



THE FAILED OSLO PEACE  
PROCESS

WHAT WENT WRONG AND  
LESSONS LEARNED

Dr. Gershon Baskin



## Agreements signed

- Agreements:
  - *Declaration of Principles – September 1993*
  - *Paris Economic Protocol – April 1994*
  - *Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area – May 1994*
  - *Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip – September 1995*
  - *Wye River Agreement – October 1998*
  - *Sharm el Sheikh Memorandum – September 1999*



## **Israel-Palestinian Peace Process: Declaration of Principles On Interim Self- Government Arrangements ("Oslo Accords") (September 13, 1993)**

- The Government of the State of Israel and the PLO team (the "Palestinian Delegation"), 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.
- Accordingly, the, two sides agree to the following principles:



# ARTICLE I

## AIM OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

- 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 (the "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](#).
- It is understood that the interim arrangements are an integral part of the whole peace process and that the negotiations on the permanent status will lead to the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.





## ARTICLE III ELECTIONS

- 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 will ensure public order.
- An agreement will be concluded on the exact mode and conditions of the elections in accordance with the protocol attached as Annex I, with the goal of holding the **elections** not later than nine months after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles.
- These elections will constitute a significant interim preparatory step toward the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements.



## ARTICLE IV JURISDICTION

- Jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, **except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations.** The two sides view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, whose integrity will be preserved during the interim period.



## ARTICLE V

# TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND PERMANENT STATUS NEGOTIATIONS

- The five-year transitional period will begin upon the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area.
- Permanent status negotiations will commence as soon as possible, but not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period, between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian people representatives.
- It is understood that these negotiations shall cover remaining issues, including: **Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and other issues of common interest.**
- The two parties agree that the outcome of the permanent status negotiations should not be prejudiced or preempted by agreements reached for the interim period.



## ARTICLE VI

# PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

- Upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area, a transfer of authority from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the authorized Palestinians for this task, as detailed herein, will commence. **This transfer of authority** will be of a preparatory nature until the inauguration of the Council.
- Immediately after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, with the view to promoting **economic development in the West Bank and Gaza Strip**, 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. Pending the inauguration of the Council, the two parties may negotiate the transfer of additional powers and responsibilities, as agreed upon.





# ARTICLE VII

## INTERIM AGREEMENT

- PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
- Upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the **withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area, a transfer of authority from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the authorized Palestinians** for this task, as detailed herein, will commence. This transfer of authority will be of a preparatory nature until the inauguration of the Council.
- Immediately after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, with the view to promoting economic development in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 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. Pending the inauguration of the Council, the two parties may negotiate the transfer of additional powers and responsibilities, as agreed upon.



## ARTICLE VIII

# PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY

- In order to guarantee public order and internal security for the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Council will establish a **strong police force**, while Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats, as well as the responsibility for overall security of Israelis for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order.



## ARTICLE IX LAWS AND MILITARY ORDERS

- The Council will be **empowered to legislate**, in accordance with the Interim Agreement, within all authorities transferred to it. Both parties will review jointly laws and military orders presently in force in remaining spheres.



## ARTICLE X JOINT ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN LIAISON COMMITTEE

- In order to provide for a smooth implementation of this Declaration of Principles and any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period, upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, **a Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee** will be established in order to deal with issues requiring coordination, other issues of common interest, and disputes.





## ARTICLE XI ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC FIELDS

- Recognizing the mutual benefit of cooperation in **promoting the development of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Israel**, upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, an **Israeli-Palestinian Economic Cooperation Committee** will be established in order to develop and implement in a cooperative manner the programs identified in the protocols attached as [Annex III](#) and [Annex IV](#) .



## ARTICLE XII LIAISON AND COOPERATION WITH JORDAN AND EGYPT

- The two parties will invite the Governments of Jordan and Egypt to participate in establishing **further liaison and cooperation** arrangements between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian representatives, on the one hand, and the Governments of Jordan and Egypt, on the other hand, to promote cooperation between them. These arrangements will include the constitution of a Continuing Committee that will decide by agreement on the modalities of **admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967**, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Other matters of common concern will be dealt with by this Committee.



