation of their disgusting deeds. Once in

this area you were shunned. Now, more and more, you are embraced. As you share the waters of the River Jordan and work with your neighbours, new crops will emerge where the soil is now barren. As you join together to mine the Dead Sea for its minerals, you will bring prosperity to all your people. As you roll up the barbed wire and cross the desert of Arava, the sands will yield new life to you. As you dock in each other's ports along the Gulf of Aqaba, more and more people will have the chance to experience the wonders of both your lands and more and more children will share the joys of youth, not the dread of war.

"This is the great promise of peace. It is the promise of making sure that all those who have sacrificed their lives did not die in vain. The promise of the Sabbath afternoon not violated by gunfire. A drive across the plains to the mountains of Moab, where Moses died and Ruth was born. A Yom Kippur of pure prayer, without the rumble of tanks, voice of fear or rumours of war. After all the bloodshed and all your tears, you are now far closer to the day when the clash of arms is heard no more and all the children of Abraham - the children of Isaac, the children of Ishmael - will live side by side in peace.

"This was, after all, the message the prophet Mohammed himself brought to peoples of other faiths when he said: 'There is no argument between us and you. God will bring us together and unto Him is the homecoming.' And this was the message Moses spoke to the children of Israel, when for the last time he spoke to them as they gathered to cross the River Jordan into the Promised Land, when he said: 'I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses. Choose life, so that you and your descendants may live.'

"This week, once again, the people of Israel made a homecoming. Once again, you chose life. Once again, America was proud to walk with you.

"The Prime Minister mentioned a story in his remarks, that he never asked me about. Wouldn't it be embarrassing if it weren't true? The truth is that the only time my wife and I ever came to Israel before today was 13 years ago with my pastor on a religious mission. I was then out of office. I was the youngest former governor in the history of the United States. No one thought I would ever be here - perhaps my mother, no one else. We visited the holy sites. I relived the history of the Bible, of your Scriptures and mine. And I formed a bond with my pastor. Later, when he became desperately ill, he said he thought I might one day become President and he said, more bluntly than the Prime Minister did: 'If you abandon Israel, God will never forgive you.' He said it was God's will that Israel, the biblical home of the people of Israel, continue for ever and ever.

"So I say to you tonight, my friends: one of our presidents, John Kennedy, reminded us that, here on earth, God's will must truly be our own. It is for us to make the homecoming, for us to choose life, for us to work for peace. But until we achieve a comprehensive peace in the Middle East and then after we achieve comprehensive peace in the Middle East, know this: Your journey is our journey and America will stand with you, now and always.

"Thank you and God bless you."<sup>21</sup>

*Prime Minister Rabin*

"The Honourable President of the United States, the Honourable President of the State of Israel, Mr. Speaker, Honoured Members of the Knesset, honoured guests,

"We welcome you to Jerusalem, the eternal capital of the State of Israel and the heart of the Jewish People. Today, the State of Israel warmly opens its heart and extends its hand to you. Mr. President, you are at home.

"Permit me to wish a happy birthday to two people. I would like to do it in English. I wish Hillary Clinton a happy birthday. Yesterday was her birthday and today is the birthday of Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Many happy returns. There is no way to measure the debt we owe the United States of America and you personally. The State of Israel sends its deeply heartfelt thanks.

"Mr. President, you are a large superpower with over 250 million citizens. Our country is small, both in territory and in population. We number only slightly more than five million people.

"What is the connection that has bound us together in unprecedented friendship for two generations? Why do our hearts always swell when we meet with you, with other members of your Administration, with members of both Houses of Congress and the American people? How did it happen that we believe and trust in you so?

"The answer contains many elements: shared values, a shared cultural heritage, even if the religions are different, based upon the Book of Books, a large Jewish community and, of course, shared political and security interests.

"Mr. President, here before you is my answer: The warmth that radiates toward us - from the White House, Capitol Hill and the American public - is a warmth which crosses seas and oceans and spans the thousands of miles separating Washington from Jerusalem and Jerusalem from Washington. This warmth, first and foremost, is built upon decades of mutual trust that has no parallel. A trust that has been fostered over many years, that has been built with diligence, brick by brick.

"We have always known that our legitimate and justified concerns about peace and security were the genuine concerns of the United States as well. My meetings with you, Mr. President, are honest and open on both sides and a source of gratification for the State of Israel.

"There are those who say that your spiritual mentor, Dr. Vought, summoned you to his deathbed and made you give your word that, if you ever reached the high office of President of the United States and became the leader of the free world, you would never harm the State of Israel. I do not know if the story is true; I never asked you. I know only this: if it is true, we can today say to Pastor Vought, with full hearts - rest in peace, your last wish has been fulfilled.

"Mr. President of the United States, you have come to our region, a region which has suffered wars, violence and terrorism, during one of its greatest and most difficult hours. Yesterday, you were a senior partner to the signing ceremony of a peace treaty between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

"After yesterday's ceremony, we awakened this morning to a new reality; now we have to mould the contents of this peace. Peace, we said yesterday, is made between people who dream about and desire peace, and, in Amman and Jerusalem, there are many such people.

"Peace yesterday with Jordan, we hope, will bring an end to the era of war in the Middle East, wars that inflicted great suffering on the population of our region,



and were also of concern to the entire world. We are positive and confident that, as always, we will find both you and your country assisting us and Jordan in fostering this peace.

"Behind us is the Declaration of Principles with the PLO that has put an end to a bloody conflict that has endured for over 100 years. Before us there is still much work to do in settling the differences between us, and particularly in cultivating good neighbourly relations between the two peoples, because peace, as we have said, is made between people.

"Behind us is the peace treaty with Jordan. Before us, the continuation of negotiations with Syria. In order to give added force to the two words we have said thousands of times, from every podium and in every policy statement over the past two generations: we seek a comprehensive peace. Peace for everyone, peace with all Arab countries, peace with the Muslim world.

"We know that, in Arab countries and among the Palestinians, there is broad support for peace and its makers, even if we have not realized all its phases.

"Still, let us speak the truth: there are enemies of peace. They employ terror and sow destruction and death. They murder and abduct. They shoot indiscriminately. Only recently, they placed a fatal explosive charge on a bus in the heart of Tel Aviv, killing 22 of its passengers only because they were Jews and Israelis. They murdered IDF soldier Nahshon Wachsmann, whose parents' pained eyes now watch us from the gallery. We do not intend to surrender to terrorism and we will act to strike at the terrorists. Last week, in an action against terrorists, Captain Nir Poraz was killed in an attempt to rescue Nahshon Wachsmann from the hands of his abductors.

"We face the terror of extremist Islam - the enemy of peace, the enemy of the State of Israel and the enemy of the Jews - which threatens the peace of our country. It also threatens the peace of your country, Mr. President, and it threatens the regimes of moderate Arab rulers and the peace of the world. Iran is leading this terrorism and we respect your policy of dual containment *vis-à-vis* Iran and Iraq. From this podium, Mr. President, I call upon you, the American Congress and the American people to lead the struggle against this murderous terrorism which seeks to murder both Israelis and peace. This terrorism knows no borders and is liable to cross seas and oceans in order to sow death.

"On the journey to peace with the Palestinians and the Jordanians, with the Syrians and the Lebanese, we know that you and your great nation are our partners. You understand our concerns, sense our distress and support us, in our difficult hours, in times of crisis and in our daily lives and not just at festive ceremonies. Mr. President, we will decide on our own fate in this country, but we trust that you and your nation will stand with us as we encounter hardships and the many landmines that still lie on our path. The fuel which feeds the locomotive of peace and the people of Israel, Mr. President, is hope, as is the name of your American birthplace. We also hang our hopes on you, President Clinton, and we know that you will not disappoint us.

"We have great dreams and great hopes. We do not want to live by our swords for eternity. We are committed to peace, but we are also prepared to stand against all enemies.

"Mr. President, you already know - and it is important for us to stress this

again - that our path to peace is the path of compromise. We know that we will not get everything we want and we must elucidate to our other partners in the peace negotiations that they will not receive everything they want either. As a democratic State, there are differences among us as to the correct policy for compromise.

"Mr. President, welcome to our home in Jerusalem, the focus of our yearning and the embodiment of our dreams for thousands of years. The overwhelming majority of people in Israel consider Jerusalem to be the capital of the State of Israel, under Israeli sovereignty. Jerusalem is not a subject for negotiation. Jerusalem is not subject to bargaining. Loyal to our heritage and our values, we will always enable free access and freedom of religious worship to people of all religions, but Jerusalem has always been and will always be, the capital of the State of Israel under Israeli sovereignty - the beating heart of the Jewish people.

"From Jerusalem, the City of Peace and the centre of the world, please accept our blessings, Mr. President. As it is written in the Book of Books: 'The Lord shall bless you from Zion and you shall see the good of Jerusalem all the days of your life. And you shall see your children's children and peace be upon Israel.'

"Peace be with you, Mr. President, and farewell."22

#### **Text of the Declaration of Casablanca, 30 October-1 November 1994**

The following is the text of the Declaration of Casablanca adopted by the Middle East/North Africa Economic Summit held at Casablanca, Morocco, from 30 October to 1 November 1994:

"1. At the invitation of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco and with the support and endorsement of Presidents Bill Clinton of the United States of America and Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation, the representatives of 61 countries and 1,114 business leaders from all regions of the world gathered for a Middle East/North Africa Summit in Casablanca from 30 October to 1 November 1994. The participants paid tribute to His Majesty King Hassan II in his capacity as President and host of the Conference and praised his role in promoting dialogue and understanding between the parties to the Middle East conflict. They also expressed their appreciation to the Government and people of Morocco for their hospitality and efforts to ensure the success of the Summit.

"2. The Summit leaders are united behind the vision that brought them to Casablanca, that of a comprehensive peace and a new partnership of business and Government dedicated to strengthening peace between Arabs and Israelis.

"3. Governments and business leaders entered into this new partnership of a deeper understanding of their mutual dependence and common goals. Business leaders recognized that Governments should continue to forge peace agreements and create foundations and incentives for trade and investment. They further recognized the responsibility of the private sector to apply its new international influence to

advance the diplomacy of peace in the Middle East and beyond. Governments affirmed the indispensability of the private sector in marshaling quickly adequate resources to demonstrate the tangible benefits of peace. Together, they pledged to show that business can do business and contribute to peace as well and, indeed, to prove that profitability can contribute substantively to the economic scaffolding for a durable peace.

"4. The Summit commended the historic political transformation of the region as a consequence of significant steps towards a just, lasting and comprehensive peace, based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), a process that began with the 1979 treaty between Egypt and Israel and was expanded dramatically by the Madrid peace conference three years ago. That process has borne fruit, and the recent signing of the treaty of peace between Israel and Jordan has given a new dimension to the process. The decisions of Morocco and Tunisia to establish, respectively, liaison offices and liaison channels with Israel constitute another new positive development. These accomplishments and the next stages of accelerated movement towards a comprehensive peace in the region, including the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon, need to be powerfully reinforced by solid economic growth and palpable improvement of the life and security of the people of this region. The Summit expressed a strong hope that they will be soon able to join the regional economic effort.

"5. In this connection, the participants noted that the urgent need for economic development on the West Bank and Gaza Strip requires special attention from the international community, both public and private, in order to support the Israel-Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Declaration of Principles and subsequent implementing agreements to enable the Palestinian people to participate on equal bases in regional development and cooperation. They stressed the equal importance of moving ahead on Jordanian-Israeli projects as well as on cooperative projects between Israel and Jordan in order to advance the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty.

"6. The participants recognized the economic potential of the Middle East and North Africa and explored how best to accelerate the development of the region and overcome, as soon as possible, obstacles, including boycotts and all barriers to trade and investment. All agreed that there is a need to promote increased investment from inside and outside the region. They noted that such investment requires free movement of goods, capital and labour across the borders in accordance with market forces, technical cooperation based on mutual interest, openness to the international economy and appropriate institutions to promote economic interaction. They also noted that the free flow of ideas and increased dialogue, especially among the business communities in the region, will strengthen economic activity. In this context, the participants noted favourably the decision of the Gulf Cooperation Council regarding the lifting of the secondary and tertiary aspects of the boycott of Israel.

