## Contents

About the Editors	xiv xvi
List of Maps List of Abbreviations	xvii
A Chronology of the Arab–Israeli Conflict	xviii
The Crooked Course: Step by Step on the Path to Peace	xxix
Maps	xlii
Part I. Peace Agreements and the Disengagement from Gaza	
Arafat-Rabin-Holst Exchange of Letters (Israel-PLO Recognition) (9 September 1993)	3
Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (13 September 1993)	6
Letter from Israel's Foreign Minister to Norway's Foreign Minister on the Status of East Jerusalem (11 October 1993)	18
Establishment of the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLC) (5 November 1993)	19
Protocol on Economic Relations between the Government of the State of Israel and the P.L.O., representing the Palestinian people (Paris Protocol)	
(Paris, 29 April 1994)	21
Gaza-Jericho Agreement (4 May 1994)	45
Gaza-Jericho Agreement Letters (4 May 1994)	107
Agreement on Preparatory Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities (29 August 1994)	111
Oslo Declaration (13 September 1994)	139
Establishment of the Local Aid Coordination Committee (LACC) and the Joint Liaison Committee (JLC) (30 November 1994)	142
Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Oslo II Agreement) (28 September 1995)	145
Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH Agreement) (9 May 1996)	324
Declaration by PM Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat following their first meeting (4 September 1996)	
Hebron Protocol (17 January 1997)	
Note for the Record (17 January 1997)	336

Temporary International Presence in Hebron II (TIPH II Agreement) (21 January 1997)	342
Wye River Agreement (23 October 1998)	348
Letters of Assurance from United States to Israel (October 1998)	356
Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum (4 September 1999)	358
Protocol Concerning Safe Passage between West Bank and Gaza Strip (5 October 1999)	363
Sharon Address at Fourth Herzliya Conference (18 December 2003)	371
Exchange of Letters between PM Sharon and President Bush (14 April 2004)	376
Disengagement Plan: General Outline (18 April 2004)	381
Rice-Weisglass Letter of Understanding (18 April 2004)	387
Letters from President Bush to King Abdullah II of Jordan (19 May 2004)	390
The Cabinet Resolution Regarding the Disengagement Plan (6 June 2004)	394
Agreement on Movement and Access and Agreed Principles for Rafah Crossing (15 November 2005)	404
Gaza War I: Israel and Hamas Cease-Fires (18 January 2009)	410
Gaza War II: Cease-Fire Agreement (21 November 2012)	416
Part II. Peace Proposals and Ideas	
Prime Minister Begin's Knesset Speech on Home Rule (28 December 1977)	419
Fahd Plan (7 August 1981)	422
Reagan Plan (1 September 1982)	423
Fez Peace Initiative (9 September 1982)	429
Madrid Conference: Invitation and Letters of Assurances (18 October 1991)	433
Beilin-Abu Mazen Agreement (31 October 1995)	441
Sharm el-Sheikh Summit of Peacemakers Final Statement (13 March 1996)	454
Camp David Statement (25 July 2000)	456
Remarks by US President Bill Clinton and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt in Delivery of Joint Statements at the Conclusion of the Middle East Peace Summit (17 October 2000)	458
Clinton Parameters (23 December 2000)	461
Taba Statement (27 January 2001)	466
FII Moratinos Non-Paper on Taba Negotiations (27 January 2001)	468

