CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST: AN APPRAISAL OF THE OSLO PEACE ACCORD BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS

BY

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CERTIFICATON

This Project entitled Conflict Management in the Middle East: An Appraisal of the Oslo Peace Accord Between Israel and the Palestinians by Akende, Demvihin meets the regulations governing the award of Masters of International Affairs and Diplomacy, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and has been approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DECLARATION

I sincerely declare that the thesis is my own personal work and efforts and has not been submitted in any other University or institution for an award of a degree or higher degree and that information derived from published sources were duly acknowledged and referenced.

AKENDE, DEMVIHIN

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God Almighty and to the memory of my late sister Mrs Iember Igyuse (nee Akende) who departed this world in the midst of my educational career.

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ABSTRACT

The research is a study of 'CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST" with special reference to (he Oslo Peace accord. The study however consolidated on books, journals, magazines and newspapers. By using context analysis of secondary sources, it was found out that really the bone of contention between the Israelis and Palestinians is land.

First, Israelis seemed to 'save had a foresight right from the beginning, they were a dispersed people until such a time that, they devoted themselves for championing a cause of returning to Palestine which according to them was designated by God to them.

As a result, pressure was mounted and the British decided to issue the Belfour Declaration culminating into a Jewish State in Palestine which was against the wishes and desires of the Palestinian people, actually the British offered a gift of what did not belong to them, whereby problems and conflicts emanated from there.

The findings also reveals that even after the mandate, the super power(s) tried to mediate between the contending factions for peace. Resolutions strategies of United States especially has continued to seek for a lasting peace in the area.

It was then concluded that, with the new leadership in Israel now, the peace process should hasten up so that the Palestinian people too will have their total autonomy in Middle East, and declare a Palestinian State.

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CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

> "For me what is most important is to have a Jewish state in which at least 80% of its population is Jewish, (but) the non Jewish citizens- the Palestinians, Muslims, Christians - should entertain all a person's civilian political rights, because I believe that racism and Judaism by essence are in contradiction. The Palestinians in their schools, government - paid schools, are entitled - be they Muslims or Christians - to have their religion, to have their culture, their language, their heritage. I believe that they can be loyal Israeli citizens while maintaining their special identity. Furthermore, its time that the last time I had a vote (on the Oslo Accord) in the Knesset, I had a majority of one, 61 against 59, I said then and I said it publicly. As long as I have a majority of one, I will continue". (Yitzhak Rabin 1995).

The above statement was made by the late Israeli Prime Minister based on the situation on ground. That is as the question of Israeli-Palestinians conflict that dates back centuries ago, that is been difficult to find solution to peace in the area, which is referred to as Middle East crisis or conflict.

Ultimately, the term "Middle East" came about as post World War II concept used mainly by Western press media to be able to describe the area

or region. The region is a multi coloured zone comprising Palestinians(Arabs), Jews, Turks, Kurds, etc., who are strong adherents to Judaism, Christianity and Islam. It is characterised by instability and chaos to give the region a "bloody history".

Middle East region was conquered many times and regained control or still access to the Holy places commercial bases, too, which subsequently ushered in European invasion which then destabilized the Ottoman Turks rule; which was in control at that time.

British combined in military, diplomacy and duplicity in her bid to weaken the Turks by inciting Arab revolts weakening the Germans by all means available and strengthening her alliance with her partners especially France.

It was during the process of achieving this that, three of the controversial documents in Middle East history were draw thus: The Husayn-McMahon Correspondence (1915); The Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916) and The Balfour Declaration (1917). These documents and declaration led to the emergence of Palestine as a source of conflict in the Middle East popularly tagged as Arab-Israeli conflict or still Israeli-Palestinian conflict to be specific.

One of the documents, the Balfour Declaration which relinquish its mandate on Palestine, making it possible for the Jews to find and establish a

Jewish state in Palestine, which was against the will and desires of the Palestinians because the Jews took over all their land and therefore created refuges problems for them, which up till now has not been resolved.

A lot of attempts has been made to resolve this crisis, peace talks initiated by Egypt, United States of America, United Nations Organisation all inclusive like the Camp David Agreement in 1978, the Baker Plan in 1989, also the Cairo Peace Talks of 1993 and 1994, Egypt took upon the initiative until September 13, 1993 peace talks which was tagged "Declaration of Principles".

The Israeli-Palestine Agreement was officially signed in Washington DC between Palestine Labour Organisation (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat and late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin which is the Oslo Peace Accord and stated that:

a) Israel would give Palestinians wide ranging concession - PLO recognition.

b) The withdrawal of Israeli occupation of all Palestinian territories, like Gaza Strip, West Bank, Golan Heights and Jericho all will be under PLO rule.

c) Then the first phase elections in Palestinian history where Palestine will proclaim its state for one thing a solemn pledge to

end violence.