"7. Based on the agreements between Israel and the PLO, it is important that the borders of the Palestinian territories be kept open for labour, tourism and trade to allow the Palestinian Authority, in partnership with its neighbours, the opportunity to build a viable economy in peace.

"8. The participants paid tribute to the multinational negotiations initiated in Moscow in 1992, which have significantly advanced the objectives of the peace process. The Governments represented at Casablanca will examine ways to enhance the role and activities of the multilateral negotiations, including examining regional institutions that address economic, humanitarian and security issues. The participants

noted that the progress made in the peace process should go hand in hand with serious consideration of the socio-economic disparities in the region and requires that the idea of security in the region be addressed in all its dimensions: social, economic and political. In this context, they agreed that these issues need to be addressed within the framework of a global approach encompassing socio-economic dimensions, safety and welfare of individuals and nations of the region.

"9. The participants recognized that there must be an ongoing process to translate the deliberations of Casablanca into concrete steps to advance the twin goals of peace and economic development and to institutionalize the new partnership between Governments and the business community. To this end:

- "(a) The Governments represented at Casablanca and private sector representatives stated their intention to take the following steps:
  - "(i) Build the foundations for a Middle East and North Africa economic community, which implies, at a certain stage, the free flow of goods, capital and labour throughout the region;
  - "(ii) Taking into account the recommendations of the regional parties during the meeting of the Subcommittee on Finances of the Regional Economic Development Working Group Monitoring Committee, the Casablanca Summit calls for a group of experts to examine the different options for funding mechanisms, including the creation of a Middle East and North African Development Bank. This group of experts will report on its progress and conclusions within six months in the light of the Summit following on from the Casablanca Conference. The funding mechanism would include appropriate bodies to promote dialogue on economic reform, regional cooperation, technical assistance and long-term development planning;
  - "(iii) Establish a Region Tourist Board to facilitate tourism and promote the Middle East and North Africa as a unique tourist attraction;
  - "(iv) Encourage the establishment of a Private Sector Regional Chamber of Commerce and Business Council to facilitate intraregional trade relations. Such organizations will be instrumental in solidifying ties between the private and public sectors of the various economies;
- "(b) The participants also intend to create the following mechanisms to implement these understandings and embody the new public-private collaboration:
  - "(i) A Steering Committee, comprising government representatives, including those represented in the Steering Committee of the multilateral group of the peace process, will be entrusted with the task of following up all issues arising out of the Summit and coordinating with existing multilateral structures such as the Regional Economic Development Working Group and other multilateral working groups. The Steering Committee will meet within

one month following the Casablanca Summit to consider follow-up mechanisms. The Committee will consult widely and regularly with the private sector;

- "(ii) An Executive Secretariat to assist the Steering Committee, located in Morocco, will work for the enhancement of the new economic development pattern, thus contributing to the consolidation of global security in the region. The secretariat will assist in the organization of the Regional Chamber of Commerce and a Business Council. It will work to advance the public-private partnership by promoting projects, sharing data, promoting contacts and fostering private-sector investment in the region. The secretariat will assist in the implementation of the various bodies referred to in the present Declaration. The Steering Committee will be responsible for the funding arrangements, with the support of the private sector.

"10. The participants welcomed the establishment of a Middle East/North Africa Economic Strategy Group by the Council on Foreign Relations. This private-sector group will recommend strategies for regional economic cooperation and ways to overcome obstacles to trade and private investment. It will operate in close association with the secretariat and submit its recommendations to the Steering Committee.

"11. The participants also welcomed the intention of the world economic forum to form a business interaction group that will foster increased contacts and exchanges among business communities and submit its recommendations to the Steering Committee.

"12. The participants in the Casablanca Summit pledged to transform this event into lasting institutional and individual ties that will provide a better life for the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa. They resolved that the collaboration of the public and private sectors that constituted the singularity of the Casablanca Summit will serve as a milestone in the historic destiny that is now playing itself out in the Middle East/North Africa region.

"13. The participants expressed their appreciation to the Council on Foreign Relations and to the World Economic Forum for their substantive contribution to the organization of the Casablanca Summit.

"14. The participants expressed their intention to meet again in Amman, Jordan, in the first half of 1995 for a second Middle East/North Africa Economic Summit, to be hosted by His Majesty King Hussein."23

**Text of Summary Conclusions by the Chair of the Meeting of Experts  
on the Middle East Development Bank,  
Washington, D.C., 11 January 1995**

The following is the text of the Summary Conclusions by the Chair adopted by the Meeting of Experts on the Middle East Development Bank held in Washington, D.C., on 10 and 11 January 1995:

"We have had in-depth, wide-ranging discussions, with a common purpose of demonstrating strong support for the peace process and economic development in the Middle East and North Africa.

"Participants emphasized that we are responding to a new political reality in the Middle East and agreed that economic growth and stability are essential underpinnings of peace.

"In this regard, we noted the importance of translating agreements among leaders into tangible peace dividends for the people of the region.

"We were impressed by the clarity of vision and strength of commitment expressed jointly by Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the PLO in putting forward this historic common proposal for the creation of a new regional development bank.

"Their proposal illustrates new realities of the Middle East. These parties in the region have risen to the challenge posed by the international community to develop their own institutional proposals to support their strategy for moving from conflict to partnership.

"Our efforts are an outgrowth of the Casablanca Economic Summit, hosted under the auspices of King Hassan II, who has demonstrated extraordinary vision in advancing the cause of peace in the region.

"We noted with appreciation the valuable ongoing efforts of the Regional Economic Development Working Group under the chairmanship of the European Union.

"There was broad support for the economic goals being pursued by the region as it strives to create a new Middle East. These fell into three main categories:

- "- Building trans-border infrastructure projects;
- "- Invigorating the private sector and stimulating private capital flows; and
- "- Enhancing regional economic policy reform, liberalization and integration.

"We heard wide support for the need for a new financing mechanism and had considerable discussion of various options, with particular attention to the regional proposal for creating a new bank for economic cooperation and development.

"In discussion of financing mechanisms, the following characteristics were suggested as essential to the concept.

"It should be one part of a coherent strategy, for partnership and cooperation among regional and extraregional parties.

"It should not be a carbon copy of existing regional development banks, but instead should be a multifaceted institution tailored to the unique needs and opportunities of the region. It should improve the efficiency of the present financial system servicing the region.

"Contributing to its unique nature would be a focus on projects to promote regional integration and its role as a catalyst for private sector investment.

"It must have a sound financial structure and mandate that would enable it, *inter alia* , to command strong support from international capital markets.

"It should emphasize co-financing with existing institutions and the private sector.

"Funds should be lent only at market rates. However, it could administer voluntary trust funds that could offer concessional rates for special activities.

"It should cooperate closely with the IMF, the World Bank and other regional institutions, whose role would remain essential in the region.

"Members obviously will subscribe to core principles: peaceful relations with neighbours in accord with the Madrid process and commitment to regional economic development and cooperation. They would also eschew direct and indirect economic boycotts.

"A number of regional and non-regional delegations supported the proposal of the four core parties. Other delegations expressed views in favour of exploring other options.

"We were also encouraged by the emphasis which parties of the Middle East and North Africa place on enhancing regional dialogue, reform and integration. There was wide support on the need for a forum for regional economic cooperation.

"In light of the discussion, we agreed on an intensive work programme. To facilitate this process, Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the PLO have produced a paper outlining their vision.

"A Task Force will develop detailed proposals for new institutional arrangements that will meet three principal criteria:

- "1. Provide new financing mechanisms for the region;
- "2. Foster enhanced regional policy cooperation; and
- "3. Be responsive to regional proposals.

"In particular, the Task Force will produce detailed recommendations on the proposal for a regional development bank for the Middle East and North Africa, as well as any other broadly supported specific proposals. The chair believes that the various options raised are complementary and not mutually exclusive.

"Regarding the proposal for a bank, the Task Force will consider its mandate, membership, eligibility for borrowing, relationship to other financial and policy institutions, operational functions, capital requirements, governance and interim arrangements.

"Regarding the proposal for an economic cooperation institution, the Task Force will consider its functions, scope of work, institutional structure and governance.

"The Task Force will produce these recommendations for a political-level

decision on creating new institutional arrangements for the region by the Amman Economic Summit, scheduled for 30 October-1 November 1995.

"The participants welcomed the offer of the United States to host the first Task Force meeting on 8-9 March in Washington.

"Meetings will take place approximately monthly thereafter, with opportunities to meet in the region and around other multilateral financial settings.

"A range of consultations may take place in advance of the March Task Force meeting."<sup>24</sup>

## **Communiqué,**

### **Text of the Blair House Joint**

**Washington, D.C., 12 February 1995**

The following is the text of a joint communiqué issued on 12 February 1995, at Blair House, in Washington, D.C., by representatives of the United States, Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority:

"On 12 February 1995, the United States hosted a follow-up meeting in Washington of the 2 February 1995 Cairo Summit of representatives from Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority. President Clinton, accompanied by Vice President Gore, addressed the gathering, which was attended by Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, Egyptian Foreign Minister Amre Moussa, Jordanian Foreign Minister Abd al-Karim Kabariti, Palestinian Authority Minister of Planning and International Cooperation Nabeel Shaath, Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Posuvalyuk, who participated as an observer.

"The five participants acknowledged the leadership of Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in hosting the Cairo Summit. Building on that historic meeting, the five participants reaffirmed their determination to consolidate the breakthroughs achieved in the Arab-Israeli peace process, to overcome obstacles and disputes and to push forward toward a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the region based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) thus leading to a lasting reconciliation among the peoples of the Middle East cemented by bonds of mutual respect and dignity, tolerance, cooperation, security and peaceful relations.

"Toward this end, the five parties represented in Washington have joined together to act to further cooperation in support of peace. Because peace requires concerted action, the parties agreed to explore practical steps in the political, economic, security and human dimension areas of education and culture. They also agreed to meet as necessary to consult and to coordinate action in these areas. Experts will follow up in each of these areas as appropriate.

"In the political area, the parties reaffirmed their strong commitment to honouring those agreements already concluded in letter and spirit and to accelerate negotiations on all tracks. The Secretary of State reported on the conclusions reached between the Israeli and Palestinian delegations today. Those conclusions are attached



and constitute an integral part of this communiqué. The participants in today's meeting welcomed the results achieved by Israel and the Palestinian Authority and pledged to do all they could to support the conclusion of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. The parties also expressed appreciation for the continuation of the implementation of the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty in all its aspects. They further expressed the hope that a peace agreement between Israel and both Syria and Lebanon could be reached soon, leading to comprehensive peace.

"With respect to security, the parties agreed that there can be no real peace in the region without security and stability. The parties declared that they are committed to combat all acts that aim to destroy the peace process, particularly acts of terrorism and violence, and to stand staunchly against and put an end to all such acts. The parties reaffirmed the intention expressed at the Cairo Summit that within the framework of peace and reconciliation in the region, with enhanced security, economic prosperity and a higher standard of living for their people, they intend to achieve equal security and mutual confidence at lower levels of armaments, appreciating President Mubarak's disarmament proposal on weapons of mass destruction. The parties shall pursue a mutually verifiable Middle East zone free of weapons of mass destruction, nuclear, chemical and biological and their delivery systems.

"In the economic area, they reaffirmed the importance of fostering economic development and investment in the region. The parties agreed to support assistance to Palestinians and the development and strengthening of the Palestinian economy through various means, including the creation of industrial zones in the West Bank and Gaza. The parties are committed to explore the removal of barriers to trade. They will also explore ways to promote liberalized trade between the parties and the United States. In this regard, the parties expressed appreciation to the United States for its proposal to extend duty free treatment to products from industrial zones to be created in the West Bank and Gaza and free trade zones that may be established in Taba, Eilat and Aqaba. The United States will consult further with the parties and the US Congress on this matter. At the same time, the parties took note of progress and agreed to continue their efforts towards the establishment of a Middle East Development Bank. Such an institution would serve to fund development projects and the promotion of private sector investment.