Report of the Sharm el-Sheikh Fact-Finding Committee (Mitchell Report) (30 April 2001)	476
The Jordanian-Egyptian Proposal (19 April 2001)	479
Palestinian–Israeli Security Implementation Work Plan (Tenet Cease-Fire Plan) (14 June 2001)	481
Arab Peace Initiative (28 March 2002)	484
The Rose Garden Speech of President George W. Bush (24 June 2002)	486
Ayalon-Nusseibeh Statement of Principles (27 July 2002)	490
A Performance-Based Road Map to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict (Road Map) (30 April 2003)	492
Israel's Response to the Road Map (14 Reservations) (25 May 2003)	499
Geneva Accord: A Model Israeli–Palestinian Peace Agreement (1 December 2003)	502
Olga Document (12 July 2004)	530
Quartet Statements following Palestinian Elections of 2006, or the Three Conditions to Hamas (30 January 2006)	534
Riyadh Declaration (29 March 2007)	537
Annapolis Joint Understanding (27 November 2007)	539
Olmert-Abbas Peace Talks (December 2008)	541
US President Barack Obama's Speech on a New Beginning (Cairo Speech) (4 June 2009)	542
Prime Minister Netanyahu's Speech at Bar Ilan University (14 June 2009)	553
Chair's Summary of the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee on Palestinian Institutions' Readiness for Statehood (AHLC) (18 September 2011)	559
President Abbas's Speech to UN General Assembly on Palestine's Membership (23 September 2011)	562
President Abbas's Speech to UN General Assembly on Palestinian Non-Member Observer State Status (29 November 2012)	570
Letter Council merchanic bre profit (18 Juny 2004)	
Part III. UN Documents on the Question of Palestine	
UN General Assembly Resolution 181(II) or the UN Partition Plan (29 November 1947)	577
UN Security Council Resolution 50 (1948) and the Establishment of UNTSO (29 May 1948)	599

UN General Assembly Resolution 194 (III) (11 December 1948)	601
UN General Assembly Resolution 273 (III): Admission of Israel to Membership in the United Nations (11 May 1949)	605
UN General Assembly Resolution 303 (IV) (9 December 1949)	606
UN General Assembly Resolutions 1000 (ES-I) and 1001 (ES-I) (5 and 7 November 1956)	608
UN Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) (22 November 1967)	611
UN Security Council Resolution 338 (1973) (22 October 1973)	613
UN General Assembly Resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX) (22 November 1974)	614
UN General Assembly Resolution 3379 (XXX) (10 November 1975)	617
UN Security Council Resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980) (30 June and 20 August 1980)	619
UN General Assembly Resolution 46/86 (16 December 1991)	623
UN Security Council Resolution 904 (1994) (18 March 1994)	624
UN Security Council Resolution 1073 (1996) (28 September 1996)	626
UN Security Council Resolution 1322 (2000) (7 October 2000)	628
UN Security Council Resolution 1397 (2002) (12 March 2002)	630
UN Security Council Resolution 1402 (2002) (30 March 2002)	632
UN Security Council Resolution 1405 (2002) (19 April 2002)	633
Report of UN Secretary-General prepared pursuant to UN General Assembly Resolution ES-10/10 (Jenin Report) (31 July 2002)	634
UN General Assembly Resolution ES-10/13 (21 October 2003)	679
Report of UN Secretary-General prepared pursuant to General Assembly Resolution ES-10/13 (24 November 2003)	681
UN General Assembly Resolution ES-10/14 (8 December 2003)	691
UN Security Council Resolution 1515 (2003) (19 November 2003)	694
UN Security Council Resolution 1544 (2004) (19 May 2004)	695
International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion on the Barrier (July 2004)	697
UN General Assembly Resolution on ICJ Ruling on the Barrier (2 August 2004)	759
UN Security Council Resolution 1850 (2008) (16 December 2008)	763
UN Security Council Resolution 1860 (2009) (8 January 2009)	765

Report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict (led by Judge Richard Goldstone) (25 September 2009)	767
Report of the Secretary-General's Panel of Inquiry on the 31 May 2010 Flotilla Incident (2 September 2011)	797
UN General Assembly Resolution 67/19: Status of Palestine in the United Nations (4 December 2012)	802
Part IV. Regional Documents	
Sykes-Picot Agreement (16 May 1916)	809
Balfour Declaration (2 November 1917)	812
Churchill White Paper (3 June 1922)	813
Peel Commission (7 July 1937)	817
MacDonald White Paper (17 May 1939)	843
Biltmore Program (11 May 1942)	854
Arab League Charter (22 March 1945)	856
Egypt-Israel General Armistice Agreement (24 February 1949)	863
Lebanon-Israel General Armistice Agreement (23 March 1949)	877
Jordan-Israel General Armistice Agreement (3 April 1949)	884
Syria–Israel General Armistice Agreement (20 July 1949)	894
Khartoum Resolution (1 September 1967)	906
Cairo Agreement (3 November 1969)	908
Rogers Plan (9 December 1969)	911
Egypt-Israel Sinai Disengagement Treaties (18 January 1974)	916
Egypt-Israel Sinai Interim Agreement (4 September 1975)	918
Israel-Syria Separation of Forces Agreement (31 May 1974)	922
Sadat and Begin Speeches to Knesset (20 November 1977)	925
UN Security Council Resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) (19 March 1978)	941
Camp David Accords (17 September 1978)	943
Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and	
Israel (17 September 1978)	949
Fount-Israel Peace Treaty (26 March 1979)	952

