



**Arab Media Watch**  
for objective British coverage of Arab issues

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**Report: Peacemaking in the Arab-Israeli Conflict - Past & Present**

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**Foreword**

"For most in the Arab world, the wound that is still fresh even after 40 years is the continued occupation of Arab territory and the denial of legitimate Palestinian claims to statehood."

Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary General  
28 March 2007

To mark the 40th anniversary of Israel's occupation of Arab land following the 1967 war, Arab Media Watch has produced an easy-to-read document summarising and critiquing, in one page each, 30 official and private initiatives from 1978 to the present day that have one basic goal - ending the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The purpose is to give the media and the public an overall, concise, accessible view of peace-making efforts over the years.

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## **Camp David Accords (September 1978)**

The Camp David Accords have two parts; the first is "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East," and the second is "A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel."

### *A Framework for Peace in the Middle East*

Signed on 17 September 1979. The first agreement had three parts:

- a framework for negotiations to establish an autonomous self-governing authority in the West Bank and the Gaza strip, and to fully implement UN Security Council Resolution 242
- Egyptian-Israeli relations
- "Associated Principles" - declared principles that should apply to relations between Israel and all its Arab neighbours

The text can be viewed at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/40d14c9b19a5f6dc85256ced00741c70?OpenDocument>

### *A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel*

Signed 26 March 1979. The second agreement outlined a basis for the peace treaty six months later, in particular deciding the future of the Sinai Peninsula. Israel agreed to withdraw its armed forces, evacuate its 4,500 settlers, and restore the territory to Egypt. Israel also agreed to limit its forces a smaller distance (3 km) from the Egyptian border, and to guarantee free passage between Egypt and Jordan.

In return, Israel gained normal diplomatic relations with Egypt, guarantees of freedom of passage through the Suez Canal and other nearby waterways (such as the Straits of Tiran), and a restriction on the forces Egypt could place on the Sinai, especially within 20-40 km from Israel.

The agreements and the peace treaty were both accompanied by "side-letters" of understanding between Egypt and the US, and Israel and the US.

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/3a159c13d5084c1085256ced00746faa?OpenDocument>

The current Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert voted against this accord, but the Peace Treaty was successful and has held. Although there remains a multinational force of observers in the Sinai, they have little to do.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/israel/comment/0,,1795166,00.html>  
<http://www.mfo.org/1/4/base.asp>

## **Madrid Conference (October 1991)**

The Madrid Conference was a three-day event convened on 30 October 1991. It sought to start a peace process through negotiations involving Israel and the Arab countries, including Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Palestinians. Due to Israeli objections, the Palestinians attended as members of a joint delegation with Jordan who had no open link with the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The Madrid Conference inaugurated negotiations on bilateral and multilateral tracks which also involved the international community. It sought to serve as an opening forum for negotiation, but had no power to impose solutions or veto agreements. Its value was more symbolic, and produced very little in the way of concrete results.

One aim was peace treaties between Syria, Lebanon and Jordan and Israel, while talks with the Palestinians were based on two stages - the first consisting of negotiating interim self-government arrangements, followed by permanent-status negotiations.

Comments made by then-Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir the following year throw doubt on Israeli intentions at the conference. He admitted to the New York Times in June 1992 that his government was deliberately stalling the negotiations:

"I would have carried on autonomy talks for ten years. Meanwhile we would have reached half a million Jews in Judea and Samaria (the West Bank)." (Clyde Haberman, "Shamir Admits Plan to Stall Talks for 10 Years," New York Times, 27 June 1992)

<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2000/issue2/jv4n2a3.html>

## **Oslo Peace Process (1993-1999)**

In general, the Oslo Peace Process is regarded as a failure. The Oslo Accords (Declaration of Principles), signed on 13 September 1993, were deliberately ambiguous.

They signified a beginning to negotiations, but made no allowance for concluding them. Crucial issues such as Jerusalem, refugees and settlements were left to be dealt with at some point in the future. All things considered, failure was the only likely outcome and all subsequent agreements made in its name were thus seriously flawed.

A weakened PLO position at Oslo meant that for the first time, Palestinian statehood, the right of return for refugees, and land free of settlements with Jerusalem as the capital became points of negotiation, whereas hitherto they had been precepts of a Palestinian ideology.

Furthermore, the situation as it stood since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war was the centre of the negotiations, not as it stood in 1948 when Israel was created and the Palestinians dispossessed.

Israeli superiority in the negotiation of the accords translated into superiority on the ground. The period 1992-96 saw massive land confiscation and intensification of settlement activity; the network of checkpoints, crossing points and roadblocks offered in practice no kind of safe passage stipulated in the agreements.

The Oslo Peace Process lingered until 1999, largely due to its popularity with Israelis and the international community. During that period, interim objectives seemed to become the basis for a final settlement which allowed no accommodation for Palestinian expectations.

For the Palestinians, Oslo was a catastrophe. It enabled Israel to market itself as a state making "painful concessions for peace" which instead is faced with Palestinian resistance to its peace-making. In reality, any concessions made were cosmetic and did not translate into any significant improvement in the lives of ordinary Palestinians.