"To underscore the public-private partnership as embodied in the Casablanca Declaration, the four parties agreed to the promotion of private sector projects. The parties will work together with the private sector for the success of the Amman Economic Summit in October.

"In the human dimension, the parties also agreed on the need to build bridges between peoples, to overcome barriers to understanding and to share knowledge and expertise to deal with common problems. The parties also agreed to explore the possibilities of new and more creative forms of cooperation in these areas.

"Finally, the parties pledged to work to ensure that there can be no turning back in the Arab-Israeli peace process. They agreed to do all in their power to work toward the achievement of a comprehensive peace and to create a Middle East with peace, security and economic prosperity for all the people of the region. In this regard, they pledged their continued support for the efforts and contributions of the multilateral track of the peace process.

"In light of our commitment to pursue a comprehensive peace, the United States will be consulting with its Russian co-sponsor, the European Union, as well as

with Norway, Japan and other regional participants in the peace process, on ways to promote progress and reach our common goals."25

## **Agreement**

### **Text of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Washington, D.C., 28 September 1995**

The following is the official text of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Main body of the Agreement only. The present text incorporates amendments agreed upon by the parties prior to the signing of the Agreement in Washington, D.C. Excludes annexes, maps and texts of letters exchanged by the PLO and the State of Israel. signed in Washington, D.C., on 28 September 1995:

"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 put an end to decades of confrontation and 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 and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process;

"RECOGNIZING that the peace process and the new era that it has created, as well as the new relationship established between the two Parties as described above, are irreversible and the determination of the two Parties to maintain, sustain and continue the peace process;

"RECOGNIZING that the aim of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, i.e. the elected Council (hereinafter 'the Council' or 'the Palestinian Council') and the elected Ra'ees of the Executive Authority, for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years from the date of signing the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area (hereinafter 'the Gaza-Jericho Agreement') on 4 May 1994, leading to a permanent settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973);

"REAFFIRMING their understanding that the interim self-government arrangements contained in this Agreement are an integral part of the whole peace process, that the negotiations on the permanent status, that will start as soon as possible but not later than 4 May 1996, will lead to the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and that the Interim Agreement shall settle all the

issues of the interim period and that no such issues will be deferred to the agenda of the permanent status negotiations;

"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;

"DESIROUS of putting into effect the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements signed at Washington on 13 September 1993 and the Agreed Minutes thereto (hereinafter 'the DOP') and in particular Article III and Annex I concerning the holding of direct, free and general political elections for the Council and the Ra'ees of the Executive Authority in order that the Palestinian people in the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip may democratically elect accountable representatives;

"RECOGNIZING that these elections will constitute a significant interim preparatory step toward the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements and will provide a democratic basis for the establishment of Palestinian institutions;

"REAFFIRMING their mutual commitment to act, in accordance with this Agreement, immediately, efficiently and effectively against acts or threats of terrorism, violence or incitement, whether committed by Palestinians or Israelis;

"FOLLOWING the Gaza-Jericho Agreement; the Agreement on Preparatory Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities signed at Erez on 29 August 1994 (hereinafter 'the Preparatory Transfer Agreement'); and the Protocol on Further Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities signed at Cairo on 27 August 1995 (hereinafter 'the Further Transfer Protocol'), which three agreements will be superseded by this Agreement;

"HEREBY AGREE as follows:

## "CHAPTER 1 - THE COUNCIL

### "ARTICLE I

#### "Transfer of Authority

"1. Israel shall transfer powers and responsibilities as specified in this Agreement from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Council in accordance with this Agreement. Israel shall continue to exercise powers and responsibilities not so transferred.

"2. Pending the inauguration of the Council, the powers and responsibilities transferred to the Council shall be exercised by the Palestinian Authority established in accordance with the Gaza-Jericho Agreement, which shall also have all the rights, liabilities and obligations to be assumed by the Council in this regard. Accordingly, the term 'Council' throughout this Agreement shall, pending the inauguration of the Council, be construed as meaning the Palestinian Authority.

"3. The transfer of powers and responsibilities to the police force established by the Palestinian Council in accordance with Article XIV below (hereinafter 'the Palestinian Police') shall be accomplished in a phased manner, as detailed in this Agreement and in the Protocol concerning Redeployment and Security Arrangements attached as Annex I to this Agreement (hereinafter 'Annex I').

"4. 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 III to this Agreement (hereinafter 'Annex III').

"5. After the inauguration of the Council, the Civil Administration in the West Bank will be dissolved and the Israeli military government shall be withdrawn. The withdrawal of the military government shall not prevent it from exercising the powers and responsibilities not transferred to the Council.

"6. A Joint Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee (hereinafter 'the CAC'), Joint Regional Civil Affairs Subcommittees, one for the Gaza Strip and the other for the West Bank, and District Civil Liaison Offices in the West Bank shall be established in order to provide for coordination and cooperation in civil affairs between the Council and Israel, as detailed in Annex III.

"7. The offices of the Council and the offices of its Ra'ees and its Executive Authority and other committees shall be located in areas under Palestinian territorial jurisdiction in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

## "ARTICLE II

### "Elections

"1. In order that the Palestinian people of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip may govern themselves according to democratic principles, direct, free and general political elections will be held for the Council and the Ra'ees of the Executive Authority of the Council in accordance with the provisions set out in the Protocol concerning Elections attached as Annex II to this Agreement (hereinafter 'Annex II').

"2. These elections will constitute a significant interim preparatory step towards the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements and will provide a democratic basis for the establishment of Palestinian institutions.

"3. Palestinians of Jerusalem who live there may participate in the election process in accordance with the provisions contained in this Article and in Article VI of Annex II (Election Arrangements concerning Jerusalem).

"4. The elections shall be called by the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority immediately following the signing of this Agreement, to take place at the earliest practicable date following the redeployment of Israeli forces in accordance with Annex I and consistent with the requirements of the election timetable as provided in Annex II, the Election Law and the Election Regulations, as defined in Article I of Annex II.

### "ARTICLE III

#### "Structure of the Palestinian Council

"1. The Palestinian Council and the Ra'ees of the Executive Authority of the Council constitute the Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, which will be elected by the Palestinian people of the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip for the transitional period agreed in Article I of the DOP.

"2. The Council shall possess both legislative power and executive power, in accordance with Articles VII and IX of the DOP. The Council shall carry out and be responsible for all the legislative and executive powers and responsibilities transferred to it under this Agreement. The exercise of legislative powers shall be in accordance with Article XVIII of this Agreement (Legislative Powers of the Council).

"3. The Council and the Ra'ees of the Executive Authority of the Council shall be directly and simultaneously elected by the Palestinian people of the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement and the Election Law and Regulations, which shall not be contrary to the provisions of this Agreement.

"4. The Council and the Ra'ees of the Executive Authority of the Council shall be elected for a transitional period not exceeding five years from the signing of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement on 4 May 1994.

"5. Immediately upon its inauguration, the Council will elect from among its members a Speaker. The Speaker will preside over the meetings of the Council, administer the Council and its committees, decide on the agenda of each meeting and lay before the Council proposals for voting and declare their results.

"6. The jurisdiction of the Council shall be as determined in Article XVII of this Agreement (Jurisdiction).

"7. The organization, structure and functioning of the Council shall be in accordance with this Agreement and the Basic Law for the Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, which Law shall be adopted by the Council. The Basic Law and any regulations made under it shall not be contrary to the provisions of this Agreement.

"8. The Council shall be responsible under its executive powers for the offices, services and departments transferred to it and may establish, within its jurisdiction, ministries and subordinate bodies, as necessary for the fulfilment of its responsibilities.

"9. The Speaker will present for the Council's approval proposed internal procedures that will regulate, among other things, the decision-making processes of the Council.

### "ARTICLE IV

#### "Size of the Council

"The Palestinian Council shall be composed of 82 representatives and the Ra'ees of the Executive Authority, who will be directly and simultaneously elected by the Palestinian people of the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip.

## "ARTICLE V

### "The Executive Authority of the Council

"1. The Council will have a committee that will exercise the executive authority of the Council, formed in accordance with paragraph 4 below (hereinafter 'the Executive Authority').

"2. The Executive Authority shall be bestowed with the executive authority of the Council and will exercise it on behalf of the Council. It shall determine its own internal procedures and decision-making processes.

"3. The Council will publish the names of the members of the Executive Authority immediately upon their initial appointment and subsequent to any changes.

"4. a. The Ra'ees of the Executive Authority shall be an ex officio member of the Executive Authority.

"b. All of the other members of the Executive Authority, except as provided in subparagraph c. below, shall be members of the Council, chosen and proposed to the Council by the Ra'ees of the Executive Authority and approved by the Council.

"c. The Ra'ees of the Executive Authority shall have the right to appoint some persons, in number not exceeding twenty per cent of the total membership of the Executive Authority, who are not members of the Council, to exercise executive authority and participate in government tasks. Such appointed members may not vote in meetings of the Council.

"d. Non-elected members of the Executive Authority must have a valid address in an area under the jurisdiction of the Council.

## "ARTICLE VI

### "Other Committees of the Council

"1. The Council may form small committees to simplify the proceedings of the Council and to assist in controlling the activity of its Executive Authority.

"2. Each committee shall establish its own decision-making processes within the general framework of the organization and structure of the Council.

## "ARTICLE VII

### "Open Government

"1. All meetings of the Council and of its committees, other than the Executive Authority, shall be open to the public, except upon a resolution of the Council or the relevant committee on the grounds of security, or commercial or personal confidentiality.

"2. Participation in the deliberations of the Council, its committees and the Executive Authority shall be limited to their respective members only. Experts may be invited to such meetings to address specific issues on an ad hoc basis.

## "ARTICLE VIII

### "Judicial Review

"Any person or organization affected by any act or decision of the Ra'ees of the Executive Authority of the Council or of any member of the Executive Authority, who believes that such act or decision exceeds the authority of the Ra'ees or of such member, or is otherwise incorrect in law or procedure, may apply to the relevant Palestinian Court of Justice for a review of such activity or decision.

## "ARTICLE IX

### "Powers and Responsibilities of the Council

"1. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement, the Council will, within its jurisdiction, have legislative powers as set out in Article XVIII of this Agreement, as well as executive powers.

"2. The executive power of the Palestinian Council shall extend to all matters within its jurisdiction under this Agreement or any future agreement that may be reached between the two Parties during the interim period. It shall include the power to formulate and conduct Palestinian policies and to supervise their implementation, to issue any rule or regulation under powers given in approved legislation and administrative decisions necessary for the realization of Palestinian self-government, the power to employ staff, sue and be sued and conclude contracts and the power to keep and administer registers and records of the population and issue certificates, licenses and documents.

"3. The Palestinian Council's executive decisions and acts shall be consistent with the provisions of this Agreement.

"4. The Palestinian Council may adopt all necessary measures in order to enforce the law and any of its decisions and bring proceedings before the Palestinian courts and tribunals.

"5. a. In accordance with the DOP, the Council 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 West Bank or the Gaza Strip, 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 Council in the following cases only:

"(1) economic agreements, as specifically provided in Annex V of this Agreement;

"(2) agreements with donor countries for the purpose of implementing arrangements for the provision of assistance to the Council;

"(3) agreements for the purpose of implementing the regional development plans detailed in Annex IV of the DOP or in agreements entered into in the framework of the multilateral negotiations; and

"(4) cultural, scientific and educational agreements.

"c. Dealings between the Council and representatives of foreign States and international organizations, as well as the establishment in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip of representative offices other than those described in subparagraph 5.a above, for the purpose of implementing the agreements referred to in subparagraph 5.b above, shall not be considered foreign relations.

"6. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement, the Council shall, within its jurisdiction, have an independent judicial system composed of independent Palestinian courts and tribunals.

## "CHAPTER 2 - REDEPLOYMENT AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

### "ARTICLE X

#### "Redeployment of Israeli Military Forces

"1. The first phase of the Israeli military forces redeployment will cover populated areas in the West Bank - cities, towns, villages, refugee camps and hamlets - as set out in Annex I, and will be completed prior to the eve of the Palestinian elections, i.e., 22 days before the day of the elections.

