

Arab–Israeli Accords and CBMs

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Confidence-building measures (CBMs) have become an integral part of the Arab–Israeli peace process. When employed by national leaders seeking reconciliation, CBMs can establish an “operational” or working-level trust which can catalyze “structural” agreements.¹ Properly conceived and implemented, CBMs can soften seemingly intractable political positions and prepare hostile parties for more substantive military and political settlement.

CBMs have proven to be useful in the Arab–Israeli context, and have been employed in a variety of forms such as cooperative monitoring, search and rescue, and the creation of nuclear weapon-free and limited military zones.² After the 1973 war, CBMs were utilized to limit territorial disputes and military conflict between Israel and Egypt and between Israel and Syria. Disengagement agreements were brought about through the efforts of then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. This United States mediation effort was itself a form of confidence-building. On 18 January 1974 the Egyptian–Israeli “Disengagement of Forces Agreement” was signed, providing for withdrawal of Israeli troops west of the Suez Canal, as well as offering a detailed description of the zones where Egyptian forces could be stationed on the East Bank. Relevant portions of this agreement follow:

Egyptian–Israeli Disengagement (1974)

Egypt and Israel will scrupulously observe the cease-fire on land, sea, and air called for by the UN Security Council and will refrain from the time of the signing of this document from all military or parliamentary actions against each other. The military forces of Egypt and Israel will be separated in accordance with the following principles:

- All Egyptian forces on the east side of the Canal will be deployed west of the line designated as Line A.

¹ Robert Darilek distinguishes between operational and structural arms control, defining the former as measures designed to build an atmosphere of trust, thereby facilitating the latter, formal arms limitation negotiations. See Richard Darilek, “The Future of Conventional Arms Control in Europe: A Tale of Two Cities: Stockholm, Vienna,” *Survival* XXIV, no. 1 (January/February 1987): 5–16.

² This essay does not purport to include every Arab–Israeli accord or CBM since the 1970’s. Other important treaties and statements promoting CBMs include the 1990 Mubarak Declaration calling for a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Middle East, a speech by Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres at the 1993 signing of the Chemical Weapons Convention, as well as declarations promoting economic cooperation adopted at the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) economic summits held in Casablanca and Amman. See Shai Feldman, *Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in the Middle East* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997).

. . . All Israeli forces, including those west of the Suez Canal and the Bitter Lakes, will be deployed east of the line designated as Line B. . . .

- The area between the Egyptian and Israeli lines will be a zone of disengagement in which the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) will be stationed. The UNEF will continue to consist of units from countries that are not permanent members of the Security Council.
- The area between the Egyptian line and the Suez Canal will be limited in armament and forces.
- The area between the Israeli line (Line B . . .) and the line designated as Line C . . . which runs along the western base of the mountains where the Gidi and Milta Passes are located, will be limited in armament and forces.
- The limitations referred to in paragraphs 3 and 4 will be inspected by UNEF. Existing procedures of the UNEF, including the attaching of Egyptian and Israeli liaison officers to UNEF, will be continued.
- Air forces of the two sides will be permitted to operate up to their respective lines without interference from the other side.

The detailed implementation of the disengagement of forces will be worked out by military representatives of Egypt and Israel, who will agree on the stages of this process. These representatives will meet no later than 48 hours after the signature of this agreement at Kilometer 101 under the aegis of the United Nations for this purpose. They will complete this task within five days. Disengagement will begin 48 hours after the completion of the work of the military representatives and in no event later than seven days after the signature of this agreement. The process of disengagement will be completed not later than 40 days after it begins.

This agreement is not regarded by Egypt and Israel as a final peace agreement. It constitutes a first step toward a final, just and durable peace according to the provisions of Security Council Resolution 338 and within the framework of the Geneva Conference.

The first disengagement agreement included the following provisions, which were monitored by the United States:

In order to facilitate agreement between Egypt and Israel and as part of that agreement, and to assist in maintaining scrupulous observance of the cease-fire on land, air, and sea the United States proposes the following:

- That within the areas of limited armaments and forces described in the agreement, there will be: (a) no more than eight reinforced battalions of armed forces and 30 tanks; (b) no artillery except anti-tank guns, anti-tank missiles, mortars and six batteries of howitzers of a caliber up to 122mm (M-3) with a range not to exceed 12 kilometers; (c) no weapons capable of interfering with the other parties flights over its own forces; (d) no permanent, fixed installations for missile sights. The entire force of each party shall not exceed 7,000 men.
- That to a distance 30 kilometers west of the Egyptian line and east of the Israeli line, there will be no weapons in areas from which they can reach the other line.
- That to a distance 30 kilometers west of the Egyptian line and east of the Israeli line, there will be no surface-to-air missiles.
- That the above limitations will apply as from the time the agreement on disengagement between Egypt and Israel is signed by the parties and will be implemented in accordance with the schedule of implementation of the basic agreement.