For a fuller discussion of the Oslo peace process, go to:

<http://www.arabmediawatch.com/amw/CountryBackgrounds/Palestine/PeaceProposals/TheOsloAccords/tabid/152/Default.aspx>

## **Agreements and Understandings Relating to the Oslo Peace Process**

Below is a list of agreements and understandings reached between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation which comprise the Oslo Accords. Each one is dealt with individually in the following section.

Arafat-Rabin Letters (9 September 1993)

Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (13 September 1993)

Paris Economic Protocol (29 April 1994)

Agreement on the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area (4 May 1994)

Agreement on Preparatory Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities (29 August 1994)

Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (28 September 1995)

Protocol concerning the redeployment in Hebron (15 January 1997)

Agreement on Temporary International Presence in the City of Hebron (21 January 1997) and the Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of a Temporary International Presence in Hebron (30 January 1997)

Wye River Memorandum (23 October 1998)

The Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum (4 September 1999)

### **Arafat-Rabin Letters (September 1993)**

In the Arafat-Rabin Letters, the Palestine Liberation Organisation recognised the right of Israel to exist in peace and security, and reaffirmed its acceptance of UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO also affirmed "that those articles of the Palestinian Covenant which deny Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments of this letter are now inoperative and no longer valid."

For its part, Israel "decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people," but it did not recognise the right of the Palestinian people to their own state.

The letter can be read at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/d5143a4b8462ee7c85256a0e00555839?OpenDocument>

### **The Oslo Accords (Declaration of Principles) (September 1993)**

The Oslo Accords (Declaration of Principles On Interim Self-Government Arrangements), signed on 13 September 1993, called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from parts of the Gaza Strip and West Bank, and the creation of the Palestinian Authority. This was to be the affirmation of the Palestinian right to self-government within those areas.

The accords called for a five-year interim period, during which a permanent agreement would be negotiated (beginning no later than May 1996) which would then lead to a permanent settlement based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

The Oslo Accords can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9a798adb322aff38525617b006d88d7/71dc8c9d96d2f0ff85256117007cb6ca!OpenDocument>

There were successes, such as the inauguration of the PA, the handover of some land to Palestinian control, and the formation of the Palestinian security forces. However, the decisive questions of the status of Jerusalem and its Arab population, the settlements, refugees and Israel's borders were put off until the interim period was over.

The accords struggled to succeed. Israel continued to expand its settlements heavily during the 1990s, both during and after - and despite - the Madrid Conference and the Oslo Accords. The Judaisation of Arab East Jerusalem proceeded likewise.

Jordan and Israel have made peace, although relations - much like those with Egypt - are far from cordial. Talks with Syria and Lebanon show little serious sign of beginning.

## **Protocol on Economic Relations (April 1994)**

This Protocol was signed in Paris on 29 April 1994. It affirmed that both parties considered the economic domain as one of the important factors in their relations. It laid the groundwork for strengthening the economic base of the Palestinian side, and for its exercising its right of economic decision-making in accordance with its own development plan and priorities.

The Protocol was subsequently incorporated into the Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area. The text can be viewed at:

<http://www.un.org/unsco/UNSCO/Paris%20Protocol.htm>

However, because of the open-ended way the Protocol was framed, Israel had the power to interpret the agreements in a way that deepened Palestinian economic dependence. Israel had the right of veto over any development project put forward by the Palestinian Authority; foreign trade and investment were likewise controlled by Israel.

Various factors - such as the imposition of arbitrary trading restrictions, Israeli control of labour flows, the lack of direct access to international trade borders with the rest of the world, and the lack of a domestic Palestinian currency - all imposed severe limitations on the Palestinian economy.

Furthermore, the Protocol was intended to provide the Palestinians with opportunities of expanded trade and employment in Israel, as it was predicated on the free movement of goods and persons between the two territories.

However, border closures in 1996-1997 and since 2000 have undermined such opportunities, and by so doing, have effectively set the limits for the Palestinian economy's development possibilities.

Severe economic difficulties arising from neglect of this Protocol continue, and the issue is still current at the UN. Economic and General Assembly Resolutions from August 2006 (E/RES/2006/43) and January 2007 (A/RES/ 61/135) respectively continue to stress the need for Israel to comply with the Protocol, with particular regard to withheld Palestinian tax revenue.

(E/RES/2006/43):

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/634e0577e62f65eb85257213004e60c0?OpenDocument>

(A/RES/ 61/135):

<http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adb322aff38525617b006d88d7/d252deb2f8b62fa8525727b0059612d!OpenDocument>

The three following Agreements were superseded by the Oslo II Interim Agreement:

**Cairo Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area (May 1994)**

Also known as the Gaza and Jericho Agreement, signed on 4 May 1994. The accord led to the establishment of the Palestinian Authority shortly thereafter. Each side undertook numerous obligations, chief among them Israel's commitment to turn territory over to the PA, and the Palestinian commitment to fight terrorism and prevent violence: the "land for peace" bargain.