"2. Further redeployments of Israeli military forces to specified military locations will commence after the inauguration of the Council and will be gradually implemented commensurate with the assumption of responsibility for public order and internal security by the Palestinian Police, to be completed within 18 months from the date of the inauguration of the Council as detailed in Articles XI (Land) and XIII (Security), below and in Annex I.

"3. The Palestinian Police shall be deployed and shall assume responsibility for public order and internal security for Palestinians in a phased manner in accordance with Article XIII (Security) below and Annex I.



"4. Israel shall continue to carry the responsibility for external security, as well as the responsibility for overall security of Israelis for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order.

"5. For the purpose of this Agreement, 'Israeli military forces' includes Israel Police and other Israeli security forces.

## "ARTICLE XI

### "Land

"1. The two sides view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, the integrity and status of which will be preserved during the interim period.

"2. The two sides agree that West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations, will come under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Council in a phased manner, to be completed within 18 months from the date of the inauguration of the Council, as specified below:

- "a. Land in populated areas (Areas A and B), including government and Al Waqf land, will come under the jurisdiction of the Council during the first phase of redeployment.
- "b. All civil powers and responsibilities, including planning and zoning, in Areas A and B, set out in Annex III, will be transferred to and assumed by the Council during the first phase of redeployment.
- "c. In Area C, during the first phase of redeployment Israel will transfer to the Council civil powers and responsibilities not relating to territory, as set out in Annex III.
- "d. The further redeployments of Israeli military forces to specified military locations will be gradually implemented in accordance with the DOP in three phases, each to take place after an interval of six months, after the inauguration of the Council, to be completed within 18 months from the date of the inauguration of the Council.
- "e. During the further redeployment phases to be completed within 18 months from the date of the inauguration of the Council, powers and responsibilities relating to territory will be transferred gradually to Palestinian jurisdiction that will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for the issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations.
- "f. The specified military locations referred to in Article X, paragraph 2 above will be determined in the further redeployment phases, within the specified time-frame ending not later than 18 months from the date of the inauguration of the Council and will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations.

"3. For the purpose of this Agreement and until the completion of the first phase of the further redeployments:

- "a. 'Area A' means the populated areas delineated by a red line and shaded in brown on attached map No. 1;
- "b. 'Area B' means the populated areas delineated by a red line and shaded in yellow on attached map No. 1 and the built-up area of the hamlets listed in Appendix 6 to Annex I; and
- "c. 'Area C' means areas of the West Bank outside Areas A and B, which, except for the issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations, will be gradually transferred to Palestinian jurisdiction in accordance with this Agreement.

## "ARTICLE XII

### "Arrangements for Security and Public Order

- "1. In order to guarantee public order and internal security for the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Council shall establish a strong police force, as set out in Article XIV below. Israel shall continue to carry the responsibility for defence against external threats, including the responsibility for protecting the Egyptian and Jordanian borders 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 Joint Regional Security Committees (hereinafter 'RSCs') and Joint District Coordination Offices (hereinafter '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.
- "5. For the purpose of this Agreement, 'the Settlements' means, in the West Bank - the settlements in Area C; and in the Gaza Strip - the Gush Katif and Erez settlement areas, as well as the other settlements in the Gaza Strip, as shown on attached map No. 2.

## "ARTICLE XIII

### "Security

- "1. The Council will, upon completion of the redeployment of Israeli military forces in each district, as set out in Appendix 1 to Annex I, assume the powers and responsibilities for internal security and public order in Area A in that district.
- "2. a. There will be a complete redeployment of Israeli military forces from Area B. Israel will transfer to the Council and the Council will assume responsibility for public order for Palestinians. Israel shall have the overriding responsibility for security for the purpose of protecting Israelis and confronting the threat of terrorism.

"b. In Area B the Palestinian Police shall assume the responsibility for public order for Palestinians and shall be deployed in order to accommodate the Palestinian needs and requirements in the following manner:

"(1) The Palestinian Police shall establish 25 police stations and posts in towns, villages and other places listed in Appendix 2 to Annex I and as delineated on map No. 3. The West Bank RSC may agree on the establishment of additional police stations and posts, if required.

"(2) The Palestinian Police shall be responsible for handling public order incidents in which only Palestinians are involved.

"(3) The Palestinian Police shall operate freely in populated places where police stations and posts are located, as set out in paragraph b(1) above.

"(4) While the movement of uniformed Palestinian policemen in Area B outside places where there is a Palestinian police station or post will be carried out after coordination and confirmation through the relevant DCO, three months after the completion of redeployment from Area B, the DCOs may decide that movement of Palestinian policemen from the police stations in Area B to Palestinian towns and villages in Area B on roads that are used only by Palestinian traffic will take place after notifying the DCO.

"(5) The coordination of such planned movement prior to confirmation through the relevant DCO shall include a scheduled plan, including the number of policemen, as well as the type and number of weapons and vehicles intended to take part. It shall also include details of arrangements for ensuring continued coordination through appropriate communication links, the exact schedule of movement to the area of the planned operation, including the destination and routes thereto, its proposed duration and the schedule for returning to the police station or post.

"The Israeli side of the DCO will provide the Palestinian side with its response, following a request for movement of policemen in accordance with this paragraph, in normal or routine cases within one day and in emergency cases no later than 2 hours.

"(6) The Palestinian Police and the Israeli military forces will conduct joint security activities on the main roads as set out in Annex 1.

"(7) The Palestinian Police will notify the West Bank RSC of the names of the policemen, number plates of police vehicles and serial numbers of weapons, with respect to each police station and post in Area B.

- "(8) Further redeployment is from Area C and transfer of internal security responsibility to the Palestinian Police in Areas B and C will be carried out in three phases, each to take place after an interval of six months, to be completed 18 months after the inauguration of the Council, except for the issues of permanent status negotiations and of Israel's overall responsibility for Israelis and borders.
- "(9) The procedures detailed in this paragraph will be reviewed within six months of the completion of the first phase of redeployment.

#### "ARTICLE XIV

##### "The Palestinian Police

- "1. The Council shall establish a strong police force. The duties, functions, structure, deployment and composition of the Palestinian Police, together with provisions regarding its equipment and operation, as well as rules of conduct, are set out in Annex I.
- "2. The Palestinian police force established under the Gaza-Jericho Agreement will be fully integrated into the Palestinian Police and will be subject to the provisions of this Agreement.
- "3. Except for the Palestinian Police and the Israeli military forces, no other armed forces shall be established or operate in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- "4. Except for the arms, ammunition and equipment of the Palestinian Police described in Annex I and those of the Israeli military forces, no organization, group or individual in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip shall manufacture, sell, acquire, possess, import or otherwise introduce into the West Bank or the Gaza Strip any firearms, ammunition, weapons, explosives, gunpowder or any related equipment, unless otherwise provided for in Annex I.

#### "ARTICLE XV

##### "Prevention of Hostile Acts

- "1. 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.
- "2. Specific provisions for the implementation of this Article are set out in Annex I.

#### "ARTICLE XVI

##### "Confidence-Building Measures

"With a view to fostering a positive and supportive public atmosphere to accompany the implementation of this Agreement, to establish a solid basis of mutual

trust and good faith and in order to facilitate the anticipated cooperation and new relations between the two peoples, both Parties agree to carry out confidence-building measures as detailed herewith:

- "1. Israel will release or turn over to the Palestinian side, Palestinian detainees and prisoners, residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The first stage of release of these prisoners and detainees will take place on the signing of this Agreement and the second stage will take place prior to the date of the elections. There will be a third stage of release of detainees and prisoners. Detainees and prisoners will be released from among categories detailed in Annex VII (Release of Palestinian Prisoners and Detainees). Those released will be free to return to their homes in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- "2. Palestinians who have maintained contact with the Israeli authorities will not be subjected to acts of harassment, violence, retribution or prosecution. Appropriate ongoing measures will be taken, in coordination with Israel, in order to ensure their protection.
- "3. Palestinians from abroad whose entry into the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is approved pursuant to this Agreement and to whom the provisions of this Article are applicable, will not be prosecuted for offenses committed prior to 13 September 1993.

### "CHAPTER 3 - LEGAL AFFAIRS

#### "ARTICLE XVII

##### "Jurisdiction

- "1. In accordance with the DOP, the jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory as a single territorial unit, except for:
  - "a. issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations: Jerusalem, settlements, specified military locations, Palestinian refugees, borders, foreign relations and Israelis; and
  - "b. powers and responsibilities not transferred to the Council.
- "2. Accordingly, the authority of the Council encompasses all matters that fall within its territorial, functional and personal jurisdiction, as follows:
  - "a. The territorial jurisdiction of the Council shall encompass Gaza Strip territory, except for the Settlements and the Military Installation Area shown on map No. 2 and West Bank territory, except for Area C which, except for the issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations, will be gradually transferred to Palestinian jurisdiction in three phases, each to take place after an interval of six months, to be completed 18 months after the inauguration of the Council. At this time, the jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for the issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations.

"Territorial jurisdiction includes land, subsoil and territorial waters, in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.

- "b. The functional jurisdiction of the Council extends to all powers and responsibilities transferred to the Council, as specified in this Agreement or in any future agreements that may be reached between the Parties during the interim period.
- "c. The territorial and functional jurisdiction of the Council will apply to all persons, except for Israelis, unless otherwise provided in this Agreement.
- "d. Notwithstanding subparagraph a. above, the Council shall have functional jurisdiction in Area C, as detailed in Article IV of Annex III.

"3. The Council has, within its authority, legislative, executive and judicial powers and responsibilities, as provided for in this Agreement.

- "4. a. Israel, through its military government, has the authority over areas that are not under the territorial jurisdiction of the Council, powers and responsibilities not transferred to the Council and Israelis.
- "b. To this end, the Israeli military government shall retain 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.

"5. The exercise of authority with regard to the electromagnetic sphere and airspace shall be in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.

"6. Without derogating from the provisions of this Article, legal arrangements detailed in the Protocol Concerning Legal Matters attached as Annex IV to this Agreement (hereinafter 'Annex IV') shall be observed. Israel and the Council may negotiate further legal arrangements.

"7. Israel and the Council shall cooperate on matters of legal assistance in criminal and civil matters through a legal committee (hereinafter 'the Legal Committee'), hereby established.

"8. The Council's jurisdiction will extend gradually to cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for the issues to be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations, through a series of redeployments of the Israeli military forces. The first phase of the redeployment of Israeli military forces will cover populated areas in the West Bank - cities, towns, refugee camps and hamlets, as set out in Annex I - and will be completed prior to the eve of the Palestinian elections, i.e. 22 days before the day of the elections. Further redeployments of Israeli military forces to specified military locations will commence immediately upon the inauguration of the Council and will be effected in three phases, each to take place after an interval of six months, to be concluded no later than eighteen months from the date of the inauguration of the Council.

## "ARTICLE XVIII

### "Legislative Powers of the Council

"1. For the purposes of this Article, legislation shall mean any primary and secondary legislation, including basic laws, laws, regulations and other legislative acts.

"2. The Council has the power, within its jurisdiction as defined in Article XVII of this Agreement, to adopt legislation.

"3. While the primary legislative power shall lie in the hands of the Council as a whole, the Ra'ees of the Executive Authority of the Council shall have the following legislative powers:

- "a. the power to initiate legislation or to present proposed legislation to the Council;
- "b. the power to promulgate legislation adopted by the Council; and
- "c. the power to issue secondary legislation, including regulations, relating to any matters specified and within the scope laid down in any primary legislation adopted by the Council.

"4. a. Legislation, including legislation which amends or abrogates existing laws or military orders, which exceeds the jurisdiction of the Council or which is otherwise inconsistent with the provisions of the DOP, this Agreement, or of any other agreement that may be reached between the two sides during the interim period, shall have no effect and shall be void *ab initio* .

- "b. The Ra'ees of the Executive Authority of the Council shall not promulgate legislation adopted by the Council if such legislation falls under the provisions of this paragraph.

"5. All legislation shall be communicated to the Israeli side of the Legal Committee.