## ARTICLE XIII REDEPLOYMENT OF ISRAELI FORCES

- After the 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 carried out in accordance with Article XIV.
- In redeploying its military forces, Israel will be guided by the principle that its military forces should be redeployed outside populated areas.
- Further redeployments to specified locations will be gradually implemented commensurate with the **assumption of responsibility for public order and internal security by the Palestinian police force** pursuant to Article VIII above.



## ARTICLE XV

# RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES

- 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 to be established pursuant to Article X above.
- Disputes which cannot be settled by negotiations may be resolved by a mechanism of **conciliation** to be agreed upon by the parties.
- The parties may agree to submit to **arbitration** disputes relating to the interim period, which cannot be settled through conciliation. To this end, upon the agreement of both parties, the parties will establish an Arbitration Committee.





## ARTICLE XVI ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION CONCERNING REGIONAL PROGRAMS

- Both parties view the **multilateral working groups** as an appropriate instrument for promoting a "Marshall Plan", the regional programs and other programs, including special programs for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as indicated in the protocol attached as [Annex IV](#) .



## ANNEX III

# PROTOCOL ON ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

- The two sides agree to establish an Israeli-Palestinian continuing **Committee for Economic Cooperation**, focusing, among other things, on the following:
- Cooperation in the field of **water**, including a Water Development Program prepared by experts from both sides, which will also specify the mode of cooperation in the management of water resources in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and will include proposals for studies and plans on water rights of each party, as well as on the equitable utilization of joint water resources for implementation in and beyond the interim period.
- Cooperation in the field of **electricity**, including an Electricity Development Program, which will also specify the mode of cooperation for the production, maintenance, purchase and sale of electricity resources.
- Cooperation in the field of **energy**, including an Energy Development Program, which will provide for the exploitation of oil and gas for industrial purposes, particularly in the Gaza Strip and in the Negev, and will encourage further joint exploitation of other energy resources. This Program may also provide for the construction of a Petrochemical industrial complex in the Gaza Strip and the construction of oil and gas pipelines.
- Cooperation in the field of **finance**, including a Financial Development and Action Program for the encouragement of international investment in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and in Israel, as well as the establishment of a Palestinian Development Bank.
- Cooperation in the field of **transport and communications**, including a Program, which will define guidelines for the establishment of a **Gaza Sea Port Area**, and will provide for the establishing of transport and communications lines to and from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to Israel and to other countries. In addition, this Program will provide for carrying out the necessary construction **of roads, railways, communications lines**, etc.



- Cooperation in the field of **trade**, including studies, and Trade Promotion Programs, which will encourage local, regional and inter-regional trade, as well as a feasibility study of creating free trade zones in the Gaza Strip and in Israel, mutual access to these zones, and cooperation in other areas related to trade and commerce.
- Cooperation in the field of **industry**, including Industrial Development Programs, which will provide for the establishment of joint Israeli- Palestinian Industrial Research and Development Centers, will promote Palestinian-Israeli joint ventures, and provide guidelines for cooperation in the textile, food, pharmaceutical, electronics, diamonds, computer and science-based industries. A program for cooperation in, and regulation of, labor relations and cooperation in social welfare issues.
- A **Human Resources Development and Cooperation Plan**, providing for joint Israeli-Palestinian workshops and seminars, and for the establishment of joint vocational training centers, research institutes and data banks. An Environmental Protection Plan, providing for joint and/or coordinated measures in this sphere. A program for developing coordination and cooperation in the field of communication and media. Any other programs of mutual interest.



## ANNEX IV PROTOCOL ON ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION CONCERNING REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

- The two sides will cooperate in the context of the multilateral peace efforts in promoting a Development Program for the region, including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, to be initiated by the G-7. The parties will request the G-7 to seek the participation in this program of other interested states, such as members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, regional Arab states and institutions, as well as members of the private sector. The Development Program will consist of two elements: an Economic Development Program for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- a Regional Economic Development Program.
- The **Economic Development Program for the West Bank and the Gaza** strip will consist of the following elements:
  - *A Social Rehabilitation Program, including a Housing and Construction Program.*
  - *A Small and Medium Business Development Plan.*
  - *An Infrastructure Development Program (water, electricity, transportation and communications, etc.)*
  - *A Human Resources Plan.*
  - *Other programs.*