As a result of this peace agreements, Israeli state was not particularly in support of it, which subsequently led to the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin, even after his death, his successor Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu continued with it, though the progress towards peace was however slow in implementing. However, in the light of changing face of the structure in the political system that is the election in Israel of May 17, 1999 brought in Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Labour Party; now the prospects of a peaceful and stable Israeli-Palestine area which may culminate in the establishment of a Palestinian state is a venture worth undertaking.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problem to be investigated in this study is why the Oslo Peace Accord has not been able to bring peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

Against the wishes and desires of the Palestinian people the state of Israel was created which according to them was an infringement upon their rights, it dispossessed them of land and created the refugee problem. So the source of conflict is the land of Palestine which is the bone of contention between the Israelis and the Palestinians. This crisis has escalated to the point

of wars upon wars for decades now.

Right from when this conflict started, it was a matter of life and death between the two parties. They were never in support of any form of negotiations. To them it was a struggle that knows no negotiations; there was nothing to negotiate; since to the Palestinians, the Jewish State is an occupying force that must be defeated and forced out of Palestine. While to Israel, Palestinians should migrate or relocate to other Arab countries, that the State of Israel in Palestine is meant for Jews, as a promised land from God.

Despite all this, some kind of movements towards negotiations for one two parties to resolve the conflict in order to bring peace between them had taken place, but the two parties refused to give room for any meaningful achievements. Then came the Oslo Peace accord which was signed by both parties to negotiate for peaceful co-existence which has become a fundamental problem in resolving the crisis or not.

This work therefore basically sets out to look at the prospects and possibility of having a lasting peace in the area in the face of obvious obstacles.

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

This research seeks to:

1. Establish the historical background of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or Middle East crisis.
2. Analyse the numerous peace accords signed before the Oslo accord.
3. Examine the final peace accord which is the Oslo peace accord.
4. Assess the viable and lasting prospects for peace between the Israeli and Palestinians.

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Realist theory shall be applied here. Prominent among the proponents of this theory are Hans Morgenthau (1973); Edward Carr (1979); Arnold Worfers (1962). Realists believe that national interest and power are paramount in international relations. Therefore they reject the idea of morality playing a major role in the conduct of international politics.

Realism views the world as in perfect, consequent of the forces inherent in human nature rather than ignore these forces and repress them. The world can be empowered by manipulating and utilizing them. The theory appeals more to historical precedents rather than abstract principles and aims at realizing the lesser evil rather than absolute good; as a result it was brought about by reason and experiences; it states that international politics is a

struggle for peace. Certain principles guiding this theory include, first, that society is governed by objective laws derivable from human nature and therefore possible to distinguish in politics between rational and object truth supported by prejudice and wishful thinking.

Secondly, that interests defined in terms of power and informs the thoughts and actions of statesmen. It helps to understand their action, both past and present. These actions are stressed at expense of the motives behind as this could mislead. A rational action of foreign policy is therefore good only if it minimizes risks and maximises benefits complying with the moral precept of prudence and the political requirement of success.

Thirdly, interest and power, through universally valid as concepts do not possess fixed status. Their potential in determining political action depends on time, space and the cultural environment within which such actions or foreign policies are formulated. It also takes cognisance of universal moral principles as being significant in political action. Morality is defined as prudence weighing the consequences of alternative actions.

The theory also rejects the equation of the moral aspirations of particular nations with universal moral laws. The equation of a particular nationalism with counsels of providence is indefensible. It maintains the autonomy and supremacy of the political sphere over the economic, legal or

moralist. It posits that political action inspired by interest usually predominate in the setting of legalistic-moralist-goals. For example in 1939 when the Russian and Finish feud attracted French and British intervention and in 1914 when Germany violated Belgium neutrality. Britain and America intervened under the guise of protecting weaker Belgium but actually to score political goals against the Germans.

Lastly, realism is based upon a pluralistic conception of human nature as composite of 'economic man'; 'political man'; 'moral man'; and 'religious man'. An extremely political man would be a fool, lacking restraint. An extremely moral man would be a fool, lacking prudence and an extremely religious man would be a saint, lacking inwardly desire.

The realist conception is traceable to the Machiavellian and Hobbesian times when the 'end justified the means and survival was for the fittest'. According to the realist, the so-called harmony of interest or collective interest say at the world level is actually created by the over ruling power of the previledged actors. To them 'politically the alleged community of international maintenance at world peace is capitalized on by dominant group of nations".

The utility of this theory is analyzing and explaining the relations of states within the Middle East and between the Middle East and the world can

be seen in practical terms; interest and power are two central concepts of the theory.