"6. Without derogating from the provisions of paragraph 4 above, the Israeli side of the Legal Committee may refer for the attention of the Committee any legislation regarding which Israel considers the provisions of paragraph 4 apply, in order to discuss issues arising from such legislation. The Legal Committee will consider the legislation referred to it at the earliest opportunity.

## "ARTICLE XIX

### "Human Rights and the Rule of Law

"Israel and the Council 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 XX

### "Rights, Liabilities and Obligations

- "1.
  - a. The transfer of powers and responsibilities from the Israeli military government and its civil administration to the Council, as detailed in Annex III, includes all related rights, liabilities and obligations arising with regard to acts or omissions which occurred prior to such transfer. Israel will cease to bear any financial responsibility regarding such acts or omissions and the Council 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 Council.
  - "c. Israel shall provide the Council 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 Council 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 Council shall immediately 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 Council shall not bear financial responsibility.
- "2.
  - a. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 1.d through 1.f above, each side may take the necessary measures, including promulgation of legislation, in order to ensure that such claims by Palestinians, including pending claims in which the hearing of evidence has not yet begun, are brought only before Palestinian courts or tribunals in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and are not brought before or heard by Israeli courts or tribunals.
  - "b. Where a new claim has been brought before a Palestinian court or tribunal subsequent to the dismissal of the claim pursuant to subparagraph a. above, the Council shall defend it and, in accordance with subparagraph 1.a above, in the event that an award is made for the plaintiff, shall pay the amount of the award.
  - "c. The Legal Committee shall agree on arrangements for the transfer of all materials and information needed to enable the Palestinian courts or tribunals to hear such claims as referred to in subparagraph b. above and, when necessary, for the provision of legal assistance by Israel to the Council in defending such claims.



"3. 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.

"4. The Council, upon its inauguration, will assume all the rights, liabilities and obligations of the Palestinian Authority.

"5. For the purpose of this Agreement, 'Israelis' also includes Israeli statutory agencies and corporations registered in Israel.

## "ARTICLE XXI

### "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 DOP 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 related agreements pertaining to the interim period shall be settled 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.

## "CHAPTER 4 - COOPERATION

### "ARTICLE XXII

#### "Relations between Israel and the Council

"1. Israel and the Council 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. Israel and the Council will ensure that their respective educational 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.

"3. Without derogating from the other provisions of this Agreement, Israel and the Council shall cooperate in combating criminal activity which may affect both

sides, including offenses related to trafficking in illegal drugs and psychotropic substances, smuggling and offenses against property, including offenses related to vehicles.

#### "ARTICLE XXIII

##### "Cooperation with Regard to Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities

"In order to ensure a smooth, peaceful and orderly transfer of powers and responsibilities, the two sides will cooperate with regard to the transfer of security powers and responsibilities in accordance with the provisions of Annex I and the transfer of civil powers and responsibilities in accordance with the provisions of Annex III.

#### "ARTICLE XXIV

##### "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 and the Supplement to the Protocol on Economic Relations, all attached as Annex V and will be governed by the relevant provisions of this Agreement and its Annexes.

#### "ARTICLE XXV

##### "Cooperation Programmes

"1. The Parties agree to establish a mechanism to develop programmes of cooperation between them. Details of such cooperation are set out in Annex VI.

"2. A Standing Cooperation Committee to deal with issues arising in the context of this cooperation is hereby established, as provided for in Annex VI.

#### "ARTICLE XXVI

##### "The Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee

"1. The Liaison Committee established pursuant to Article X of the DOP 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 procedures, including the frequency and place or places of its meetings.

"4. The Liaison Committee shall reach its decisions by agreement.

"5. The Liaison Committee shall establish a subcommittee that will monitor and steer the implementation of this Agreement (hereinafter 'the Monitoring and Steering Committee'). It will function as follows:

- "a. The Monitoring and Steering Committee will, on an ongoing basis, monitor the implementation of this Agreement, with a view to enhancing the cooperation and fostering the peaceful relations between the two sides.
- "b. The Monitoring and Steering Committee will steer the activities of the various joint committees established in this Agreement (the JSC, the CAC, the Legal Committee, the Joint Economic Committee and the Standing Cooperation Committee) concerning the ongoing implementation of the Agreement and will report to the Liaison Committee.
- "c. The Monitoring and Steering Committee will be composed of the heads of the various committees mentioned above.
- "d. The two heads of the Monitoring and Steering Committee will establish its rules of procedures, including the frequency and places of its meetings.

#### "ARTICLE XXVII

##### "Liaison and Cooperation with Jordan and Egypt

"1. Pursuant to Article XII of the DOP, the two Parties have invited 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. As part of these arrangements, a Continuing Committee has been constituted and has commenced its deliberations.

"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 also deal with other matters of common concern.

#### "ARTICLE XXVIII

##### "Missing Persons

"1. Israel and the Council shall cooperate by providing each other with all necessary assistance in the conduct of searches for missing persons and bodies of persons which have not been recovered, as well as by providing information about missing persons.

"2. The PLO undertakes to cooperate with Israel and to assist it in its efforts to locate and to return to Israel Israeli soldiers who are missing in action and the bodies of soldiers which have not been recovered.

#### "CHAPTER 5 - MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

## "ARTICLE XXIX

### "Safe Passage between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip

"Arrangements for safe passage of persons and transportation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are set out in Annex I.

## "ARTICLE XXX

### "Passages

"Arrangements for coordination between Israel and the Council regarding passage to and from Egypt and Jordan, as well as any other agreed international crossings, are set out in Annex I.

## "ARTICLE XXXI

### "Final Clauses

- "1. This Agreement shall enter into force on the date of its signing.
- "2. The Gaza-Jericho Agreement, the Preparatory Transfer Agreement and the Further Transfer Protocol will be superseded by this Agreement.
- "3. The Council, upon its inauguration, shall replace the Palestinian Authority and shall assume all the undertakings and obligations of the Palestinian Authority under the Gaza-Jericho Agreement, the Preparatory Transfer Agreement and the Further Transfer Protocol.
- "4. The two sides shall pass all necessary legislation to implement this Agreement.
- "5. Permanent status negotiations will commence as soon as possible, but not later than 4 May 1996, between the Parties. It is understood that these negotiations shall cover remaining issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbours and other issues of common interest.
- "6. Nothing in this Agreement shall prejudice or preempt the outcome of the negotiations on the permanent status to be conducted pursuant to the DOP. 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.
- "7. Neither side shall initiate or take any step that will change the status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip pending the outcome of the permanent status negotiations.
- "8. The two Parties view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, the integrity and status of which will be preserved during the interim period.
- "9. The PLO undertakes that, within two months of the date of the inauguration of the Council, the Palestinian National Council will convene and formally approve the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant, as undertaken in the

letters signed by the Chairman of the PLO and addressed to the Prime Minister of Israel, dated 9 September 1993 and 4 May 1994.

"10. Pursuant to Annex I, Article VII of this Agreement, Israel confirms that the permanent checkpoints on the roads leading to and from the Jericho Area (except those related to the access road leading from Mousa Alami to the Allenby Bridge) will be removed upon the completion of the first phase of redeployment.

"11. Prisoners who, pursuant to the Gaza-Jericho Agreement, were turned over to the Palestinian Authority on the condition that they remain in the Jericho Area for the remainder of their sentence, will be free to return to their homes in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip upon the completion of the first phase of redeployment.

"12. As regards relations between Israel and the PLO and without derogating from the commitments contained in the letters signed by and exchanged between the Prime Minister of Israel and the Chairman of the PLO, dated 9 September 1993 and 4 May 1994, the two sides will apply between them the provisions contained in Article XXII, paragraph 1, with the necessary changes.

"13. a. The Preamble to this Agreement and all Annexes, Appendices and maps attached hereto, shall constitute an integral part hereof.

"b. The Parties agree that the maps attached to the Gaza-Jericho Agreement as:

"a. map No. 1 (the Gaza Strip), an exact copy of which is attached to this Agreement as map No. 2 (in this Agreement 'map No. 2');

"b. map No. 3 (Deployment of Palestinian Police in the Gaza Strip), an exact copy of which is attached to this Agreement as map No. 5 (in this Agreement 'map No. 5'); and

"c. map No. 6 (Maritime Activity Zones), an exact copy of which is attached to this Agreement as map No. 8 (in this Agreement 'map No.8');

"are an integral part hereof and will remain in effect for the duration of this Agreement.

"14. While the Jeftlik area will come under the functional and personal jurisdiction of the Council in the first phase of redeployment, the area's transfer to the territorial jurisdiction of the Council will be considered by the Israeli side in the first phase of the further redeployment phases.

September 1995. "Done at Washington this 28th day of

"(Signed) Yitzhak RABIN  
For the Government of  
the State of Israel

"(Signed) Yasser ARAFAT  
For the PLO

"Witnessed by:

"The United States of America

"The Russian Federation

"The Arab Republic of Egypt  
Union"26

"The European

**Speech by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at the Knesset  
on ratifying the Interim Agreement,  
Jerusalem, 5 October 1995**

On 5 October 1995, at Jerusalem, speaking before the Knesset on ratifying of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, made the following statement:

"Mr. Chairman, Members of the Knesset, first of all, the Government of Israel would like to wish all the citizens of the State of Israel and the members of the Jewish people in the Diaspora a happy New Year and an inscription for good in the coming year. We wish the entire House of Israel a year of peace and security.

"Members of the Knesset, today, the Government presents to the Knesset the 'Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.' The Government will seek the Knesset's approval and will view the Knesset's decision as a vote of confidence in the Government.

"The Jewish people, which has known suffering and pain, has also known how to preserve its faith, its heritage and its tradition during thousands of years of exile and has realized the dream of generations. We have, with our own eyes, been privileged to see the return to Zion, the return of the children to their borders.

"Here, in the land of Israel, we returned and built a nation. Here, in the land of Israel, we established a state. The land of the prophets, which bequeathed to the world the values of morality, law and justice, was, after two thousand years, restored to its lawful owners - the members of the Jewish people. On its land, we have built an exceptional national home and state.

"However, we did not return to an empty land. There were Palestinians here who struggled against us for a hundred wild and bloody years. Many thousands, on both sides, were killed in the battle over the same land, over the same strip of territory and were joined by the armies of the Arab States. Today, after innumerable wars and bloody incidents, we rule more than two million Palestinians through the IDF and run their lives by a Civil Administration. This is not a peaceful solution.

"We can continue to fight. We can continue to kill - and continue to be killed. But we can also try to put a stop to this never-ending cycle of blood. We can also give peace a chance.

"The Government chose to give peace a chance. The Government chose to do something to achieve it.

"Members of the Knesset, the agreement before you is the continuation of the

implementation of the agreements which were signed between the Government of Israel and the Palestinians. The first agreement which was brought to you was the Declaration of Principles, which was signed in Washington on 13 September 1993.

"The second agreement which was presented to you is called the Cairo Agreement, which was signed in Cairo on 4 May 1994. Both of these agreements were ratified by the Knesset.

"Mr. Chairman, both of the previous agreements and the third which was submitted today, separately and together, give expression to the policy of the current Government and to its path of promoting peace in the Middle East. As is known, when we formed the Government, over three years ago, we said that we would aspire to reach a permanent solution to the Palestinian Arab-Israeli conflict. And today, this Government brings, in addition to the signing of the peace treaty with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan - which would not have been achieved without the agreement with the Palestinians - a significant breakthrough in resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and an attempt to put an end to decades of terrorism and blood.

"Members of the Knesset, we are striving for a permanent solution to the unending bloody conflict between us and the Palestinians and the Arab States.

"In the framework of the permanent solution, we aspire to reach, first and foremost, the State of Israel as a Jewish State, at least 80 per cent of whose citizens will be and are, Jews.

"At the same time, we also promise that the non-Jewish citizens of Israel - Muslim, Christian, Druze and others - will enjoy full personal, religious and civil rights, like those of any Israeli citizen. Judaism and racism are diametrically opposed.

"We view the permanent solution in the framework of State of Israel which will include most of the area of the Land of Israel as it was under the rule of the British Mandate and alongside it a Palestinian entity which will be a home to most of the Palestinian residents living in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

"We would like this to be an entity which is less than a state and which will independently run the lives of the Palestinians under its authority. The borders of the State of Israel, during the permanent solution, will be beyond the lines which existed before the Six Day War. We will not return to the 4 June 1967 lines.