- The **Regional Economic Development Program** may consist of the following elements:
  - *The establishment of a Middle East Development Fund, as a first step, and a Middle East Development Bank, as a second step.*
  - *The development of a joint Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian Plan for coordinated exploitation of the Dead Sea area.*
  - *The Mediterranean Sea (Gaza) - Dead Sea Canal.*
  - *Regional Desalinization and other water development projects.*
  - *A regional plan for agricultural development, including a coordinated regional effort for the prevention of desertification.*
  - *Interconnection of electricity grids.*
  - *Regional cooperation for the transfer, distribution and industrial exploitation of gas, oil and other energy resources.*
  - *A Regional Tourism, Transportation and Telecommunications Development Plan.*
  - *Regional cooperation in other spheres.*
- The two sides will encourage the multilateral working groups, and will coordinate towards their success. The two parties will encourage intersessional activities, as well as pre-feasibility and feasibility studies, within the various multilateral working groups.



# LETTER FROM YASSER ARAFAT TO PRIME MINISTER RABIN:

## LETTER FROM YASSER ARAFAT TO PRIME MINISTER RABIN:

September 9, 1993

Yitzhak Rabin  
Prime Minister of Israel

Mr. Prime Minister,

The signing of the Declaration of Principles marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. In firm conviction thereof, I would like to confirm the following PLO commitments:

**The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.**

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers that the signing of the Declaration of Principles constitutes a historic event, inaugurating a new epoch of peaceful coexistence, free from violence and all other acts which endanger peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators.

In view of the promise of a new era and the signing of the Declaration of Principles and based on Palestinian acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the PLO affirms 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. Consequently, the PLO undertakes to submit to the Palestinian National Council for formal approval the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant.

Sincerely,

*Yasser Arafat*

Chairman

The Palestine Liberation Organization



# LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER RABIN TO YASSER ARAFAT:

September 9, 1993

Yasser Arafat  
Chairman  
The Palestinian Liberation Organization

Mr. Chairman,

In response to your letter of September 9, 1993, I wish to confirm to you that, in light of the PLO commitments included in your letter, **the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people** and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

*Yitzhak Rabin*  
Prime Minister of Israel



# Oslo Agreement – An Agreement of Cooperation

- Joint Committees for Cooperation
  - *Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee – DOP*
  - *Joint Economic Committee – DOP*
    - Cooperation in the fields: water, electricity, energy, finance, transport, communication, trade, industry, labor, environment protection, human resource development, media, etc.
  - *Liaison & Cooperation with Jordan & Egypt – DOP*





## More Cooperation Committees

- Joint Security Coordination & Cooperation Committee (JSC) – Cairo Agreement
- District Coordination Offices (DCO's) – Cairo
- Joint Patrols – Cairo
- Joint Mobile Units (Rapid Response) – Cairo
- Joint Civil Affairs Coordination & Cooperation Committee (CAC) - Cairo



# Paris Economic Protocol Joint Committees

- JEC – Joint Economic Committee
  - 1. *Sub-committee of experts to look at data regarding past consumption, production, investment and external trade of the Areas.*
  - 2. *Sub-committee for goods imported from Arab countries*
  - 3. *Sub-committee on transportation*
  - 4. *Sub-Committee on Petroleum products*
  - 5. *VAT Sub-committee*



## More Committees

- 6. *Veterinary Sub-Committee*
- 7. *Plant Protection sub-committee*
- 8. *Dairy sector sub-committee*
- 9. *Tourism sub-committee*
- 10. *Compensation/legal issues sub-committee*



# Oslo II – Interim Agreement on WBG

- Joint Security Committee
  - *Regional Security Committees (RSC)*
  - *DCO's – District Coordination Offices*
  - *Joint Patrols*
  - *Joint Liaison Bureaus*
- Annex on Cooperation – Standing Cooperation Committee (SCC)
  - *Environment*
  - *Economic*
  - *Cultural & Education*
  - *People to People*





# Multilateral Peace Process

- **Steering Committee**
- **Working Groups**
  - *Water*
  - *Refugees*
  - *Environment*
  - *Regional Economic Development*
  - *Arms Control & Regional Security*