Pursuant to the May 1994 Gaza-Jericho Agreement and the September 1995 Interim Agreement, Israel transferred most responsibilities for civil government in the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank to the PA. The text can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9a798adb322aff38525617b006d88d7/15af20b2f7f41905852560a7004ab2d5!OpenDocument>

**Agreement on Preparatory Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities Between Israel and the PLO (29 August 1994)**

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/fd15eca93fd9af2785257000005a5810?OpenDocument>

**Protocol on Further Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities (27 August 1995)**

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace+Process/Guide+to+the+Peace+Process/Further+Transfer+of+Powers+and+Responsibilities.htm>

## **Oslo II Interim Agreement (September 1995)**

This agreement was built on the foundations of the initial Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements or Declaration of Principles. The Interim Agreement of 1995 became the basis and reference point for subsequent negotiations and agreements such as the Hebron Protocol (1997) and the Wye River Memorandum (1998), and is a basis for the later Road Map for peace.

Most significantly, the agreement recognises the establishment of an elected "Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority," called "the Council" or "the Palestinian Council."

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/d91c90a304f06ea4052564e60048c213!OpenDocument>

A special committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, reporting to the General Assembly in December 1997 - charged with assessing whether the signing of the Oslo II agreement had any positive effects on the human rights of Palestinians and other Arabs in the occupied territories - concluded that "the human rights situation in the occupied territories has not improved, deteriorating even further, deteriorated in numerous aspects, and remains a matter of very serious concern."

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/ab2cb3c8826e9f01052565b1005c1899?OpenDocument>

## **Hebron Protocol and Agreement (January 1997)**

The Protocol and Agreement, concluded on 17 January 1997, called for a withdrawal by the Israeli Defence Forces of 80% of Hebron within 10 days; the first phase of Israeli withdrawal from rural areas in the West Bank within 10 days; the second phase of the withdrawal within eight months after the first stage; the third phase of Israeli withdrawal was from the remaining parts of the West Bank apart from "settlements and military locations," to be completed before mid-1998.

Within two months of the Hebron Accord, Israel and the Palestinian Authority would begin negotiations on the permanent-status agreement, to be completed by 4 May 1999.

The text of the agreement can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adb322aff38525617b006d88d7/c7d7b824004ff5c585256ae700543ebc!OpenDocument>

Upon the signing of the Hebron Agreement in January 1997, Hebron was divided into two parts: Area H-1, consisting of 18 square kilometres (80% of the city) with 115,000 Palestinians, was handed over to complete Palestinian control. Area H-2, in which 35,000 Palestinians and 500 settlers live, remained under Israeli security control, with the PA being given only civilian powers.

During the al-Aqsa intifada, Israel again took control of Area H-1. Since then, the living conditions of Palestinians in H-2, primarily in the Casbah (Old City) area near the settlements, have deteriorated significantly. As a result, those families who could afford to do so moved to other neighbourhoods.

[http://www.btselem.org/English/Publications/Summaries/200308\\_Hebron\\_Area\\_H2.asp](http://www.btselem.org/English/Publications/Summaries/200308_Hebron_Area_H2.asp)

Also relating to Hebron were the Agreement on *Temporary International Presence in the City of Hebron* (21 January 1997) and the *Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of a Temporary International Presence in Hebron* (30 January 1997). The texts can be viewed at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/dea48f25f6eaadff052565d3006d4195?OpenDocument>

## **Wye River Memorandum (October 1998)**

This was a political agreement negotiated to implement the earlier Interim Agreement of 28 September 1995, which was completed on 23 October 1998. On 17 November 1998, Israel's parliament, the Knesset, approved the Wye River Memorandum by a vote of 75-19.

The Memorandum sought to facilitate the implementation of the Interim Agreement (Oslo II) of September 1995, and other related agreements ("Prior Agreements"). The overall aim was to enable the Israeli and Palestinian sides to more effectively carry out their reciprocal responsibilities, chiefly those relating to further redeployments, security, economic issues and permanent-status negotiations.

Despite then-Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu declaring "a secure and peaceful future for our children," the Wye River's understandings and goals remain unimplemented.

Although the Memorandum saw the opening of Gaza's first airport, it also saw an intensification of settlement activity in the West Bank. There were dozens of official land confiscations and illegal land grabs by settlers, which would limit the territory accorded by any final-status negotiations.

Then-Israeli Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon called for settlers to take more land in the West Bank before the agreed troop withdrawal: "Everyone should take action, should run, should grab more hills. We'll expand the area. Whatever is seized will be ours. Whatever isn't seized will end up in their hands."

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/215932.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/215932.stm)

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat responded: "As we ask the Israeli government to count on us on the full implementation of the Wye River memorandum, we hope that the Israeli government will do the same."

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/229487.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/229487.stm)

Israel unilaterally suspended the Wye River Memorandum on 2 December 1998. The UN expressed its concerns at this development, and reported that "the Palestinian population was currently living in a vacuum as far as protection of their human rights was concerned," and that "Israel was violating human rights in the name of security."

<http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/TestFrame/81caf759a0fc7d688025672b0053ced2?Opendocument>

The full text of the Wye River Memorandum available at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/54a3f15175c5e1a485256ae1006ffc30?OpenDocument>

## **Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum (September 1999)**

The Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum was signed on 4 September 1999 by Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat. The full title is "The Sharm el Sheikh Memorandum on Implementation Timeline of Outstanding Commitments of Agreements Signed and the Resumption of Permanent Status Negotiations." The full text can be viewed at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/25e0ce9a21f463f685256ae700613324?OpenDocument>

The Memorandum addresses issues such as further redeployment of Israel from the Occupied Palestinian Territory, the release of Palestinian prisoners, and the implementation of overdue prior commitments between the two sides ("prior agreements"), as well as the timetable for permanent-status negotiations.