"And these are the main changes, not all of them, which we envision and want in the permanent solution:

- "A. First and foremost, united Jerusalem, which will include both Maale Adumim and Givat Zeev - as the capital of Israel, under Israeli sovereignty, while preserving the rights of the members of the other faiths, Christianity and Islam, to freedom of access and freedom of worship in their holy places, according to the customs of their faiths.
- "B. The security border of the State of Israel will be located in the Jordan Valley, in the broadest meaning of that term.
- "C. Changes which will include the addition of Gush Etzion, Efrat, Beitar and other communities, most of which are in the area east of what was the 'Green Line,' prior to the Six Day War.

"D. The establishment of blocs of settlements in Judea and Samaria, like the one in Gush Katif.

"Members of the Knesset, this Government, with the Labour Party at its centre, this party made its positions known through its party platform, which it made known to the public. Even before the elections to the current Knesset, we made clear and we emphasized to the electorate, at every opportunity, that we preferred a Jewish State, even if not on every part of the Land of Israel, to a binational State, which would emerge with the annexation of 2.2 million Palestinian residents of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

"We had to choose between the whole of the land of Israel, which meant a binational State and whose population, as of today, would comprise four and a half million Jews and more than three million Palestinians, who are a separate entity - religiously, politically and nationally - and a state with less territory, but which would be a Jewish State. We chose to be a Jewish State.

"We chose a Jewish State because we are convinced that a binational State with millions of Palestinian Arabs will not be able to fulfil the Jewish role of the State of Israel, which is the state of the Jews.

"Members of the Knesset, we re-emphasize that the Palestinians were not in the past and are not today a threat to the existence of the State of Israel.

"Despite this, the primary obstacle today to implementing the peace process between us and the Palestinians is the murderous terrorism of the radical Islamic terrorist organizations, Hamas and Islamic Jihad, which are joined by the rejectionist organizations.

"Terrorism wounds civilians and those serving in the IDF, the Police, the Border Police and the other security forces, without distinguishing between them. It is clear that murderous terrorism has wounded and wounds Israelis' sense of personal security within the area of the state and Israelis who live in the area of Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

"The PLO, those in it subject to the authority of its chairman, Arafat, has stopped the terror against us, as they committed themselves to do in the Declaration of Principles. And yet, other terrorist organizations continue to attack us, because it is their political aim to murder Israelis, because they are Israelis, through acts of terror, in order to cause the cessation of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Because this is their aim, we have no intention of shirking from the efforts toward peace, even if the acts of terrorism continue to harm us. We, on our side, will make every effort against the terrorists.

"We are well aware of the seriousness of terrorist acts, and in all of our considerations on the road to achieving a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, we are taking the necessary and permissible steps, in accordance with Israeli law, in order to fight it. This terrorism will not achieve its political goal.

"We are also repeating our demand that the Palestinian Authority fulfil its obligation, in accordance with the agreements that we have signed with it has signed to be more severe, to step up and to intensify its actions against the murderers and enemies of peace in the area under its control. We know the Palestinian Authority has taken a series of measures that have foiled attacks, but they can do more, much more, against the terrorist organizations, the enemies of peace.



"Members of the Knesset, the Interim Agreement that has been placed on your tables, is based upon much work by teams with many members and is spread over 300 pages, with many sections dealing with security matters and the daily life of Israeli citizens in Judea, Samaria and Gaza and of the Palestinian residents.

"I want to emphasize a number of subjects:

"As a Jewish nation, we must, first and foremost, pay attention to the holy places, to our religion, tradition and culture. We were strict about this in the Interim Agreement.

"Here are several examples:

- "A. In the Cave of the Patriarchs, the current arrangement for security and the Jewish and Muslim prayers will continue as is. We agreed that we would examine the overall arrangements in Hebron after three months. We do not intend to change anything at the Tomb of the Patriarchs.
- "B. At Rachel's Tomb, the principle was determined that worshippers and visitors would not encounter Palestinian police, neither on their approach to the Tomb nor during their prayers. The main road to Rachel's Tomb from the Gilo area up to the tomb itself will be the responsibility of the IDF. Guarding Rachel's Tomb compound will be the responsibility of the IDF (or the Border Police), including three guard-posts outside the compound, which overlook the parking lot. Moreover, security for the area will be provided by joint Israeli-Palestinian patrols' activities, in order to preserve the peace and security of those coming to Rachel's Tomb.
- "C. We have found a solution to the matter of Joseph's Tomb in Nablus. As is known, the students of the yeshiva and their teachers at Joseph's Tomb are there only during the day and do not remain there at night. The current agreement will enable students to travel daily to the Tomb. The inside of the Tomb will be guarded by armed Israelis. The area will be guarded by the Palestinian Police according to the currently existing format and according to the procedures for movement and prayer at the 'Shalom al-Yisrael' synagogue in Jericho. These arrangements have been in place in Jericho for a year and five months. There was one incident. A single Jew was prevented from praying.

"As for the other Jewish holy places, most of them are located in Area B, which is under the overall security control of the IDF.

"And as for the archaeological sites, we found a solution by mutual agreement that no changes whatsoever will be made at any archaeological site without the agreement of both sides.

"Members of the Knesset, the way in which Israel will implement the agreement so as to achieve its political goals regarding the permanent solution and the security of the settlements and Israelis in the territories will ensure the continuation of daily life and security, both for the Israeli side and for the Palestinian side.

"The first stage of the redeployment of IDF forces will be done in order to enable the Palestinians to hold elections for the Palestinian Council and its chairman, without the IDF being permanently present inside Palestinian communities.

"The first stage of this redeployment of IDF forces will be carried out in three areas in order to enable the Palestinians to hold elections for the Palestinian Council and for its Chairman without the IDF being permanently present in Palestinian communities:

"Area A - or the 'brown' area - the redeployment of IDF forces will be carried out in three areas, will include the municipal areas of the six cities - Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarm, Kalkiliya, Ramallah and Bethlehem. Responsibility for civilian security in this area will be transferred to the Palestinian Authority.

"Area B - or the 'yellow' area - includes almost all of the 450 towns and villages in which the Palestinians of the West Bank live. In this area, there will be a separation of responsibilities. The Palestinians will be responsible for managing their own lives and Israel will have overall responsibility for the security of Israelis and the war against the terrorist threat. That is, IDF forces and the security services will be able to enter any place in Area B at any time.

"The third area, Area C - or the 'white' area - is everywhere that is not included in the areas that have been mentioned until now. In this area are the Jewish settlements, all IDF installations and the border areas with Jordan. This area will remain under IDF control.

"Areas A and B constitute less than 30 per cent of the area of the West Bank. Area C, which is under our control, constitutes more than 70 per cent of the area of the West Bank.

"However, I must bring it to the attention of the Members of the Knesset that we have committed ourselves to an additional redeployment, in three stages, beyond the redeployment that I have already mentioned. The redeployment will be carried out according to a timetable, with each stage being carried out after the previous stage. The first will be approximately six months, beginning from the establishment of the Palestinian Council after the elections.

"I must emphasize that we have not committed ourselves and, I repeat, we have not committed ourselves to the scope of the redeployment at each stage. Most importantly, it was defined in the agreement that the restrictions on the completion of the redeployment are issues that will be discussed during the negotiations on the permanent settlement, as is stated in the Agreement itself and I quote:

'During the further redeployment phases to be completed within 18 months from the date of the inauguration of the Council, powers and responsibilities relating to territory will be transferred to Palestinian jurisdiction that will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations.'

"Several words about what the current agreement says about the permanent agreement, and I quote from the agreement itself; the words speak for themselves:

"1. 'Permanent status negotiations will commence as soon as possible, but not later than 4 May 1996 and will end no

later than 4 May 1999, between the Parties. It is understood that these negotiations shall cover remaining issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other negotiations and other issues of common interest.'

"That is, among the criteria to be taken into account in every discussion on continuing the redeployment, with the consent of the Palestinians, according to this agreement, the criteria of the final agreement constitute considerations concerning the redeployment, continuing the redeployment.

- "2. 'Nothing in this Agreement shall prejudice or pre-empt the outcome of the negotiations on the permanent status to be conducted pursuant to the DOP. 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.  
'Neither side shall initiate or take any step that will change the status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip pending the outcome of the permanent solution negotiations.'

"I want to remind you: we committed ourselves, that is, we came to an agreement and committed ourselves before the Knesset, not to uproot a single settlement in the framework of the interim agreement and not to hinder building for natural growth.

"Members of the Knesset, we are aware of the fact that the Palestinian Authority has not -up until now - honoured its commitment to change the Palestinian Covenant and that all of the promises on this matter have not been kept. I would like to bring to the attention of the members of the house that I view these changes as a supreme test of the Palestinian Authority's willingness and ability and the changes required will be an important and serious touchstone *vis-à-vis* the continued implementation of the agreement as a whole.

"The relevant article speaks about this:

'The PLO undertakes that, within two months of the date of the inauguration of the Council, the Palestinian National Council will convene and formally approve the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant, as undertaken in the letters signed by the Chairman of the PLO and addressed to the Prime Minister of Israel, dated 9 September 1993 and 4 May 1994.'

"Members of the Knesset, an examination of the maps and of the paragraphs of the agreement regarding the additional stages of the redeployment shows that Israel retains complete freedom of action, in order to implement its security and political objectives relating to the permanent solution, and that the division of the areas gives the IDF and the security branches complete security control in Areas B and C, except for the urban areas.

"A difficult problem arose in Hebron and with both sides' agreement it was determined that, prior to the completion of the Halhoul bypass road, there would not be a complete redeployment in the city of Hebron and this will take another half year from the signing of the agreement, that is, until 28 March 1996. In our assessment, six

months are required in order to build this bypass road. When the Halhoul bypass road and the Hebron bypass road (in the Beit Hagai-Har Manoah-Kiyrat Arba section) are built, this will enable the movement of Israelis without their passing through those sections of Hebron which do not have a Jewish presence. By the way, these are the same sections of the road which passed through the densely populated Arab population centres and were subject to lethal attacks, such as the one at 'The Glass Junction'.

"Here before you are additional details from the agreement which was achieved through great effort:

- "- The passage of police forces from Area A, which is entirely under the control of the Palestinians, to Area B, in which there are authorities shared by Israel and the Palestinians, requires the permission of the joint coordination apparatus, the DCO. This means that there will be no passage of Palestinian police without Israeli approval.
- "- The passage of Palestinian Police forces in uniform and/or armed, from the 25 Palestinian villages in which police stations will be located, to the rest of Area B, will require coordination and approval from the Joint District Coordination Office.
- "- There will be a deployment of Israeli-Palestinian liaison offices in the area. These liaison offices will employ joint mobile units for needs which will arise on the ground.

"I should further emphasize that activity for providing security measures for the Israeli communities - fences, peripheral roads, lighting, gates - will continue on a wide scale. Bypass roads will be built, whose purpose will be to enable Israeli residents to move about without having to pass through Palestinian population centres in places which will be transferred to the responsibility of the Palestinian Authority. In any case, the IDF will not carry out a redeployment from the first seven cities before the bypass roads are completed. In all, investment in the bypass roads will be about NIS 500 million.

"The responsibility for external security along the borders with Egypt and Jordan, as well as control over the airspace above all of the territories and Gaza Strip maritime zone, remains in our hands.

"Members of the Knesset, the road to reconciliation leads through the prisons. In our prisons, there are currently more than five thousand Palestinian prisoners who, in accordance with the Government's decision, will be released. Detainees and prisoners who are included on condition that they fall into the following categories: female detainees and prisoners who have served more than two-thirds of their sentence, detainees and/or prisoners accused of or imprisoned due to security crimes that did not result in death or serious injury. What follows from this is that murderers of Jews or those who have wounded them seriously will not be released. Those whose release will be considered will be prisoners or detainees charged with or convicted of nonsecurity criminal offenses and citizens of Arab states held in Israel until extradition orders are implemented.