A separate disengagement agreement between Syria and Israel was signed on 31 May 1974, in large part due to Kissinger's tireless and skillful diplomacy. Intense rounds of negotiation between Syria's president Hafiz al-Asad and Israel's then-Prime Minister Golda Meir—with Kissinger as the go-between—produced a public disengagement document, a map detailing troop positions, and a protocol describing the status of United Nations Disengagement Observer Forces (UNDOF), along with private letters between Israeli and Syrian leadership. Text of the agreement and Protocol are provided below:

Syrian–Israeli Disengagement Agreement (1974)

Israel and Syria will scrupulously observe the cease-fire on land, sea, and air and will refrain from all military actions against each other, from the time of the signing of the document, in implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 338 dated October 22, 1973. The military forces of Israel and Syria will be separated in accordance with the following principles:

- All Israeli military forces will be west of the line designated as Line A . . . , except in the Kuneitra area, where they will be west of line A-1.
- All territory east of Line A will be under Syrian administration, and the Syrian civilians will return to this territory.
- The area between Line A and the Line designated as Line B . . . will be an area of separation. In this area will be stationed the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force established in accordance with the accompanying protocol.
- All Syrian military forces will be east of the line designated as Line B . . .
- There will be two equal areas of limitation in armament and forces, one west of Line A and one east of Line B as agreed upon.
- Air forces of the two sides will be permitted to operate up to their respective lines without interference from the other side.
- In the area between Line A and Line A-1 . . . there shall be no military forces.
- This agreement and the attached map will be signed by the military representatives of Israel and Syria in Geneva not later than May 31, 1974, in the Egyptian–Israeli military working group of the Geneva Peace Conference under the aegis of the United Nations, after that group has been joined by a Syrian military representative, and with the participation of representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union. The precise delineation of a detailed map and a plan for the implementation of the disengagement of forces will be worked by military representatives of Israel and Syria in the Egyptian–Israeli military working group, who will agree on the stages of this process. The military working group described above will state their work for this purpose in Geneva under the aegis of the United Nations within 24 hours after the signing of this agreement. They will complete this task within five days. Disengagement will begin within 24 hours after the completion of the task of the military working group. The process of disengagement will be completed not later than twenty days after it begins.
- The provisions of paragraph A, B, and C shall be inspected by personnel of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force under this agreement.
- Within 24 hours after the signing of this agreement in Geneva all wounded prisoners of war which each side holds of the other as certified by the ICRC will be repatriated. The morning after the completion of the task of the military working group, all remaining prisoners of war will be repatriated.
- The bodies of all dead soldiers held by either side will be returned for burial in their respective countries within ten days after the signing of this agreement.

- This agreement is not a peace agreement. It is a step toward a just and durable peace on the basis of Security Council Resolution 338 dated October 22, 1973.

Protocol Concerning the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (1974)

Israel and Syria agree that:

The function of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) under that agreement will be to use its best efforts to maintain the cease-fire and to see that it is scrupulously observed. It will supervise the agreement and protocol thereto with regard to the area of separation and limitation. In carrying out its mission, it will comply with generally applicable Syrian laws and regulations and still not hamper the functioning of local civil administration. It will enjoy freedom of movement and communication and other facilities that are necessary for its mission. It will be mobile and provided with personal weapons of a defensive character and shall use such weapons only in self-defense. The number of the UNDOF shall be about 1,200, who will be selected by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in consultation with the parties from members of the United Nations who are not permanent members of the Security Council.

- The UNDOF will be under the command of the United Nations, vested in the Security Council.
- The UNDOF shall carry out inspections under the agreement, and report there on to the parties, on a regular basis, not less often than once every fifteen days, and, in addition, when requested by either party. It shall mark on the ground the respective lines shown on the map attached to the agreement.
- Israel and Syria will support a resolution of the United Nations Security Council which will provide for the UNDOF contemplated by the agreement. The initial authorization will be for six months subject to renewal by further resolution of the Security Council.

A second disengagement agreement between Israel and Egypt, signed by then-Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and President Anwar Sadat on 4 September 1975, stipulated the creation of a limited forces zone, a United Nations supervised buffer zone, an Israeli/Egyptian electronic surveillance station, and an early warning station to be staffed by 200 American civilians. The accord further allowed Egyptian access to particular oil fields in the Gulf of Suez. Kissinger's third party mediation "eliciting proposals from each side, getting preliminary reactions, identifying obstacles, and then starting the diplomatic process that would eventually bridge the substantive gaps" was once again a form of confidence-building.³ Selected sections of the Interim Agreement follow:

Interim Agreement Between Israel and Egypt (1975)

The Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Government of Israel have agreed that:

Article II

The parties hereby undertake not to resort to the threat or use of force or military blockade against each other.

³William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab–Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1993), 229.

Article III

The parties shall continue scrupulously to observe the cease-fire on land, sea, and air and to refrain from all military or paramilitary actions against each other. The parties also confirm that the obligations contained in the annex and, when concluded, the Protocol shall be an integral part of this Agreement.

Article IV

The military forces of the parties shall be deployed in accordance with the following principles:

- All Israel forces shall be deployed east of the lines designated as lines J and M. . . .
- All Egyptian forces shall be deployed west of the line designated as line E. . . .
- The area between the lines designated . . . as lines E and F and the area between the lines designated . . . as lines J and K shall be limited in armament and forces.
- The zone between the lines designated . . . as lines E and J will be a buffer zone. In this zone the United Nations Emergency Force will continue to perform its functions as under the Egyptian–Israeli Agreement of 18 January 1974.
- In the area south from line E and west from line M . . . there will be no military forces, as specified in the attached annex.