These wo are inextricably interrelated and interdependent. Infact, realist equate national interest with the pursuit of state power. Similarly, state power is indispensable to the realization of state interests. Thus, the belief that the minimum national interest of any state is survival.

This is defined as the protection of the territorial integrity, the Politico-economic require or ideology and the ethnic, religious linguistic and historical norms of the state or society.

Glaringly, the parties to the Palestinians problems, ()Arabs and Jews) are fighting for survival. This is represented by the underlying principles of Arabism and Zionism. Britain, a major Israeli patron and America with her influential Jewish population have always hidden behind the smokescreen of morality in supporting Israel, whereas Middle East wealth has been their target. The role of the world organisations such as League of Nations at the beginning and the United Nations Organisation in current attempts at resolution clearly reveals their susceptibility to strong influence from a previledged actor or group of factors for example, the veto power of the super powers on the security council. All of these with the realist proposition that for a state to 'survive', its statesmen could device specific cooperative or

conflicting policies such as competitive armaments, balance of power, foreign aid alliances, subversion, economic and propaganda warfare of armed confrontation (War). The Arab League cease fire agreements, armistice, terrorist activities, foreign aid and press media propaganda makes the realist theory and adequate analytical tool for the Middle East.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

Relevant literature on this Israeli-Palestinian conflict are highly inexhaustible. Political scientists, historians, journalists have written so much; on certain criteria as the origin, source of the conflict, the role of others like the United States and United Nations, the numerous peace agreements.

According to Arthur Goldschmidt (1989) in his book "A Concise History of Middle East", the origin of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be traced to the periods of first World War (1914-1918). He attributes this to the correspondence between the British High Commissioner in Cairo, Sir Henry McMahon and Sherif Husayn, the Emir of Mecca, the Husayan-McMahon correspondence (1915-1916); the Sykes-Picot agreement 91916) and the Balfour Declaration (1917).

He believes that, these documents are controversial as they triggered off the crisis which culminated in the creation of Jewish state in 1948 which was

followed by revolts and open confrontations from the Palestinians (Arabs). He stated that the Palestinians and Jewish claim of the Historical right of Palestine based on their various religious and traditional beliefs could not have in itself necessitated a conflict so prolonged as they date back to hundreds of years. He while acknowledging the role of history and external powers in the religion of the conflict, contends that, the contest for palestine and hence the conflict, started just when the first World War broke out.

Shimon Shamir (1976) in his book "The Arab-Israeli Conflict". rested his case where Goldschmidt seemed to have stopped. After stating that the conflict is only one out of many others in the Middle East, he wrote that, the foundation of the Arab-Israeli conflict lies the issue of Israel's existence. Elaborating further, he stated that the establishment of the Jewish state, to the Palestinians was an infringement upon the rights of the indigenous Arab population - the Palestinians. It dispossessed them of their lands and created the refugee problem for them while extending the historical view and the role of external powers. Shamir in principle, agree with Goldschmidt that the source of the conflict was the land of Palestine.

Fayez Sayegh (1970) leaves no one in doubt of the cause, source and origin of the conflict. In interrogative style, he asked "When the Palestinian conflict was created by England in 1917, more than 10% of the inhabitants of

the country were Arabs while there was no more than 65,000 Jews? The involvement of foreign powers in reason why this should occur cannot be understood without the context of the national interest of the powers involved, the nature and interest in turn tallies with the role of imperialism.

More also, Noah Lukacs (1975) in his own analysis, stated that the history of Palestine from the time of the Roman conquest to the settlement of Jews at the end of 19th century does not belong to the Jewish history, except as the Zionist doctrine attached so much importance to the presence of a number of Jews in the land throughout the entire period. The Jews of Palestine were not ancestors of the modern Israel. Zionism was borrowed from a religious tradition that had already ripened at the Roman expulsion eighteen centuries previously. The creators of modern Israel undertook to terminate the exit of religious doctrine by restoring the Jews to their scheme. Its history was not incorporated to their ideology except for their awareness of the tenacity displayed by its remaining Jews through centuries of persecution, massacre and foreign invasion. However, since the Roman Empire, the land had come under the successive rule of Byzantines, Persians, Arabs Seljul Turks crusaders, Mamulukes, Mongolis and final the Ottoman Turks who incorporated it within their empire in the year 1517 and maintained their control until 1917.

In the words of Mrs. Golda Meir, (1968) the Israeli Premier declared: "There was no such thing as Palestinian people ..." it was not as though the Palestinians... and we care and threw them out and took their land, they did not exist! This argument was informed by a widely accepted belief that the Palestine territory was occupied by the Arabs that migrated from neighbouring Arab States and were never indigenes of Palestine.