It followed the stalled Wye River Memorandum, and notably, reaffirmed Israel's commitment to reduce the area of the West Bank under exclusive Israeli control. Moreover, the parties agreed to reach a final settlement within a year from the signing of the Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum, which was September 2000.

In fact, that month was notable instead for the violent confrontations between the Israel Defence Forces and police, and Palestinian civilians at the Al-Haram al-Sharif compound in the Old City of Jerusalem that erupted on 28 September 2000, following a visit to the holy site by then-Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon and others.

A Palestinian Rights Committee reporting to the General Assembly at the UN were "shocked by the tragic loss of life, in particular, by the deaths of innocent Palestinian children," and were "appalled that settlement activity continued alongside peace negotiations."

The UN Permanent Observer for Palestine observed that "despite the agreement on the Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum of 4 September 1999, Israel had failed once again to implement most of the overdue provisions and commitments agreed upon, including the third redeployment of its occupying forces, the release of Palestinian prisoners, and the return of Palestinian displaced persons, and failed also to adhere to the agreed timetable."

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/035d95985f01d538852569ab004fea35?OpenDocument>

## **Camp David 2000 Summit (July 2000)**

The Camp David 2000 Summit convened on 11 July 2000, and took place between Bill Clinton, Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat. The objective was to make sufficient progress on final-status negotiations so that an agreement could be reached by the September target date which had been established by the Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum of September 1999.

At its conclusion - without an agreement being reached - a Trilateral Statement was issued which defined the agreed principles that were to guide future negotiations. The statement is available at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/a27b8f698499976f85256e37005b1674?OpenDocument>

The central failure at the summit was the inability of the parties to come up with a formula to reconcile their competing claims to Jerusalem. Both sides blamed the other for the collapse, with Ehud Barak accusing Arafat of being "afraid to make historic decisions," and then warning of a "period of considerable uncertainty." The media reaction can be gauged here:

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/monitoring/media\\_reports/852460.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/monitoring/media_reports/852460.stm)

However Robert Malley, who was Clinton's special adviser on Arab-Israeli affairs at the time, challenged the view that Arafat was to blame for the collapse for not producing a counter-offer, by saying the blame should also be shouldered by Barak. He argues that Barak backtracked on previous commitments to freeze all building on Jewish settlements, and to hand over a number of villages to the Palestinians.

As a result, Arafat approached the summit fearful of giving ground on key issues in return for promises from the Israelis that would not be fulfilled.

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/1446673.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1446673.stm)

A statement from President Mahmoud Abbas to the Palestine Liberation Organisation's Palestinian Central Council outlining the Palestinian position can be read at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/172d1a3302dc903b85256e37005bd90f?OpenDocument>

An Arab Media Watch document deconstructing the myth that the Palestinians turned down a generous offer at Camp David is available at:

<http://www.arabmediawatch.com/amw/CountryBackgrounds/Palestine/PeaceProposal/CampDavid/tabid/154/Default.aspx>

## **Taba Summit (January 2001)**

Peace talks held in Taba, Egypt (21-27 January 2001) aimed at reaching final-status negotiations to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but ultimately failed. The talks were structured around four different aspects of the peace negotiations: Jerusalem, territory and settlements, refugees, and security issues.

Both sides issued a joint statement declaring that they have "never been closer to reaching an agreement and it is thus our shared belief that the remaining gaps could be bridged with the resumption of negotiations following the Israeli elections." The statement can be read at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/d3d719a10f2e7aa8852571170050765f?OpenDocument>

Then-Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak broke off the peace talks with the Palestinians on 28 January 2001 in preparation for prime ministerial elections on 6 February 2001, two days earlier than they had been previously scheduled to finish.

Then-Palestinian President Yasser Arafat appealed on Israeli TV for Barak to return to the negotiating table, and stated that he still had faith in the peace process. Barak refused to do so.

The elections were won by Ariel Sharon, who dismissed the joint statement as a danger to the state: "What we see today, to my regret, are steps that pose a danger to the state of Israel."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,430312,00.html>

The outcomes of the summit can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/cea3efd8c0ab482f85256e3700670af8!OpenDocument>

## **Mitchell Commission and Report (April 2001)**

Chaired by former US Senator George Mitchell, the Commission was set up after the Sharm el-Sheikh Accord between then-Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in September 1999. It urges Israel and the Palestinians to "reaffirm their commitment to existing agreements," and called for an immediate, unconditional ceasefire.

Its findings into the violence that broke out in September 2000 were summarised under the headings: End the violence, Rebuild confidence, and Resume negotiations.

The report called on Palestinians to make a full effort to prevent acts of violence and to punish perpetrators, and prevent gunmen from using Palestinian areas to fire on Israeli positions. It called on the Israeli side to freeze all new construction of settlements, and stop the army firing on unarmed demonstrators.