The details concerning the new lines, the redeployment of the forces and its timing, the limitation on armaments and forces, aerial reconnaissance, the operation of the early warning and surveillance installations and the use of the roads, the United Nations functions and other arrangements will all be in accordance with the provisions of the annex and map which are an integral part of this Agreement and of the protocol which is to result from negotiations pursuant to the annex and which, when concluded, shall become an integral part of this Agreement.

Annex to the Egypt–Israel Agreement (1975)

Within five days after the signature of the Egypt–Israel Agreement, representatives of the two parties shall meet in the military working group of the Middle East peace conference at Geneva to begin preparation of a detailed Protocol for the implementation of the Agreement. The working group will complete the Protocol within two weeks. In order to facilitate preparation of the Protocol and implementation of the agreement, and to assist in maintaining the scrupulous observance of the cease-fire and other elements of the Agreement, the two parties have agreed on the following principles, which are integral part of the Agreement, as guidelines for the working group.

Definitions of Lines and Area

The deployment lines, areas of limited forces and armaments, buffer zones, the area south from line E and west from line M, other designated areas, road sections for common use and other features referred to in Article IV of the Agreement shall be indicated on the . . . map (1:100,000–United States edition).

Buffer Zones

- Access to the buffer zones will be controlled by the United Nations Emergency Force, according to procedures to be worked out by the working group and the United Nations Emergency Force.
- Aircraft of either party will be permitted to fly freely up to the forward line of the party. Reconnaissance aircraft of either party may fly up to the middle line of the buffer zone between E and J on an agreed schedule.
- In the buffer zone, between lines E and J, there will be established under article IV of the Agreement an early warning system entrusted to United States civilian personnel as detailed in a separate proposal,

which is a part of this Agreement.

- Authorized personnel shall have access to the buffer zone for transit to and from the early warning system; the manner in which this is carried out shall be worked out by the working group and the United Nations Emergency Force.

Area South of Line E and West of Line M

- In this area, the United Nations Emergency Force will assure that there are no military or paramilitary forces of any kind, military fortifications and military installations; it will establish checkpoints and have the freedom of movement necessary to perform this function.
- Egyptian civilians and third country civilian oil field personnel shall have the right to enter, exit from, work and live in the above indicated area, except for buffer zones 2A, 2B and the United Nations posts. Egyptian civilian police shall be allowed in the area to perform normal civil police functions among the civilian population in such number and with such weapons and equipment as shall be provided for in the Protocol.
- Entry to and exit from the area, by land, by air, or by sea, shall be only through United Nations Emergency Force checkpoints. The United Nations Emergency Force shall also establish checkpoints along the road, the dividing line, and at either points, with the precise locations and number to be included in the Protocol.
- Access to the airspace and the coastal area shall be limited to unarmed Egyptian civilian vessels and unarmed civilian helicopters and transport planes involved in the civilian activities of the areas agreed by the working group.
- Israel undertakes to leave intact all currently existing civilian installations and infrastructures.
- Procedures for use of the common sections of the coastal road along the Gulf of Suez shall be determined by the working group and detailed in the Protocol.

Aerial Surveillance

There shall be a continuation of aerial reconnaissance missions by the United States over the areas covered by the Agreement (the area between lines F and K), following the same procedures already in practice. The missions will ordinarily be carried out at a frequency of one mission every 7–10 days, with either party or the United Nations Emergency Force empowered to request an earlier mission. The United States Government will make the mission results available expeditiously to Israel, Egypt and the chief coordinator of the United Nations peacekeeping missions in the Middle East.

Limitation of Forces and Armaments

Within the areas of limited forces and armaments (the areas between lines J and K and lines E and F) the major limitation shall be as follows:

- (1) Eight standard infantry battalions. (2) Seventy-five tanks. (3) Seventy-two artillery pieces, including heavy mortars. (i.e. with caliber larger than 120 mm.), whose range shall not exceed twelve km. (4) The total number of personnel shall not exceed eight thousand. (5) Both parties agree not to station or locate in the area weapons which can reach the line of the other side. (6) Both parties agree that in the areas between line A (of the disengagement agreement of 18 January 1974) and line E they will construct no new fortifications or installations for forces of a size greater than that agreed herein.

The major limitations beyond the areas of limited forces and armament will be:

- Neither side will station nor locate any weapon in areas from which they can reach the other line.
- The parties will not place any anti-aircraft missiles within an area of ten (10) kilometers east of line K

and west of line F, respectively.

- The United Nations Emergency Force will conduct inspections in order to ensure the maintenance of the agreed limitations within these areas.

Process of Implementation

The detailed implementation and timing of the redeployment of forces, turnover of oil fields, and other arrangements called for by the Agreement, Annex and Protocol shall be determined by the working group, which will agree on the stages of this process, including the phased movement of Egyptian troops to line E and Israeli troops to line J. The first phase will be the transfer of the oil fields and installations to Egypt. This process will begin within two weeks from the signature of the Protocol with the introduction of the necessary technicians, and it will be completed no later than eight weeks after it begins. The detail of the phasing will be worked out in the military working group.