## WWW – What Went Wrong

- Planned Worst Case Scenarios By Far Underestimated the Realities
  - *Assassination of the Israeli Prime Minister*
  - *Continued Violence – Cycles of Unending Violence – The Power of the Extremists as Spoilers*
  - *Election of Netanyahu – a freeze of three years*



## **Lesson Learned: No Defined End Game**

**In protracted conflicts it is not sufficient to only detail the beginning of the process; it is important, and perhaps essential to reach agreement on at least the principles of longer-term final or permanent status issues.**

## **Lesson Learned:**

- **Dates are Holy!**
- **Need to also ensure implementation of obligations**







## **Lesson Learned: Monitors and Verifiers**

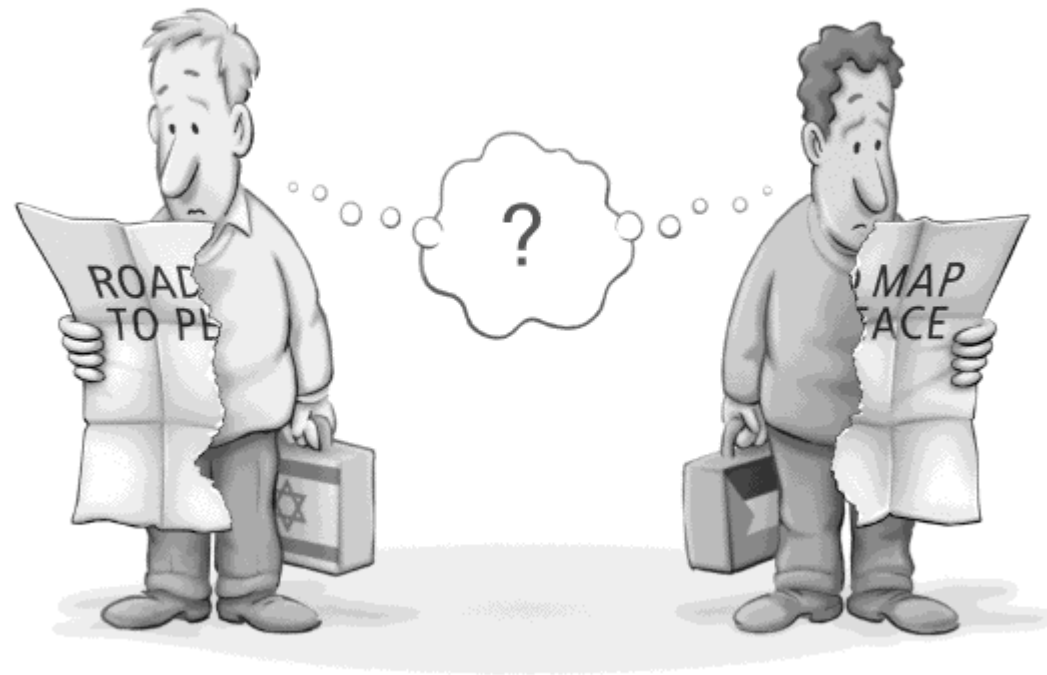
**Protracted conflicts in which there is little or no trust and confidence require external mechanisms for verification of implementation of the agreements, external mechanisms for insuring compliance and external mechanisms for external dispute resolution.**