Barak's successor Ariel Sharon described the inquiry as a "historic mistake," saying: "Israel may have the right to put others on trial, but certainly no one has the right to put the Jewish people and the State of Israel on trial."

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/1241371.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1241371.stm)

A request from Arafat for a summit to discuss the findings of the Inquiry was rejected by Israel, and its call to end settlement activity was "flatly rejected" by Sharon.

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/1315114.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1315114.stm)

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/1315755.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1315755.stm)

The findings of the Mitchell Commission can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/6e61d52eaacb860285256d2800734e9a!OpenDocument>

## **Tenet Plan (June 2001)**

Also known as the "Palestinian-Israeli Security Implementation Work Plan," it was proposed by then-CIA Director George Tenet and took effect on 13 June 2001.

It called on the Palestinians to arrest Hamas and Islamic Jihad militants, put an end to incitement, and stop assisting attacks against settlements. The Palestinian Authority was also called upon to collect and destroy mortars and missiles under its control, prevent attacks on Israel from areas it controls, and not give refuge to those who do carry out such attacks.

Israel was called upon to withdraw to positions it held before the start of the Palestinian intifada (uprising), not to attack Palestinian targets, and prevent attacks on Palestinians. The plan also called on Israel and the PA to renew regularly scheduled security talks, resume joint patrols, and reconstruct the liaison units set up under the Oslo Accord. The text can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/798c5b335068ebba85256cf00075cb6e!OpenDocument>

The main problems centred on a timescale for each side to carry out its commitments, but even if both sides accepted the Tenet Plan, it was unlikely to put an end to the violence.

In general, both sides did approve the Plan, but the PA found Israeli-proposed amendments unacceptable. It issued a statement saying Israel's demand "to conduct widespread arrests against Palestinian civilians is not on the agenda and is entirely unacceptable." By detaining 20 leading Islamist and other militants as Israel demanded, Yasser Arafat feared he could turn the intifada against the PA.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/israel/Story/0,2763,505749,00.html>

According to the PA statement, Israel proposed setting up a buffer zone to separate Palestinian and Israeli territory, which was unacceptable because it was not part of the Mitchell proposal. It also said Palestinians were disappointed that Israel would not agree to immediately lifting a closure on the Palestinian territories.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/israel/Story/0,2763,505576,00.html>

## **Arab Peace Initiative (March 2002)**

Also known as the Saudi Initiative, it was launched at an Arab League summit in Beirut in March 2002 and endorsed by all 22 member states, including the Palestinians. Yasser Arafat did not attend due to a travel ban enforced by the Israeli government, and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and King Abdullah of Jordan stayed away in protest.

Its guiding principles were that of "land for peace," and the conviction of the Arab countries that a military solution to the conflict will not achieve peace or provide security for the parties. The main points are:

Israel is required to withdraw from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, agree to a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem, and recognise the establishment of a sovereign and independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In return, all Arab states would offer normal diplomatic relations - including a peace deal that recognises Israel's right to exist and secures its borders.

The full text of the Arab Peace Initiative can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9a798adb322aff38525617b006d88d7/75207eec8fec65a985256c470066373b!OpenDocument>

Israeli intransigence had hitherto rendered the possibility of peace remote, leading the BBC to report that the initiative is "not so much a negotiating position as an appeal to the Israeli people over the head of their government."

An Israeli government statement rejected the proposal, labelling it a "non-starter."

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/1897163.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1897163.stm)

This plan was revived at an Arab League summit in Riyadh in March 2007, and also calls for a "just solution" for the millions of Palestinian refugees. The full text of the resulting Riyadh Declaration can be viewed at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/7dde09e576b4ecfe852572ad00553e65?OpenDocument>

However, while the Israeli government has this time not rejected the proposal outright, it objects to its major points, notably the extent of territorial withdrawal and the possible return of Palestinian refugees to their former homes, effectively making the Initiative redundant.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,2045760,00.html>

### **Zinni Bridging Proposal: "Joint Goals" Proposal (March 2002)**

The Joint Goals proposal was proposed in March 2002 by UN Envoy General Anthony Zinni, and was a "bridging" mechanism for implementing the Tenet Plan of June 2001 and the Mitchell Recommendations of April 2001.

Palestinian objections centred on its deviation from the Tenet Plan "in a manner that positively reflects Israeli interests." Furthermore, Palestinian officials objected that the document provided no guarantee that a ceasefire would be followed by peace talks or implementation of the Mitchell Plan.

The Zinni proposals can be viewed at:

<http://www.al-bab.com/arab/docs/pal/zinni2002a.htm>

The objections to the document are set out in the Palestinian negotiators' critique:

<http://www.al-bab.com/arab/docs/pal/zinni2002b.htm>

The proposals arrived during a massive Israeli military offensive - Operation Protective Shield - against the Palestinians, which also confined Yasser Arafat to his compound. Only following intervention from George Bush was Zinni allowed by the Israeli government to meet with Arafat.

The Guardian reported that the Israeli military attacked journalists attempting to cover the meeting, "firing stun grenades, tear gas and rubber bullets at a convoy of press vehicles in Ramallah."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/israel/Story/0,,679310,00.html>

## **Disengagement Plan (February 2003)**

The Disengagement Plan was introduced in December 2003 by then-Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. On 16 February 2005, the Israeli Parliament passed the final version of the Disengagement Plan Implementation Law, and on 20 February 2005, the Israeli cabinet voted to implement it.