The agreement to normalize relations between Egypt and Israel occurred when Egypt's Anwar Sadat and Israel's Menachem Begin met with President Jimmy Carter at Camp David, from 5–17 September 1978. The Camp David Accords called for an interim self-governing Palestinian Authority. Partial text of the accord follows:

The Camp David Accords—The Framework for Peace in the Middle East (1978)

Framework

Taking these factors into account, the parties are determined to reach a just, comprehensive, and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict through the conclusion of peace treaties based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 in all their parts. Their purpose is to achieve peace and good neighborly relations. They recognize that for peace to endure, it must involve all those who have been most deeply affected by the conflict. They therefore agree that this framework, as appropriate, is intended by them to constitute a basis for peace not only between Egypt and Israel, but also between Israel and each of its other neighbors which is prepared to negotiate peace with Israel on this basis. With that objective in mind, they have agreed to proceed as follows:

West Bank and Gaza

Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the representatives of the Palestinian people should participate in negotiations on the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. To achieve that objective, negotiations relating to the West Bank and Gaza should proceed in three stages:

- Egypt and Israel agree that, in order to ensure a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all the parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. In order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants, under these arrangements the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government. To negotiate the details of a transitional arrangement, Jordan will be invited to join the negotiations on the basis of this framework. These new arrangements should give due consideration both to the principle of self-government by the inhabitants of these territories and to the legitimate security concerns of the parties involved.
- Egypt, Israel, and Jordan will agree on the modalities for establishing elected self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza. The delegations of Egypt and Jordan may include Palestinians from the

West Bank and Gaza or other Palestinians as mutually agreed. The parties will negotiate an agreement which will define the powers and responsibilities of the self-governing authority to be exercised in the West Bank and Gaza. A withdrawal of Israeli armed forces will take place and there will be a redeployment of the remaining Israeli forces into specified security locations. The agreement will also include arrangements for assuring internal and external security and public order. A strong local police force will be established, which may include Jordanian citizens. In addition, Israeli and Jordanian forces will participate in joint patrols and in the manning of control posts to assure the security of the borders.

- When the self-governing authority (administrative council) in the West Bank and Gaza is established and inaugurated, the transitional period of five years will begin. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations will take place to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and its relationship with its neighbors and to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan by the end of the transitional period. These negotiations will be conducted among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. Two separate but related committees will be convened, one committee, consisting of representatives of the four parties which will negotiate and agree on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and its relationship with its neighbors, and the second committee, consisting of representatives of Israel and representatives of Jordan to be joined by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, to negotiate the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, taking into account the agreement reached in the final status of the West Bank and Gaza. The negotiations shall be based on all the provisions and principles of UN Security Council Resolution 242. The negotiations will resolve, among other matters, the location of the boundaries and the nature of the security arrangements. The solution from the negotiations must also recognize the legitimate right of the Palestinian peoples and their just requirements. In this way, the Palestinians will participate in the determination of their own future through:
 - The negotiations among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to agree on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and other outstanding issues by the end of the transitional period.
 - Submitting their agreements to a vote by the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza.
 - Providing for the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to decide how they shall govern themselves consistent with the provisions of their agreement.
 - Participating as stated above in the work of the committee negotiating the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan.
 - All necessary measures will be taken and provisions made to assure the security of Israel and its neighbors during the transitional period and beyond. To assist in providing such security, a strong local police force will be constituted by the self-governing authority. It will be composed of inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. The police will maintain liaison on internal security matters with the designated Israeli, Jordanian, and Egyptian officers.
 - During the transitional period, representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the self-governing authority will constitute a continuing committee to decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Other matters of common concern may also be dealt with by this committee.
 - Egypt and Israel will work with each other and with other interested parties to establish agreed procedures for a prompt, just and permanent implementation of the resolution of the refugee problem.

Egypt–Israel

- Egypt–Israel undertake not to resort to the threat or the use of force to settle disputes. Any disputes shall be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of Article 33 of the UN Charter.

- In order to achieve peace between them, the parties agree to negotiate in good faith with a goal of concluding within three months from the signing of the Framework a peace treaty between them while inviting the other parties to the conflict to proceed simultaneously to negotiate and conclude similar peace treaties with a view the achieving a comprehensive peace in the area. The Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel will govern the peace negotiations between them. The parties will agree on the modalities and the timetable for the implementation of their obligations under the treaty.