"We will also examine the release of prisoners and detainees over 50 years of age and 18 years of age or less, who have remained in prison 10 or more years and prisoners and detainees who are infirm and unhealthy.

"But, consistent with the categories which I have described before, no detainee or prisoner will be released unless he signs a commitment to obey the law and to not commit acts of terrorism and involvement in them. We have had experience, following the Cairo Agreement, and hundreds remained in jail because they refused to sign.

"Recently, the question of the extradition of fugitive murderers has arisen in all its intensity. We are not dealing lightly with this problem and we are continuing to demand the extradition of such murderers, according to the agreement which was signed.

"Members of the Knesset, ten days after the signing of the agreement in Washington, the redeployment will begin - in the first stage, the withdrawal of Civil Administration representative offices will begin in 14 Palestinian communities. The overall timetable will be completed within two weeks after the signing of the Agreement.

"The agreement includes dozens and hundreds more details, among them, elections, including the manner of voting by the Palestinians in united Jerusalem who did not want Israeli citizenship as proposed to them by Israeli governments, water, electricity, expansion of the Jericho area by 10 per cent without affecting the lives of the residents of the Jordan Valley, safe passage and more. In the time available today, we cannot relate to every detail separately and you will see that all of these matters are addressed in the Agreement before you.

"Mr. Speaker, Members of the Knesset, the agreement, with all its articles lies before you. There are no secret appendices or letters. This is the agreement that dozens, perhaps hundreds, of civil servants and IDF officers led by Foreign Minister Shimon Peres worked on and to all of them I say: Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

"Today we may be opening a new stage in the annals of the Jewish people and the State of Israel. We know the chances. We know the risks. We will do our best to expand the chances and reduce the risks.

"From the depths of our heart, we call upon all citizens of the State of Israel, certainly those who live in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza strip, as well as the Palestinian residents, to give the establishment of peace a chance, to give the end of acts of hostility a chance, to give another life a chance, a new life. We appeal to Jews and Palestinians alike to act with restraint, to preserve human dignity, to behave in a fitting manner, and to live in peace and security.

"We are embarking upon a new path which could lead us to an era of peace, to the end of wars.

"That is our prayer.

"That is our hope.

"A happy New Year and may the members of the Knesset and the entire house of Israel be inscribed for a good life."27

**Peres at the Knesset,**

**Remarks by Foreign Minister Shimon**

**Jerusalem, 23 October 1995**

Speaking in Jerusalem on 23 October 1995, at the opening of the winter session of the Knesset, the Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr. Shimon Peres, made the following remarks:

"The Taba Accord is the most important step Israel has taken toward defining its contours as a Jewish state; the Taba Accord is also the most important measure that will allow the Palestinian people to create a democratic society under self-rule.

"Israel has gained moral liberation; the Palestinians have gained democratic freedom.

"Were it not for this agreement, Israel would be sliding toward binational statehood without coexistence. It would remain exposed to terror, threats of war and growing hatred. Israel's fate depends on what happens domestically no less, and at times more, than what happens around it.

"A state should not be led blindfolded into a cul-de-sac situation. Eight million people live between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea today: four and a half million Jews, three and a half million non-Jews. Both the proportions and the relations between them will ultimately determine the future security and well-being of our lives.

"Anyone who wishes to make this entire territory into a single political entity, known as Greater Israel, will eventually have to annex the population groups, not only the territories, to Israel. After all, it is inconceivable to maintain two nationally different populations under one sovereignty, one with full civil rights, including the right to vote for the Knesset and the other under constant discrimination for reasons of expediency. Israel cannot and shall not become a land of apartheid.

"The real choice we face is whether to annex all of the territories, at the price of risking the Jewish majority, or to have a Jewish and democratic State, separated from its control of another people and their property, their rights and the land that they cultivate.

"Control of all the territory will cost Israel not only its Jewish character but any prospect of future peace. Our enemies will mobilize and our friends will ostracize us, because we shall look like a state that rules by force and force only.

"The Taba Accord is the result not of coercion but of free choice. Today's Israel is neither a weak nor a poor country. It is not subject today to outside pressure and does not face a military threat. We have achieved a situation of defensive strength and economic growth of the sort we have never known. Therefore, this is also an appropriate time to take the decisions that are right for us.

"The decision we have made is a two-faceted one: one of values and one of realism.

"The value aspect is unequivocal. We do not want to rule over another

people by force. Not only because it motivates the other people to rebel but also because it is offensive to the historical backbone of the Jewish people, a people that has preferred to restrain its impulses rather than conquer its adversaries.

"The realistic aspect is manifested in a situation where there is no alternative. There is no answer to the question of what to do with the two and a half million Palestinians who live in Gaza, Judea and Samaria. Shall we disregard their existence? Shall we argue that the problem will go away by itself? Shall we allow the thrust of the sword to speak in lieu of the clear voice? One who wishes to rely on the sword invites swords from the opposite quarter. Forcible annexation will provoke national rage, religious fanaticism, international revulsion, economic isolation and a never-ending search for the possibilities of violence, terror, threats of war and yearning for non-conventional weapons.

"The western land of Israel must not be allowed to become an arena of perpetual strife and a source of nourishment for extreme and fanatic forces that attempt to equip themselves with modern weaponry.

"When two peoples are working out an agreement, attention should also be paid to each party's greatest point of sensitivity. For the Palestinians, it is self-respect. For us, it is personal security. The Palestinians will recover much of their self-respect when we are no longer their overseers. Israel's personal security will be assured by a strategic map on which no foreign army is positioned between the Jordan River in the east to the sea and from the sea in the west to the border of the Gaza Strip. The only army to be deployed in this territory and its military installations will be the Israel Defence Forces. The IDF will be responsible for the security of Israel, of Israelis and of Israeli settlements.

"Not all of their self-respect will be restored; not all of our security will be hermetic. This is an interim arrangement, that is to say, a decisive stage meant to terminate a life of strife and to organize to greet the twenty-first century.

"There is no doubt that this accord brings up various questions and it is correct to address ourselves to them.

"Question number one: Why don't you present this agreement to the people to decide?

"The answer is that ever since Camp David, the people have decided, repeatedly, in favour of 'self-rule in the territories' with 'a strong Palestinian police force.'

"The Camp David agreement says:

'In order to provide the residents with full autonomy, the Israel military administration and his civil administration will retreat under these arrangements at such time as a self-rule authority will be elected by the residents of the territories in free elections, in order to replace the existing military administration.... The sides will negotiate to conclude an agreement that will set forth the powers and responsibilities of the self-rule administration that will be created in the West Bank and the Gaza District. There will be a pull-back of Israel armed forces and a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces to security areas that will be spelled out.

The agreement will also include arrangements to assure internal and external security and public order. A strong local police force that may include Israel citizens will be formed.'

"The Knesset endorsed this agreement by a majority of 95 members. We have carried out the decision of the Knesset. Moreover, when he presented the agreement to the Knesset (28 December 1977), the Prime Minister at the time, the late Mr. Menachem Begin, said: 'When peace is ordained, we shall offer the Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District administrative autonomy on the basis of the following principles: the military administration in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District will be abolished; administrative autonomy will come into being in these areas, by and for the residents.' Israel also proposed, in the words of the Prime Minister, 'to leave the problem of sovereignty in these areas open'. Since then, in every election campaign, both of the large parties, the Alignment and the Likud, have (and not only them) favoured the autonomy plan. The people have been consulted and have given their response.

"It is possible to change one's mind. But if people change their minds, what difference does it make if the change follows an election campaign or a plebiscite referendum?

"Question number two: Does the agreement harm Israel's security or strengthen it?

"The security picture is clear. All of the territory, including that to be administered by the Palestinian Authority, will be demilitarized of foreign forces. There will be no tanks in these territories, nor warplanes, nor warships, nor missiles with warheads, except for those in the possession of the Israel Defence Forces.

"Our strategic depth will not diminish; it will remain as it was, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea. The threat will diminish. We already have a peace treaty with Egypt, to our south. We have just signed a peace treaty with Jordan, to our east. With the Palestinians and with their largest political organization, the PLO, we have reached an accord that commits them to forsaking and fighting terror. The war on terrorism has become a Palestinian interest, not only an Israeli one, because the agents of terror wish to destroy peace and attack those who are parties to peace. The Palestinian Authority understands the choice that it faces: either to overcome them or let them overcome it and destroy it. If they destroy the self-rule, the extremists will again bring catastrophe upon the Palestinians. Nobody caused the Palestinian people greater harm than the Mufti of Jerusalem. His rejectionism, accompanied with terror, led the Palestinians to turn down the partition plan, left them stateless, created the refugee problem and caused indescribable suffering for hundreds of thousands of people to this very day.

"We do not promise a total cessation of terror. But we believe a new constellation has come into being that will leave its imprints on terror, perhaps even in the near future.

"Question number three: Do you propose that the State of Israel rely on the Palestinian side?

"The answer is unequivocal. Where Israel's security is concerned, Israel has to rely on itself. The security of Israel will continue to rest in the hands of the IDF, the Israel Police and the General Security Services. They will not be weakened and will certainly not be deactivated. As for relations with the Palestinians, we want to



create the possibility of coexistence, not as an alternative to the IDF but as an alternative to a stand-off that has lasted for an entire generation.

"And if you ask whether there is any chance for coexistence with the Palestinians, our answer is in the affirmative. Israel has a million Arab citizens and our relationship with them is respectful and free of violence. In the territories there is the same composition of population as Israel, though not in the same proportion and there is no reason in the world that the relationship that prevails in Israel should not prevail in the territories.

"Question number four: Why are you giving up territories? Or, in more pungent language, why are you 'selling' parts of the State of Israel?

"The answer is simple: We have not given up anything that we possessed. We have recognized a reality in which some parts of the western Land of Israel were not in our possession. Gaza was not in our hands. All we have given up is something that we had not possessed in real terms. The people who live in Nablus and Bethlehem are Arabs, not Jews. Why should we be their bosses or their police?

"We have not forfeited our historical right to the Land of Israel. History is not a matter for concessions or changes. However, it is similarly impossible to disregard a reality that has taken shape over hundreds of years. We are not the ones who partitioned the country; it was partitioned between the Jewish population and the Palestinian population. It is not the Oslo Agreement that created the map; the map created the Oslo Agreement. What we can choose is the type of partition we want - a partition by knives or by agreements. We can build here a place of eternal strife, or, as one of our leading authors proposed, a duplex dwelling.

"Question number five: The settlers went out there in accordance with Government decisions; why do you want them to give up their homes?

"The explicit answer is that nobody has been asked to give up his home. Contrary to Camp David, we conducted negotiations that do not require the evacuation of even one settlement.

"The edifice we are building is based on a change in relations, not in locations. If the two sides were to develop a different relationship, the whole problem would take on a totally different form. Hatred would give way to wisdom. If relations improve, there will be no problem. If relations continue as they are, there will be no solution.

"Question number six: What's the hurry? Wait. Stop. Take a break.

"We've waited for twenty-eight years, ever since our glorious victory in the Six Day War. We waited and we paid for it. Since 1967 we have experienced the War of Attrition, in which hundreds of our sons fell; the Yom Kippur War, in which thousands of our sons fell; the war in Lebanon, in which more than six hundred of our sons fell; and the *intifadah*, in which many of our citizens have been murdered. What has come of the slow road, which is therefore no road at all?

"The negotiations for the current agreement have been going on for a year and a half now and thousands of details have been discussed. Military, legal and administrative staff work has been done. Various types of administration have been tested. Various methods of elections have been tested. Various map arrangements have been tested.

"When the end of the negotiations approached - when the 'finish' was in sight - a supreme effort was made to reconcile the toughest problems that remained. The home stretch was hard for us and for the Palestinians. But the very fact that we were able to reach an accord, with neither pressure nor mediation from the outside, proves that there is nothing stronger than a necessity meeting its time matured.

"Question number seven: Why didn't you head directly into negotiations for permanent status?

"Negotiation for the permanent status means placing the Jerusalem issue in the centre of the negotiations. Or more accurately, to place the impossibility of reaching an agreement on Jerusalem in the forefront of our contacts with the Palestinians and to cause the negotiations to crash.