It involved the relocation of some 7,000 Jewish settlers from 21 Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip, and from four settlements in the northern West Bank. Concurrently, Sharon said Israel "will greatly accelerate" the building of the barrier in the West Bank. The Disengagement Plan report can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/c028246a55471c5d85256ff800536a70!OpenDocument>

6 June 2004: Addendum A - Revised Disengagement Plan - Main Principles

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/ff5d86a64a6a245085257065005c1d32!OpenDocument>

The plan was criticised from all quarters. A White House spokesman said the US "would oppose any unilateral steps that block the road towards negotiations under the roadmap that leads to the two-state vision. A settlement must be negotiated and we would oppose any Israeli effort to impose a settlement."

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/3332981.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3332981.stm)

In March 2005, Israeli human rights organisations B'Tselem and HaMoked published a 100-page report entitled "One Big Prison," which documented the ongoing violations of human rights and international law resulting from Israel's restrictions on the movement of people and goods between Gaza and the West Bank, Israel, and the rest of the world. The report also warned against Israel's attempt to avoid its responsibility toward residents of the Gaza Strip following disengagement. The full report can be read at:

[www.btselem.org/Download/200503\\_Gaza\\_Prison\\_English.PDF](http://www.btselem.org/Download/200503_Gaza_Prison_English.PDF)

A year after the actual disengagement took place in September 2005, the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People noted:

"The hope that was generated by Israeli disengagement a year ago has quickly dissipated, which has only underscored the failure of unilateral Israeli measures. The construction of new settlements and the building of the wall continue and intensify, particularly in and around East Jerusalem. The restrictions placed on the movement of Palestinians continue to stifle a Palestinian economy that is already significantly depressed."

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/f30bece7102e1500852572b100597177?OpenDocument>

A thorough Arab Media Watch analysis of the shortcomings of the Plan is available at:

<http://www.arabmediawatch.com/amw/CountryBackgrounds/Palestine/PeaceProposals/DisengagementPlan/tabid/250/Default.aspx>

## **Road Map for Peace (April 2003)**

Subtitled "A performance-based roadmap to a permanent two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," the Road Map is a framework for negotiation proposed by the "Quartet": the US, EU, Russia and the UN. It was presented to Israel and the Palestinian Authority on 30 April 2003.

The plan set out three stages to be achieved by 2005. The first demanded an immediate cessation of Palestinian violence / resistance, reform of Palestinian political institutions, the dismantling of Israeli settlement outposts built since March 2001, and a progressive Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories in a series of confidence-building measures.

The next stage was the creation of an independent Palestinian state and an international conference on the Road Map.

The third and final stage would seek a permanent end to the conflict with an agreement on final borders, the status of Jerusalem, and the fate of Palestinian refugees and Israeli settlements. Arab states would also agree peace deals with Israel.

The text of the Road Map can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/f3059c4183c2cc2b85256d33006f5b4b/6129b9c832fe59ab85256d43004d87fa!OpenDocument>

Addressing the UN Security Council on 15 September 2003, the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the UN, Terje Rød-Larsen, said:

"Unfortunately, implementation of the road map never effectively began. Neither side has seriously and actively addressed the core concerns of the other side. For Palestinians, the core concern is an assurance that the peace process will lead to the end of the occupation and the establishment of a viable, independent Palestinian State on the basis of the 1967 borders. The ongoing settlement activity and continued construction of the separation wall cause Palestinians to wonder whether we are moving in a direction opposite to that goal. In addition, Israel has never fully endorsed the road map."

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/cb894a44e584d13485256da3006289d1?OpenDocument>

A thorough Arab Media Watch critique of the Road Map is available at:

<http://www.arabmediawatch.com/amw/CountryBackgrounds/Palestine/PeaceProposals/TheRoadMap/tabid/153/Default.aspx>

## **Hudna (June 2003)**

The hudna of June 2003 refers to a ceasefire which lasted for 45 days from 29 June to 12 August 2003. Hudna is Arabic for "truce", "ceasefire", "calm" or "quiet."

Following pressure from then-Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas and Egypt, Hamas and Islamic Jihad unilaterally declared a 45-day ceasefire, despite the Israeli government's rejection of the idea. A senior Israeli government source responded by saying that any truce signed by Hamas was "not worth the paper it's written on."

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/3027040.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3027040.stm)

Those in favour argued it was a necessary step to allow for conciliation, whereas its opponents dismissed it as tactical regrouping. Dore Gold, an adviser to then-Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, said: "There is no substitute for the complete disarming of Palestinian terrorist groups by the Palestinian Authority as required by the road map. No hudna (ceasefire), no diplomacy - just complete dismantling."

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/3144067.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3144067.stm)

Israel continued its military operations and settlement activity during the ceasefire. Terje Roed-Larsen, the UN Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process, briefed the Security Council:

"The Israeli Government...had continued with its confiscation of land, settlement activities and construction of the separation wall. It had not even exerted a serious effort to remove the so-called 'unauthorized outposts.' It had also continued with the killing of Palestinians, including extrajudicial executions, attacks, destruction and arrests, despite repeated warnings by many parties, until its activities had led to the suicide bombing in West Jerusalem on 19 August. That had been followed by the extrajudicial execution by Israel of Ismail Abu Shanab and the demise of the declaration, or hudna."