The Camp David Accords and the subsequent signing of an Egyptian–Israeli Peace Treaty in 1979 did not immediately generate subsequent agreements. Not until the breakup of the Soviet Union and outbreak of the Gulf War in January 1991 did Middle Eastern politics change significantly enough to allow for new diplomatic efforts. Following the shuttle diplomacy of Secretary of State James Baker, the United States and the Soviet Union jointly issued a invitation to Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinians to partake in a peace conference to be held in Madrid, Spain. A significant outcome of the conference was the establishment of multilateral peace efforts in the form of working groups. The following consists of draft sections from a meeting of the Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) working group held in Tunis, designed to implement regional CBMs.⁴

Draft Statement on Arms Control and Regional Security (1994)

In their pursuit of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, the regional participants will be governed in their security policies by the following fundamental principles, among others:

- The participants reaffirm their commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;
- Participants must refrain from the threat or use of force and from acts of terrorism and subversion;
- Security requires that participants fulfill in good faith obligations under international law;
- Security must be based on respect for and acknowledgment of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence, non-interference in internal affairs, and reconciliation and cooperation among participants;
- Arms control and regional security arrangements should be aimed at achieving equal security for all at the lowest possible level of armaments and military forces;
- Military means, while needed to fulfill the inherent right of self-defense, and to discourage aggression, cannot by themselves provide security.

Enduring security requires the peaceful resolution of conflicts in the region and the promotion of good neighborly relations and common interests.

Guidelines for the Middle East Arms Control and Regional Security Process:

⁴ For more on the ACRS working group, see Jill R. Junnola, “Confidence-Building Measures in the Middle East: Developments in the Arab–Israeli Peace Process, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Persian Gulf,” *A Handbook of Confidence-Building Measures for Regional Security*, 3d ed., Michael Krepon, Khurshid Khoja, Michael Newbill, and Jenny S. Drezin, eds., (Washington, D.C.: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 1998), 47–76.

The regional participants recognize the following as guidelines for the arms control and regional security process:

- The arms control and regional security process, as an integral part of the Middle East peace process, should create a favorable climate for progress in the bilateral negotiations and complement them by developing tangible measures in parallel with progress in the bilateral talks;
- The arms control and regional security process should strive to enhance security and general stability on a region-wide basis, even beyond the scope of the Arab–Israeli conflict, by pursuing regional security and arms control measures that reduce tension or the risk of war;
- The scope of the process must be comprehensive, covering a broad range of regional security, confidence and security building and arms control measures that address all threats to security and all categories of arms and weapons systems;
- The arms control and regional security process should not at any stage diminish the security of any individual state or give a state a military advantage over any other;
- The basic framework of the process is to pursue a determined, step-by-step approach which sets ambitious goals and proceeds toward them in a realistic way;
- The basis for decision-making on each issue in the arms control and regional security process should be consensus by the regional participants directly concerned;
- Each regional arrangement adopted in the arms control and regional security process should be the result of direct regional negotiations and should be implemented by all those regional parties relevant to the arrangement;
- Strict compliance with arms control and disarmament measures adopted within the framework of the arms control and regional security process is essential to the integrity of that process and for building confidence among the regional participants;
- All arms control and disarmament measures adopted by regional participants within the framework of the arms control and regional security process will be effectively verifiable by the regional parties themselves and should include, where appropriate, mutual on-site inspection and other rigorous monitoring techniques and mechanisms, and such verification could be complementary with verification measures in international organizations.

Statement of Intent on Objectives for the Arms Control and Regional Security Process:

In the context of achieving a just, secure, comprehensive and lasting peace and reconciliation, the regional participants agree to pursue, inter alia, the following arms control and regional security objectives:

- preventing conflicts from occurring through misunderstanding or miscalculation by adopting confidence and security building measures that increase transparency and openness and reduce the risk of surprise attack and by developing regional institutional arrangements that enhance security and the process of arms control;
- limiting military spending in the region so that additional resources can be made available to other areas such as economic and social development;
- reducing stockpiles of conventional arms and preventing a conventional arms race in the region as part of an effort to provide enhanced security at lower levels of armaments and militarization, to reduce the threat of large-scale destruction posed by such weapons, and to move towards force structures that do not exceed legitimate defense requirements;
- promoting cooperation among regional participants in the peaceful uses of outer space, including the pursuit of appropriate means of sharing the benefits from satellite systems, of ensuring that outer space

and other environments will not be used for acts of aggression by regional participants, and of enhancing the security of regional participants;

Language proposed by Israel:

- establishing the Middle East as a mutually verifiable zone free of nuclear, chemical, biological weapons and ballistic missiles in view of their high destructive capacity and their potential to promote instability in the region.

Language proposed by the United States:

- establishing the Middle East as a zone free of all weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and their delivery systems—since such weapons, with their high destructive capacity and their potential to promote instability in the region, pose a grave threat to security—through a combination of regional arrangements, such as weapons-free zones, and international arrangements, such as the BWC, the NPT, and the CWC.

Language proposed by Egypt:

- establishing a zone free of all weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and their delivery systems, since such weapons, with their high destructive capacity and their potential to exacerbate the arms race in the region, pose the greatest threat to its security.
- that all parties of the region will adhere to the NPT in the near future.
- Regional participants will be guided in their conduct by the principles embodied in this Statement and will refrain from actions or activities that are inconsistent with its guidelines or principles and that preclude the attainment of its objectives.

The Madrid Peace Process generated momentum for further Arab–Israeli negotiations. Behind the scenes meetings between Israeli and Palestinian negotiators in Oslo, Norway in the winter and spring of 1993 further paved the way for landmark agreements.