"One of our most important achievements in the so-called Oslo 1 and Oslo 2 accords was to keep Jerusalem out of the negotiations, while it retains the explicit status of a united city and the capital of Israel.

"We do not believe that negotiations are a roulette wheel on which you bet the whole kitty. Negotiations can take place step by step and it is possible to agree on eighty per cent of the issues without agreeing on one hundred per cent. Eighty per cent agreement is clearly preferable to one hundred per cent disagreement. We will probably find it easier to live with one unresolved matter than with loose ends everywhere.

"We went into the negotiations with clear-cut positions: make autonomy a reality, do not rule over another people, prevent the formation of a binational State, do not return to the 1967 frontiers, keep Jerusalem the capital of Israel and keep it united. We have not retreated from any of these positions.

"Question number eight: Is the autonomy a blueprint for a Palestinian State?

"Not necessarily. For example, it can also be a framework including demilitarized zones, even an arrangement for areas without sovereignty. We have come to realize in the course of the negotiations that the known solutions do not have a long life expectancy. They attract supporters but also opponents. I believe that the final status will be based not only on the existing proposals, or on the fears expressed about them, but on a series of totally new ideas that have not yet dawned even on the informed people.

"Question number nine: What has Israel gained from the Oslo 1 and Oslo 2 agreements?

"Israel has managed to seize the political initiative and to return to its moral and political self. Practically speaking, Gaza in reality looks better than the Gaza described in the agreement. Our soldiers need not risk their lives and Katyusha missiles have not been hurtling from Gaza into Ashkelon or Kiryat Gat. Israel without the Gaza Strip is more Israeli and stronger than an Israel burdened with Gaza.

"Because of the peace process, Israel is experiencing an unprecedented economic boom. New markets have opened their doors to us. Foreign capital has begun to flow in. Confidence in Israel's future has reached an astonishing level. Consequently, the immigrants have been absorbed and unemployment has decreased. Israel has the fastest growing economy in the western hemisphere today. It generates more from its human capabilities than Saudi Arabia does from its oil wells.

"Israel's international standing has improved unrecognizably: 154 countries have diplomatic relations with us today, as against 93 before the peace process started. Israel today is one of the most respected countries in the world. The Middle East, too, is gradually changing. Only two years ago, it was a fantasy to envisage the President of Egypt, the King of Jordan, the Prime Minister of Morocco, the Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, the Chairman of the PLO and the Prime Minister of Israel, all standing on one platform, hearing a chorus of assent and encouragement from the Americans, the Russians, the Europeans and the Japanese. The Casablanca Conference was held and others of its kind will follow in Amman and Barcelona. There will be a Middle East Development Bank. There will be economic systems that, once they coalesce or are established, will propel the Middle East from the nineteenth century into the twenty-first.

"More and more and because of the agreements, the true choice facing the Middle East is coming into focus: either a fundamentalist, antiquated, isolated, impoverished, violent, supplicant Middle East, or a modern, open, enlightened Middle East that will begin to experience economic prosperity in the same way that many countries in Asia and Latin America have begun to prosper - a Middle East on the runway that leads into new expanses.

"The agreements have not extinguished all the risks. However, they have created prospects that had not existed previously, prospects that we have never known.

"Question number ten: Why don't you try to create a dialogue with those who reject your path?

"The answer is: We are prepared to engage anyone in dialogue but not to take part in creating tumult. The place to conduct a dialogue is here, in this building, the Knesset - a dialogue that should be conducted politely, with mutual attentiveness, with the understanding that national unity requires, even when the nation is driven with disagreements. We favour freedom of expression coupled with the discipline of the law - an argument of rationales, not of epithets.

"With Syria we have not made sufficient progress. But no one can blame Israel, which has already signed your peace agreements, for unwillingness to move toward overall peace. Syria cannot conduct a strategy of peace and tactical support for terrorism without complicating the entire region again.

"What we are creating today is a strategic change or, I would say, a historic turnabout. I understand the anguish of parting from the past and the fear of encountering a new tomorrow. But there is no yesterday that can recur and no tomorrow that will retreat because we are not ready to come to grips with it. What we are doing requires time, patience, overcoming of obstacles and prejudices and clear view of the true horizon.

"Relations with Jordan are like a breath of fresh wind between two close neighbours intent on moving their peoples to peace and prosperity.

"Peace with Egypt bears the solidity accumulated with time. And we know that we can engage in agreement between us without tearing the texture of peace.

"Let me finish with the conclusion of Harav [Rabbi] Kook, that one should be Jewish not because of what Judaism was, but also because of what it is capable of

[being, or, in his words: A nation that] discovered its existential power, whose entire present emanates from its future, is of necessity strongly bound to its future destiny."28

**Text of the Amman Declaration,  
Amman, 31 October 1995**

The following is the text of the declaration adopted on 31 October 1995, in Amman, at the conclusion of the Middle East/North Africa Economic Summit:

"On 29-31 October 1995, the second Middle East/North Africa Economic Summit was held in Amman, Jordan under the patronage of His Majesty King Hussein bin Talal. The Summit, co-sponsored by the United States and the Russian Federation, with the support of the European Union, Canada, and Japan, brought together government and business leaders from the Middle East and North Africa, Europe, the Americas and Asia.

"Summit participants thank His Majesty King Hussein for his able leadership and for the extraordinary efforts by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to make this Summit a success. The participants also expressed their appreciation for the partnership of the World Economic Forum, which assisted so ably in organizing this event.

"The goals of the Summit were to facilitate the expansion of private sector investment in the region, to cement a public-private partnership which will ensure that end, and to work to enhance regional cooperation and development.

"In this spirit, business leaders from the Middle East, North Africa and other regions were able to conclude a number of significant commercial and business transactions at the Summit that will help augment the productive capacity of the region and contribute to its broad-based economic development. These ventures involved projects in the fields of tourism, telecommunications, and transportation. Reflecting this public-private partnership, a number of these ventures will benefit from government guarantees, technical assistance, and other support from the international community.

"Government representatives conducted a series of negotiations over the past year on institutional arrangements as called for in the Casablanca Declaration which would help underpin the peace process. In this respect, the following agreements have been reached:

"- A Bank for Economic Cooperation and Development in the Middle East and North Africa will be established in Cairo. The Bank, as described in its draft articles, will be structured to promote development of the private sector, support regional infrastructure projects, and provide a Forum to promote regional economic cooperation. The Task Force will finalize its negotiations by 31 December 1995 and will continue to explore proposals for the creation of a project preparation and financial intermediation facility. Those wishing to join the Bank will begin their national ratification processes thereafter. Others wish to leave open the option of joining the Bank at a later

date, in light of the evolution of institutional arrangements and other developments. The Economic Summit will review this issue at its next meeting.

"- The establishment of a Regional Tourism Board, the Middle East-Mediterranean Travel and Tourism Association, to facilitate tourism and promote the region as a unique and attractive tourist destination. The Board will include both public and private representatives.

"- The establishment of a Regional Business Council to promote cooperation and trade among the private sectors of the countries of the region.

"- The formal inauguration of the Economic Summit Executive Secretariat, which is located in Rabat and works to advance the public-private partnership, promoting contacts, sharing data, and fostering private sector investment in the region. The participants expressed their appreciation to the Moroccan Government for its contribution to this effort, and confirmed their support for its ongoing activities.

"As a complement to the regional institutions called for at Casablanca, the Steering Group of the Multilateral Peace Negotiations has decided to establish the REDWG Monitoring Committee Secretariat as a permanent regional economic institution to be based in Amman. All participating parties have agreed that this institution will promote and strengthen regional economic cooperation in the Middle East and North Africa. The regional parties strongly recommend that the Secretariat's activities will cover the range of sectors within the REDWG Monitoring Committee's work, i.e. infrastructure, tourism, trade, finance, and areas within the Copenhagen Plan of Action. The core parties in close consultation with the European Union and other members of the Monitoring Committee undertake to finalize the appropriate document on the structure and operational functions of this institution, which will be submitted to the next meeting of the REDWG plenary, with a view to the commencement of the institution's activities in the first half of 1996. This REDWG plenary will consider the matter, take appropriate action, and report to the upcoming meeting of the Multilateral Steering Group.

"The participants at the Summit expressed their strong support for continued progress in the peace process begun at Madrid exactly four years ago, and the importance of achieving a comprehensive peace. Participants took particular note of the advances made in the past year. Summit participants welcomed the signing of the Israeli- Palestinian Interim Agreement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and took favourable note of the significant progress made in implementing the Treaty of Peace between Israel and Jordan. The Summit welcomed the decision to organize in Paris, in December 1995, the Ministerial Conference on Economic Assistance for the Palestinians. The Summit also took note of the positive contribution made towards peace by multilateral working groups. While welcoming an increasingly positive atmosphere of openness in the region, the Summit recognized that the circle of peace needs to be widened. Participants expressed the hope that peace agreements between Israel and Syria and Israel and Lebanon would be concluded as soon as possible. The Summit welcomed significant steps taken by regional parties to the Taba Declaration and by the GCC with regard to lifting the boycott on Israel, and expressed its support for additional efforts to end the boycott.

"The participants at the Summit declared their intent to implement as soon as possible the understandings reached in Amman. With respect to commercial

activities, the business representatives reaffirmed their intention to follow through on the commercial ventures reached here and to explore new opportunities to expand trade and investment in the region. On the part of government, the officials attending the Summit declared their intention to support the activities of the private sector, most particularly by getting the new institutions established in Amman up and running as soon as possible. The participants also welcomed the measures taken by regional parties to open their economies and join the global economy.

"To continue such a process whose blueprint and institutions have been established here, in Amman today, two brotherly countries announced their interest to host the next session of the MENA Summit. They are Qatar and Egypt.

"His Majesty King Hussein conducted the necessary consultations with the distinguished representatives of the two brotherly States, as well as with other interested parties. He gladly announced that Qatar has graciously conceded its offer to host the next summit in favour of Egypt, who will host it. And it has been agreed by all, including Jordan, the present host, as well as Egypt and others, that Qatar will be the venue of the Middle East/North Africa Economic Summit in 1997."29

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## Notes

1. Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report: Near East & South Asia, No. FBIS-NES-94-192, 4 October 1994, p. 55.
2. Ibid., pp. 41-45.
3. United States Department of State Dispatch, 10 October 1994, Vol. 5, No. 41, pp. 679-680.
4. Ibid., 24 October 1994, Vol. 5, No. 43, p. 714.
5. Israel Information Service Gopher, Information Division, Israel Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem, 17 October 1994.
6. Ibid.
7. Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report: Near East & South Asia, No. FBIS-NES-94-201, 18 October 1994, p. 50.
8. Israel Information Service Gopher, Information Division, Israel Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem, 23 October 1994.
9. Ibid., 25 October 1994.
10. See Press Release of the Permanent Observer Mission of the Holy See to the United Nations, No. 49/94, 25 October 1994.
11. See letter dated 9 January 1995 from the Permanent Representatives of Israel, Jordan, the Russian Federation and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/50/73-S/1995/83), Enclosure, pp. 3-51.
12. United States Department of State Dispatch Supplement, November 1994, Vol. 5, No. 10, pp. 5-6.
13. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
14. Ibid., p. 8.
15. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
16. Ibid., p. 8.
17. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
18. Ibid., pp. 14-16.
19. Ibid., pp. 16.
20. Ibid., pp. 16-17.
21. Ibid., pp. 17-19.

22. Israel Information Service Gopher, Information Division, Israel Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem, 27 October 1994.
23. See letter dated 4 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (A/49/645), Annex, pp. 2-5.
24. United States Department of State Dispatch, 16 January 1995, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 32-33.
25. Ibid., Vol. 6, No. 9, pp. 142-143.
26. As per the text provided on 31 October 1995 by the Permanent Observer Mission of Palestine to the United Nations.
27. Israel Information Service Gopher, Information Division, Israel Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem, 5 October 1995.
28. Ibid., 23 October 1995; also Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report: Near East & South Asia, No. FBIS-NES-95-205, 24 October 1995, pp. 37-40.
29. Israel Information Service Gopher, Information Division, Israel Foreign Ministry, Jerusalem, 3 November 1995.
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