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/322ab1c4b7ae817d85256da20060ed16?OpenDocument>

## **Sharm el-Sheikh Summit (February 2005)**

The Summit held on 8 February 2005 in Sharm el-Sheikh consisted of a series of meetings Ariel Sharon held with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, King Abdullah of Jordan and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas.

It culminated in statements made reassuring the leaders' commitment to stabilise the situation, and to move on in the peace process in accordance with the Road Map. In particular, Sharon and Abbas spoke of their commitment "to stop all acts of violence against Israelis and Palestinians, wherever they are."

Abbas' statement can be viewed at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/082617960cdb7e168525707b0046a4c4?OpenDocument>

Sharon's statement can be viewed at:

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/8e9443af379dbebc8525707b0046f168?OpenDocument>

A letter from the Permanent Observer Mission of Palestine to the UN, dated 15 April 2005, reported the "deliberate violation" by Israel of the truce reached at Sharm el-Sheikh in February:

"As it persists in waging its military campaign in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, Israel, the occupying Power, continues to commit extrajudicial killings of Palestinian civilians in grave breach of international law, including international humanitarian law, and in deliberate violation of the truce reached in Sharm El-Sheikh on 8 February 2005. The continuation by Israel, the occupying Power, of its illegal policies and practices against the Palestinian people under its occupation, including its unlawful practice of extrajudicial killings, continues to seriously undermine the understandings reached between the two parties aimed at calming the situation on the ground and reviving the peace process."

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/e88af8ef09f8ed2a85256fe800527c70?OpenDocument>

## **Realignment Plan (2006)**

This Plan was championed by Ehud Olmert during his election campaign of early 2006, to which he remained committed following his election as Prime Minister.

It sought to unilaterally fix the borders of Israel by consolidating main blocs of West Bank settlements, thereby taking in large amounts of Palestinian land. The English name of the plan changed from "convergence" to "consolidation," and finally to "realignment."

Implementation of the Plan would frustrate not only the Palestinian people's aspirations for a contiguous and independent state, but could foster insecurity among the states in the region and jeopardise relations between Israel and its neighbours.

In September 2006, the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories reported to the UN that "the proposals of the Government of Israel for 'unilateral disengagement', 'convergence' or 'realignment', now in abeyance as a result of the Lebanon war, clearly envisage the unlawful annexation of large portions of Palestinian territory. The euphemisms used to describe this policy should not be allowed to obscure the hard truth."

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/2e64a5d7f563f5468525720a0052603d?OpenDocument>

## **The National Conciliation Document of the Prisoners (May 2006)**

On 27 June 2006, representatives of four major Palestinian political parties announced that further agreement had been reached over the Prisoners' Document. The original document was the working paper of the National Dialogue, which started on 25 May 2006. Islamic Jihad, which participated in the original talks, did not initial this draft agreement.

The central point of the joint manifesto is the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but the existing drafts of the deal make no mention of the state of Israel.

The document calls for the establishment of a national unity government, the release of Palestinian prisoners, and all factions to limit their armed activities to areas occupied by Israel since 1967.

The full text available at:

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9a798adbf322aff38525617b006d88d7/ce3abe1b2e1502b58525717a006194cd!OpenDocument>

There was some debate in the world's press at the time as to whether the document recognised Israel. However, Palestinian Minister Abdel Rahman Zeidan said the document did not in any way recognise Israel.

"There is no agreement between the Palestinians on specifically this phrase. You will not find one word in the document clearly stating the recognition of Israel as a state. Nobody has agreed to this. This was not on the table. This was not in the dialogue."

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/5122822.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/5122822.stm)

The following plans, accords and initiatives are considered private, which essentially means they were proposed by members of civil society and are not official documents of either the Palestinians or Israelis.

### **Elon Peace Plan (2002)**

<http://www.therightroadtopeace.com/eng/DefaultEng.html>

The Elon Peace Plan was proposed in 2002 by Rabbi Binyamin Elon, who was the Israeli tourism minister at the time. The plan advocates the formal annexation of the West Bank and Gaza by Israel, and that the Palestinians will become citizens of a Palestinian state in Jordan:

"Israel, the United States and the international community will allocate resources for the completion of the exchange of populations that began in 1948 and the full rehabilitation of the refugees and their absorption and naturalization in various countries."

Included is a quotation from the Old Testament book of Numbers (ch. 33 v. 51-52) - God's words to the Israelites: "When you cross the Jordan to the land of Canaan you shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land before you."

Elon told Israel Army Radio in December 2001: "If [the Palestinians] do not stop the war that they initiated, they must understand that there is no such thing as a luxury war, and that when they lose the war, they will be expelled from here."

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/a4da69bc0944c35c85256c1e00473339?OpenDocument>

A letter from the Permanent Observer for Palestine to the UN Secretary General in 2002 reported that "Mr. Elon, his predecessor and their party openly advocate such racist policies of ethnic cleansing and transfer of the Palestinian people."