In September 1993, PLO chairman Yasser Arafat and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin exchanged letters, opening a new chapter in the peace process. The Palestinian leadership acknowledged Israel’s right to exist in peace and security, while the Israeli government recognized the PLO as sole representative of the Palestinian people. Rabin and Palestinian representative Mahmoud Abbas then signed a Declaration of Principles (DOP) on 13 September, which provided for Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and Jericho, further discussions on Palestinian empowerment in the West Bank, and the formation of a Palestinian governing council. Excerpts of the DOP are provided below:

Declaration of Principles (1993)

- The Government of the State of Israel and the P.L.O. team . . . representing the Palestinian people agree that it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, recognize their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security and achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process.
- The aim of the Israeli–Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council . . . for the

Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

- Immediately after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area . . . authority will be transferred to the Palestinians on the following spheres: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, and tourism. The Palestinian side will commence in building the Palestinian police force, as agreed upon.
- In order that the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip may govern themselves according to democratic principles, direct, free and general political elections will be held for the Council under agreed supervision and international observation, while the Palestinian police force will ensure public order.
- After entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, and not later than the eve of elections for the Council, a redeployment of Israeli military forces in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will take place, in addition to withdrawal of Israeli forces [from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area].
- Disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of this Declaration of Principles, or any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period, shall be resolved by negotiations through the Joint Liaison Committee, established pursuant to Article X.

The 1993 Declaration of Principles further outlined arrangements for what became a Palestinian–Israeli Interim agreement, to be implemented in stages. The Gaza–Jericho Accord of 4 May 1994 provided a more detailed blueprint of Palestinian self-rule, stipulating terms for Israeli troop withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and redeployment in the West Bank. The Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, signed on 28 September 1995, established guidelines for the transfer of previously contested lands from Israeli jurisdiction to Palestinian authority, laid the framework for further military redeployment, and contained several nonmilitary CBMs. Elements of cooperative security in the Gaza–Jericho Accord and portions of the Interim Agreement are included below:

Gaza–Jericho Accord (1994)

- A Joint Security Coordination and Cooperation Committee (JSC), composed of roughly equal numbers of Israelis and Palestinians, is responsible for recommending and implementing security policy guidelines. The security committee provides a channel between the two sides for exchanging information needed to solve security problems and holds meetings every two weeks. Special meetings can be convened within 48 hours upon either party’s request.
- Several District Coordination Offices (DCOs) handle daily security details. The district offices implement JSC policies and guidelines, report any district incidents to the JSC, and direct joint Israeli–Palestinian patrols and mobile units. The DCOs are staffed continuously by up to six officers from each side and are operated jointly, 24 hours a day.
- Joint Israeli–Palestinian patrols patrol routes of activity on foot and vehicle, 24 hours a day. Patrols and mobile units must notify the relevant DCO immediately of any of the following incidents: any irregular Israeli army movements or activities or Palestinian police force activities, specifically those near settlements or villages; any interruption of normal traffic flow (road works or roadblocks); incidents involving both Israelis and Palestinians, such as accidents, casualties, uses of weapons, or any terrorist action.

The Gaza–Jericho Accord also included a significant declaratory statement on the prevention of terrorism, excerpted below:

- Both sides shall take all measures necessary in order to prevent acts of terrorism, crime and hostilities directed against each other, against individuals falling under the other’s authority and against their property, and shall take legal measures against offenders. In addition, the Palestinian side shall take all measures necessary to prevent such hostile acts directed against the settlements. The infrastructure serving them and the military installation area, and the Israeli side shall take all measures necessary to prevent such hostile acts emanating from the settlements and directed against Palestinians.

Israeli–Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip (1995)

The Palestinian Council

The Council to be established following the elections will assume various powers and responsibilities in security and civil spheres in the West Bank and Gaza, as detailed below. With the establishment of the Council, the Israeli military government will be withdrawn and the Civil Administration dissolved. The Council will assume responsibility for all rights, liabilities, and obligations in the spheres transferred to it. At the same time Israel will retain those powers and responsibilities not transferred to the Council.

The Council, which will have 82 members, will have legislative and executive powers. The agreement provides that the legislative powers will be exercised by the Council as a whole, while its executive powers will be exercised by a committee of the Council—the Executive Authority. This committee shall comprise Council members together with a small number of appointed officials.

The powers of the Council will extend to all matters within its jurisdiction. It should be noted that it will not have powers in the sphere of foreign relations. The agreement does, however, provide for a number of areas in which the PLO may, on behalf of the Council, conduct negotiations and sign agreements (economic, donor countries, regional development).

Redeployment

The IDF [Israeli Defense Force] will redeploy in the West Bank according to the timetable set out in the agreement. In the first stage, designed to facilitate the holding of elections, the IDF will withdraw from the populated areas of the West Bank: the six cities—Jenin, Nablus, Tulkarem, Kalkilya, Ramallah and Bethlehem (in the city of Hebron, special arrangements will apply, as detailed below)—and 450 towns and villages. At the end of this redeployment, there will be almost no IDF presence in Palestinian population centers. In addition, the agreement provides that a series of further redeployments are to take place at six-month intervals following the inauguration of the Council. In the course of these redeployments, additional parts of Area C will be transferred to the territorial jurisdiction of the Council, so that by the completion of the redeployment phases, Palestinian territorial jurisdiction will cover West Bank territory except for the areas where jurisdiction is to be determined under the final status negotiations (settlements, military locations, etc.).