## **Lesson Learned:**

**Performance based with  
clearly defined benchmarks**

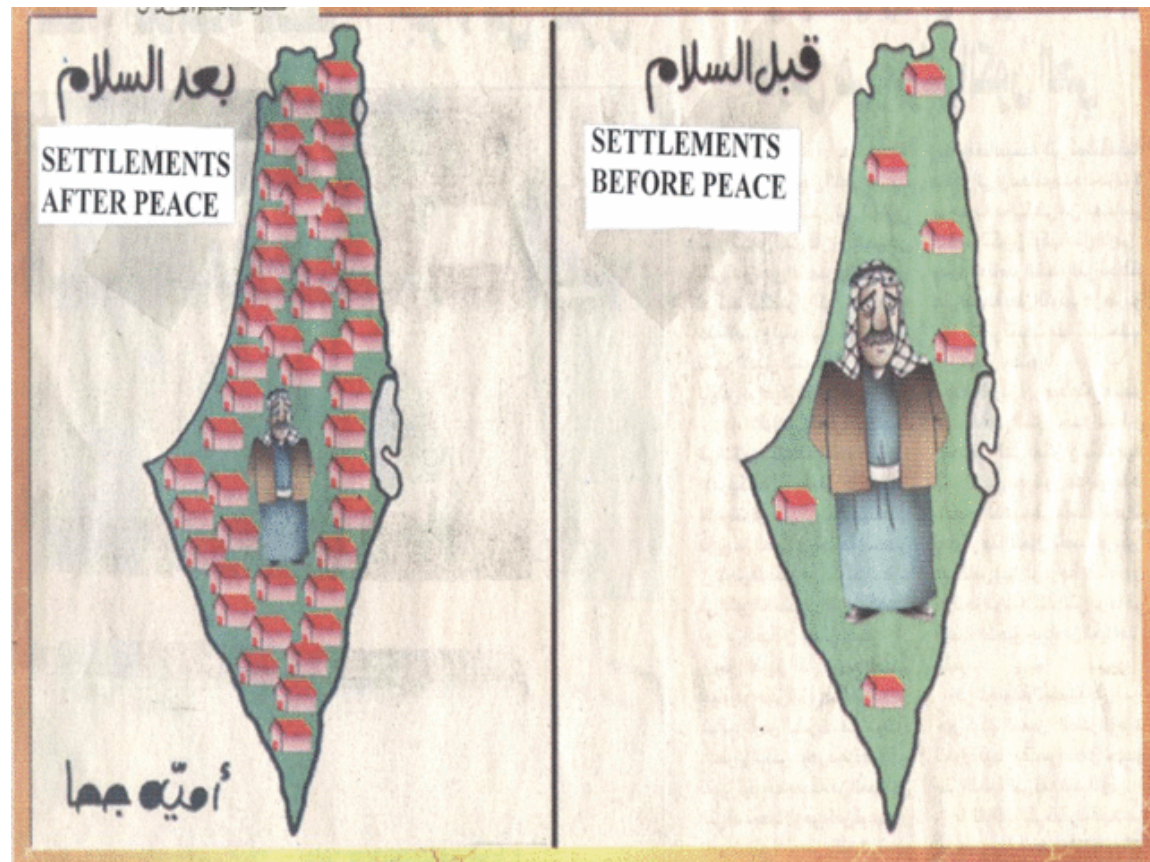


# Lesson Learned: Maps are important!



# Lesson Learned:

**Agreements must be as explicit as possible.**





# Lesson Learned

Political violence cannot be tolerated.

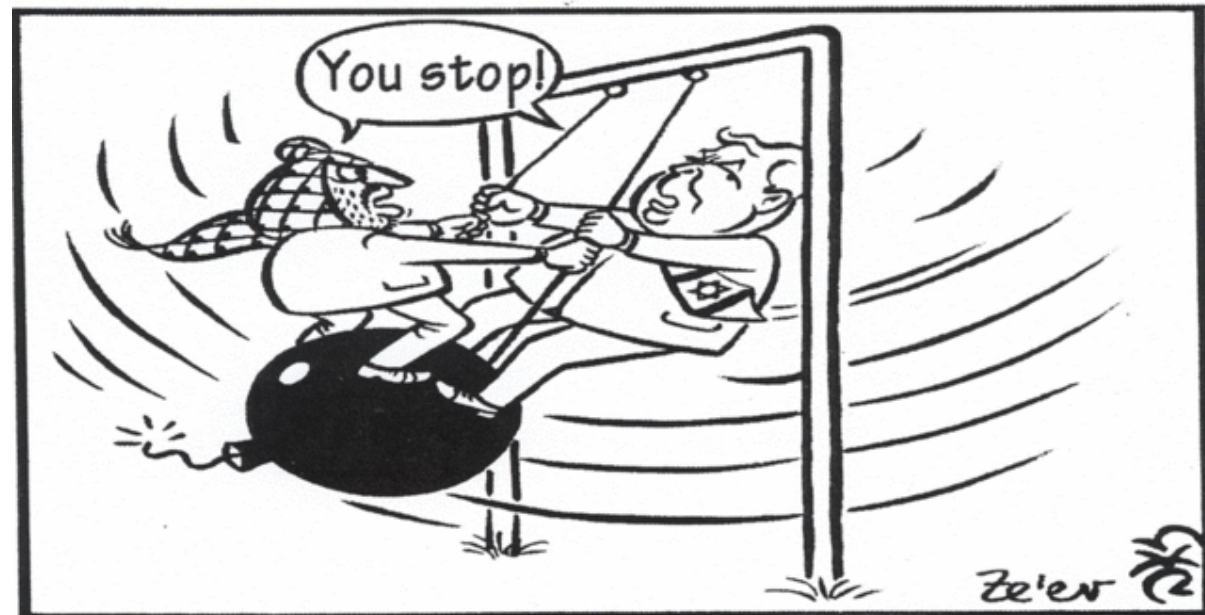
ROAD TAKEN:

**BIG DREAM – BLAMING THE OTHER**

PAGE A4

Ha'aretz

Friday, May 4, 2001





# **Lesson Learned: Secret or public?**

**The public must be involved and informed**

But sometimes agreements can only be reached  
in secret



## **Lesson learned: Negotiation Styles**

**Better agreements are reached when the negotiators on both sides decide to share information, data, ideas and proposals**



# **Lesson learned: Peace & democracy**

**Democracy and democratic institution building is essential**



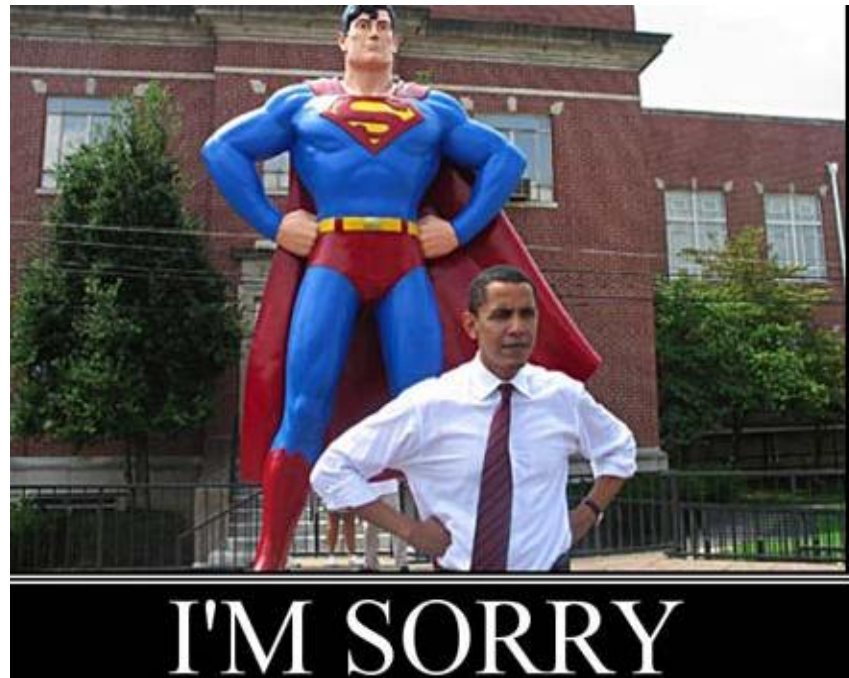


**Lesson Learned: Peace must be good for the people**

**Peace must pay – peace must have a constituency**

# Lesson Learned

**Mediators must be ready and prepared to play bridging roles when required.**





**Lesson learned: Can't do it alone**

**Cooperation between former  
enemies requires assistance**



## **Lesson Learned: Military to military roles only**

**Peace processes must be “civilized” – the role of the military must be reduced.**





## **Lesson Learned: relationships**

**Personal relationship building  
is important**

# Lesson Learned: Contacts

## Ongoing contact between leaders is essential





**Lesson learned: people to people**

**Peace processes must also  
take place from the bottom-up.**



# **Lesson learned: changing the paradigm**

## **Fostering a culture of peace**