<http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/73439c39ce313e4185256b580053f06f?OpenDocument>

The plan never gained any currency, and was largely ignored.

## **Ayalon-Nusseibeh Initiative (July 2002)**

Also known as the Peoples' Voice Initiative, it was proposed initially in July 2002 by Ami Ayalon, former head of Israel's internal security service Shin Bet, and Palestinian academic and former negotiator Sari Nusseibeh, and aims to resolve the conflict in a single agreement without any phased or interim steps.

The Initiative - labelled by the authors an "historic compromise" - seeks to influence the political process by petition, seeking the signatures of enough residents of the area on all sides of the conflict to drive the leaders of the various sides to concluding a peace agreement. To date (May 2007), 254,431 Israelis and 161,000 Palestinians have signed up.

The key proposals of the initiative are:

- Two states for two peoples.
- Borders are to be based upon the 4 June 1967 lines, UN resolutions, and the Arab peace initiative.
- Jerusalem will be an open city, the capital of two states.
- Palestinian refugees will return only to the State of Palestine.
- Palestine will be demilitarised.
- Upon the full implementation of these principles, all claims on both sides and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will end.

The Statement of Principles can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/9a798adb322aff38525617b006d88d7/1273b3972da8e47185256dd00055a0cf!OpenDocument>

However, as a private initiative, it has no official endorsement. In fact, a few weeks before the Initiative's launch, Israeli intelligence officers raided Nusseibeh's office at Al-Quds University and removed boxes of files, student and personnel records and research, and shut down the administration bloc of the university that is his base. The Guardian reported this action as "the Israeli government's move to silence Nusseibeh."

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/israel/Story/0,2763,752362,00.html>

An Arab Media Watch synopsis of the problems with the Initiative is available at:

<http://www.arabmediawatch.com/amw/CountryBackgrounds/Palestine/PeaceProposals/NusseibehAyalonPlan/tabid/237/Default.aspx>

### **Geneva Accord (October 2003)**

Also known as "The Draft Permanent Status Agreement" or "Geneva Initiative," it is a detailed but unofficial blueprint for peace. The Accord was signed on 12 October 2003, and is the result of two and a half years of secret negotiations led by former Israeli Justice Minister Yossi Beilin and former Palestinian Information Minister Yasser Abed Rabbo.

The text of the Accord can be viewed at:

<http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/9a798adb322aff38525617b006d88d7/7f8c3013e5e0b96385256fc000529fb3!OpenDocument>

The main points are:

Most of the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip would be dismantled, but Israel would annex two big settlements south and east of Jerusalem, plus another 12 in East Jerusalem. Jerusalem would be divided administratively, though not physically. The mosque compound Al Haram Al Sharif would be under Palestinian sovereignty, and Jerusalem would become the capital of two states.

Palestinians would, in effect, give up the right of return for refugees. A few might go back, but only with Israeli agreement, while others would be able to settle in a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. In exchange, the Palestinians would recognise the Israeli state and get 97.5% of all the land occupied by Israel in the 1967 war.

Then-Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon denounced Beilin and his fellow Israeli negotiators as "traitors," and said the initiative "does Israel damage and is a mistake."

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/3245838.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3245838.stm)

An Arab Media Watch synopsis of the problems with the Accord is available at:

<http://www.arabmediawatch.com/amw/CountryBackgrounds/Palestine/PeaceProposals/GenevaAccord/tabid/131/Default.aspx>

### **Lieberman Plan (May 2004)**

Also known as the Populated Land Exchange Plan, this plan was outlined in May 2004 by then-Israeli Transport Minister Avigdor Lieberman. It proposes an exchange of populated territories between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

According to the plan, the Arab-populated 'Triangle' area of the Wadi 'Ara region in northern Israel would be handed over to the PA in exchange for keeping large Jewish-populated settlement blocs in the West Bank, and only those Arabs who felt a connection with the State of Israel and were loyal to it would be allowed to remain.

Arab critics argue that Lieberman's plan amounts to apartheid and is thus racist. It would forcibly revoke the Israeli citizenship of Israeli Arabs, and transfer their sovereignty to the PA.

On 30 May ten-Prime Minister Ariel Sharon condemned Lieberman's statements, saying: "We regard Israeli Arabs as part of the State of Israel." Sharon dismissed Lieberman from his post of transport minister the following month because of his opposition to Sharon's Disengagement Plan.

<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=433141>

More recently, a Haaretz editorial said of Lieberman: "Lieberman's lack of restraint and his unbridled tongue, comparable only to those of Iran's president, are liable to bring disaster down upon the entire region."

<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/objects/pages/PrintArticleEn.jhtml?itemNo=778468>

### **Franco–Italian–Spanish Middle East Peace Plan (November 2006)**

The Plan was proposed by Spanish Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero and announced on 16 November 2006.

The proposal would include an immediate ceasefire and the formation of a Palestinian unity government. The other three components of the Plan involve an exchange of prisoners, talks between Israel's prime minister and the Palestinian Authority president, and an international mission in the Gaza Strip to monitor a ceasefire.

Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat welcomed the Plan in principle, whereas the Israeli authorities dismissed it.

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/6157144.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/6157144.stm)