Security

Throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Israel will have overall responsibility for external security and for the security of Israelis and settlements. With regard to internal security and public order, the agreement establishes different arrangements for three types of area:

- Area “A” comprises the six cities listed above and the city of Hebron, minus the Old City of Hebron, the

Jewish Quarter, and everything that is linked from there to Kiryat Arba and the Tomb of the Patriarchs. In these areas, the Palestinian Council will have full responsibility for internal security and public order, as well as full responsibility for civil affairs.

- Area “B” comprises the Palestinian towns and villages in the West Bank. In these areas, which contain some 68 percent of the Palestinian population, the Council will be granted full civil authority, as in Area “A.” The Council will be charged with maintaining public order, while Israel will have overriding security authority to safeguard its citizens and to combat terrorism. This responsibility shall take precedence over the Palestinian responsibility for public order. 25 Palestinian police stations will be established in specified towns and villages to enable the Palestinian police to exercise its responsibility for public order. The agreement contains provisions requiring that the movement of Palestinian police be coordinated and confirmed with Israel.
- In Area “C”, which comprises the unpopulated areas of the West Bank, areas of strategic importance to Israel and the Jewish settlements, Israel will retain full responsibility for security and public order. The Council will assume all those civil responsibilities not related to territory, such as economics, health, education, etc.

The Revocation of the PLO Covenant

The agreement contains an undertaking to revoke those articles of the Palestinian Covenant calling for the destruction of Israel, within two months of the inauguration of the Council.

The Security Policy for the Prevention of Terrorism and Violence

- The agreement provides for the establishment of a strong police force, 12,000 in number, that will constitute the only Palestinian security force. The Security Annex specifies the deployment of the police force, the approved equipment and its modes of action.
- The Security Annex specifies the commitment of Israel and the Palestinian Council to cooperate in the fight against terrorism and the prevention of terrorist attacks, according to the following framework:
 - The Palestinian Police is the only Palestinian Security Authority.
 - The Palestinian Police will act systematically against all expressions of violence and terror.
 - The Council will issue permits in order to legalize the possession and carrying of arms by civilians; any illegal arms will be confiscated by the Palestinian Police.
 - The Palestinian Police will arrest and prosecute individuals suspected of perpetrating acts of violence and terror.
- Both sides, in accordance with this agreement, will act to insure the immediate, efficient and effective handling of any incident involving the threat, or acts of terrorism, violence or incitement, whether committed by Palestinians or Israelis. To this end they will cooperate in the exchange of information and coordinate policies and activities.
- Joint security committees will be established to coordinate between the IDF and the Palestinian police. Regional offices will operate 24 hours a day. Joint patrols will ensure free and secure movement on designated roads in Area “A.” Joint Mobile Units will serve as rapid response units in case of incidents and emergencies.

Release of Prisoners

In order to foster a positive atmosphere as this agreement is being implemented, and to engender mutual confidence and a basis for cooperation between the two peoples, Israel will release Palestinian prisoners who are in Israeli custody in three (3) stages according to the following format:

Stage 1 - Upon the signing of the agreement.

Stage 2 - On the eve of elections for the Council.

Stage 3 - At a later unspecified date.

Annex VII of the Agreement establishes the criteria which Israel will take into consideration when deciding upon the release.

Cooperation and Economic Relations

The Economic Annex of the Gaza–Jericho Agreement, with its appendices, has been incorporated into the Interim Agreement, with minor amendments, and its provisions, including the establishment of a single economic unit for the purpose of customs and import policy, now apply to the whole of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

In addition, an entire annex of the agreement deals with cooperation between Israel and the Palestinian Council. The parties are committed to cooperation programs involving officials, institutions and the private sector in various fields, such as economics, science, culture and society. A standing committee will be established to foster such cooperation.

Concurrent with Palestinian–Israeli talks, Israel was negotiating with other Arab countries. On 25 July 1994, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel and King Hussein of Jordan signed the Washington Declaration in which they declared an end to the state of belligerency between their two countries and stated their intent to work toward the achievement of a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace between Israel and its neighbors, and toward conclusion of a peace treaty between Jordan and Israel. Among other things, the two countries pledged their desire to develop neighborly relations, as well as their intent to refrain from threatening the other by use of force, weapons or by any other means. The Washington Declaration also called for the opening of direct telephone lines and border crossings between the two countries. Three months later, on 26 October 1994, Israel and Jordan signed a formal peace treaty. Excerpts of the text of this treaty, signed by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel and King Hussein of Jordan, follow:

Treaty of Peace between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (1994)

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 25th July, 1994, and which they are both committed to honor;
 - Aiming at the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 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;
 - . . . recognizing their right and obligation to live in peace with each other as well as with all states, within secure and recognized boundaries;
 - Desiring as well to ensure lasting security for both their States and in particular to avoid threats and the use of force between them . . . 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

- They recognize and will respect each other’s sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence;
- They recognize and will respect each other’s right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries;
- They will develop good neighborly 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;
- They respect and recognize the pivotal role of human development and dignity in regional and bilateral relationships;

Article 4—Security

- . . . 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).