(MEO)	
Protocol for the Creation of a Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) (3 August 1981)	973
UN Security Council Resolution 497 (1981) (17 December 1981)	975
UN Security Council Resolution 520 (1982) (17 September 1982)	976
London Agreement (11 April 1987)	978
Abrogation of the Cairo Agreement by the Lebanese Parliament (21 May 1987)	980
The Shultz Plan (4 March 1988)	981
King Hussein's Address on Jordanian Disengagement from the West Bank (31 July 1988)	983
Agreements between Egypt and Israel on Taba (26 February 1989)	988
Ta'if Agreement (22 October 1989)	992
Israel-Jordan Common Agenda (14 September 1993)	1002
Washington Declaration (25 July 1994)	1004
Israel–Jordan Peace Treaty (26 October 1994)	1007
Casablanca Declaration (1 November 1994)	1036
Israel-Lebanon Cease-Fire Understanding (26 April 1996)	1040
Israel-Jordan Qualifying Industrial Zone Agreement (21 January 1997)	1042
Government of Israel's Resolution to Withdraw from Lebanon (5 March 2000)	1045
Letter from Israeli Foreign Minister to UN Secretary-General on Israel's Withdrawal from Lebanon (17 April 2000)	1046
UN Reports on Israel's Withdrawal from South Lebanon (22 May, 16 June, and 18 June 2000)	1047
Report of the UN Secretary-General on the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 425 and 426 (22 May 2000)	1048
Second Report of the UN Secretary-General on the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 425 and 426 (16 June 2000)	1059
UN Security Council Presidential Statement on Israel's Withdrawal from South Lebanon (18 June 2000)	1070
European Parliament Votes to Suspend Euro-Israeli Association Agreement (10 April 2002)	1072
UN Security Council Resolution 1559 (2004) (2 September 2004)	1075
Agreement between Egypt and Israel on Qualifying Industrial Zones (14 December 2004)	1077

Content	s xiii
Aleppo Understanding (12 March 2005)	1084
UN Security Council Resolution 1680 (2006) (17 May 2006)	1086
Seven-Point Plan of Prime Minister Siniora (25 July 2006)	1088
UN Security Council Resolution 1701 (2006) (11 August 2006)	1090
UN Provisional Geographical Definition of the Shebaa Farms Area (30 October 2007)	1095
Part V. Israeli and Palestinian Domestic Documents	
Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel (14 May 1948)	1103
Law of Return (5 July 1950)	1106
Original Palestinian National Charter (28 May 1964)	1110
Palestinian National Charter (17 July 1968)	1114
Arab League Summit Resolution on Palestine Liberation Organization (28 October 1974)	1122
Hamas Charter (18 August 1988)	1124
Palestinian Declaration of Independence (15 November 1988)	1143
Amendment to Palestinian National Charter (4 May 1996)	1147
Palestinian Basic Law (29 May 2002, 18 March 2003, 13 August 2005)	1149
Outcomes of the London Conference on Palestinian Reform (17 January 2003)	1205
Fatah Declaration of Cease-Fire Initiative (29 June 2003)	1209
Hamas and Islamic Jihad Declaration of Cease-Fire Initiative (29 June 2003)	1211
Israeli Cabinet Communiqué Approving the Removal of Arafat (11 September 2003)	1213
Hamas Political Program (17 March 2006)	1215
11 May Prisoners' Document (11 May 2006)	1217
National Conciliation Document of the Prisoners (28 June 2006)	1222
Mecca Accord for Palestinian National Unity Government (8 February 2007)	1227
Program of Palestinian Unity Government (17 March 2007)	1228
Haifa Declaration (15 May 2007)	1234
Ending Occupation, Establishing the State: Program of the Thirteenth Government of the Palestinian National Authority (Fayyad Plan) (August 2009)	1240