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

- 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.
- To refrain from organizing, instigating, inciting, assisting or participating in acts or threats of belligerency, hostility, subversion or violence against the other Party.
- Both Parties will take necessary and effective measures, and will cooperate in combating terrorism of all kinds.
- 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 of consultations will be contained in an agreement to be concluded by the Parties within three months of the exchange of the instruments of ratification of this treaty.
- 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:
 - The creation in the Middle East of a region free from hostile alliances and coalitions.
 - 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 6—Water

- The Parties, recognizing the necessity to find a practical, just and agreed solution to their water problems and with the review that the subject of water can form the basis for the advancement of cooperation between them, jointly undertake to insure that the management and development of their water resources do not, in any way, harm the water resources of the other Party.
- . . . 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 transfers, the Parties agree to search for ways to alleviate water shortage and to cooperate in the following fields:
 - Development of existing and new water resources increasing the water availability, including cooperation on a regional basis as appropriate and minimizing waste of water resources through the chain of their uses.

- Mutual assistance in the alleviation of water shortages.
- 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.

Article 7—Economic Relations

The Parties agree to the following:

- 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.
- To cooperate bilaterally, as well as in multilateral forums, towards the promotion of their respective economies and of their neighborly economic relations with other regional parties.

Article 11—Mutual Understanding and Good Neighborly Relations

The Parties will seek to foster mutual understanding and tolerance based on shared historic values, and accordingly undertake:

- 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;
- As soon as possible, and not later than three 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.

Much of the progress in the Arab–Israeli negotiation could be attributed to the efforts of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, working with Palestinian head Yasser Arafat. While Rabin’s Labor government searched for peace and compromise with its Arab neighbors, Rabin’s assassination on 4 November 1995 dealt a severe blow to the peace process. His elected successor, Benjamin Netanyahu, holds deep reservations over dealing with the PLO and promoting territorial compromise. Netanyahu, however, has followed through with his predecessor’s commitment to withdraw the Israeli military from Hebron, the largest West Bank town. The January 1997 Protocol Concerning Redeployment in Hebron sanctions orderly transfer of power from Israelis to Palestinians. Selected sections from the protocol follow:

Protocol Concerning Redeployment in Hebron (1997)

Redeployment

The redeployment of Israeli military forces is to be carried out within 10 days from the signing of the Protocol.

Security Powers and Responsibilities

The responsibility for internal security and public order in Area H–1 will be Palestinian; in Area H–2 it will be Israeli. In addition, Israel will continue to be responsible for the overall security of Israelis throughout Hebron. The Protocol confirms the applicability to Hebron of the security provisions of the Interim Agreement, which provide that Israel has all the powers to take the steps necessary to meet its security responsibility and enable Israeli security forces to conduct security activity in areas of Palestinian responsibility (engagement steps) in defined cases.

Joint Security Measures

The Protocol provides for Joint Mobile Units and Joint Patrols to operate in areas of particular sensitivity. In addition, a Joint Coordination Center, headed by senior officers of both sides, will coordinate all joint security measures.

Special Areas

In areas of particular sensitivity located in Area H–1 but close to Area H–2 the Palestinian police will set up checkpoints and prevent the entry of demonstrators or other people threatening security and public order. Any security activity in this area must be notified to the Joint Coordination Center.

Palestinian Police

Palestinian police stations and posts shall be located in Area H–1 at the agreed locations shown on the map attached to the Protocol. All policemen will be required to pass a security check in order to verify their suitability for service taking into account the sensitivity of the area. As provided in the Interim Agreement, the Palestinian police will comprise up to 400 policemen with 20 vehicles. The Police will be armed with 200 pistols and 100 rifles. The rifles are for the protection of the police stations only, and may only be used by designated rapid response teams, to handle special security cases. Such teams armed with rifles may only enter the specified areas close to H–2 with the prior approval of the Israeli side in the Joint Coordination Center.

Normalization and Prevention of Friction

Finally, the Protocol contains a number of provisions designed to reduce friction between the two sides and lead to the normalization of life in Hebron. Among these are commitments by both sides to take all steps necessary for the opening of the Hasbahe market as a retail market, to cooperate with regard to the location of Palestinian Council offices in Area H–2 where the establishment of these offices might create friction and affect public order or security, and to reopen the Shuhada road to vehicles within 4 months. With regard to the reopening of the Shuhada road, an Agreed Minute attached to the Protocol provides that this process will begin immediately, and will be completed within 4 months, if preparations for the reopening in accordance with an American plan for renovating and upgrading the area of the road have been completed by that date.

Despite the existence of these precedent-setting agreements and CBMs, they have not inspired real trust between the parties. The “crisis of confidence” in the region, as described by US secretary of state Madeleine Albright in her September 1997 visit to Israel, runs wide and deep. CBMs, from the early warning stations in the Sinai to cooperative overflights and prisoner exchanges, have aided the peace process, but they cannot substitute for the political will to make peace, or the ability of political leaders to control acts of terror. The full potential of CBMs in the Arab–Israeli peace process has barely been explored; it awaits further efforts at compromise and peacemaking.