Don Peretz (1979) stated that, while great activity and large membership were generated in Europe and American during the first 20 years of Zionism, the situation in Middle East was different. There was still no political entity called Palestine. It was merely a vague geographical term indicating the area where the ancient Philistines and later Jews had lived. The largely Arab population were not yet known as Palestinians but referred to themselves as Syrians. That after the Ottoman conquest in 1517, it was partitioned between the two Ottoman villagers (provinces) of Beirut and Syria and the smaller Sunjak (administrative subsidiary) of Jews.

In the 19th century, Palestine was a neglected administrative district of Ottoman Syria says Don Peretz (1979). It was sparsely populated by the Arab peasantry and various foreign and religious foundations, including the communities of pious Jew engaged in religious study and subsisting on meagre charity. The Palestinians population was estimated to have numbered about

300,000 in 1882, while the Jews at that time totalled about 24,000. These were located for the most part in the four citizen of Jerusalem, Tiberias, Hebron, where they pursued their devotions having no memory to events in the wider world.

Furthermore, Peretz, noted that, from the Biblical story of Israelites in Palestine, still the Jews before the creation of the State of Israel acknowledged the fact that, some other Jewish population were still existing in Palestine, though they were in the minority compared to the Arab population in Palestine.

In essence, singular instance convinced the Jews that in as much as some other Jews were staying in Palestine that Palestine should be their home land and that, there was need to actualize such dream.

The Palestinians also acknowledge the existing of these Jews among them;including other tribes but never disputed with them prior to the establishment of state of Israel or the Zionist incursion into the Palestine territory. He concluded his argument by stating that, the geographical area called Palestine in the Middle East was occupied for centuries by both Palestinians and Jews including other minor tribes. He argued that this area had passed under the rulership of one power or the other. The last that occupied and ruled this area before the first World War was the Ottoman

Empire, but after the war, Axis Power/Ottoman Empire were defeated. Britain then occupied and ruled this area under the League of Nations' mandate. It was during the era of British occupation of Palestine that the State of Israel was established in 1948.

In the words of El-Asmar (1978) described the life of a Palestinian as very pathetic, and lived in very poor condition starting from the children who go out to the fields. There were tomatoes, cucumbers, watermelons, beans and other vegetables which are harvested in the summer. The fields seemed to be endless. "I remember that Jewish boss who stood and looked at us as we worked almost continuously for eight hours. the only breaks we had were to eat, we worked in this way for seven days, and at the end of the work ,received the first pay of my life - half an Israeli pound (4 pence)! I ran to my home happily to give the money to my father".

Going further, he said, this continued after a long time since they were under the captive of the Jewish people. which in turn, the Jews took over their houses and began to be housed there. The Palestinians were not allowed to leave their own ghetto without a permit from the authorities, and the most infuriating thing for us was that our area and other areas in Lydda, which were inhabited by Palestinians were under military command. While the rest of the city in which Jews lived was not Palestinians were not allowed out

without special permits.

In his conclusion he said, this was on for a long time, simply because we are Palestinians (Arabs) and the Jews are fighting to take over our land. This is our country and the houses in which Jews live today were until a short while ago lived in by Palestinians (Arabs) owners who had built them with the sweat of their brows, and from whom all I hear now is messages to their relatives over the radio.

Sagigh (1979) rema ked" we lived in paradise so was often heard from the older Palestinians. The refugee camps it is true that these dispossessed peasants have recalled their homes in Palestine from a present so bleak that their poverty and class oppression there tend to be blurred. But there is truth in their view of peasant life as good. for inspite of poverty. Their land provided them with all they needed, village and clans solidarity formed a warm, strong, stable environment for the individual, a sense of rootedness and belonging.

The proof of the strength of peasant social relations is that they survived in dispersion and helped Palestinians themselves to survive. They formed too, an unbreakable umbilical cord that ties newborn Palestinians to the country that formed their forebears. Until Zionist agg ession probed into the people's peasant life and brought misery unto them. But then they

intended to pass to children the homes that were their inheritance, even though they might be hawking chiclets on the beaches of Beirut.

In her conclusion, she said, ex-peasant Palestinians, know well that most of their villages have been erased or turned into Israeli settlements, but this knowledge, does not sever their ties with the land, instead it politicizes them.

The Palestinian longs to make his own life a part of that country, this for him involves political action, joining a resistance group, defending his camp organizing with the fellow workers, working for their return.

Bonds (1981) in similar words said, Palestinians were pushed to the wall, they only had to resort to fight, which was in small guerrilla bands in village militias or in the ranks of the Arab liberation Army, a poorly armed force of a thousand Palestinians and three thousand volunteers from other Arab countries.

The people of Palestine supported the fighters as best as they could, then casualties were high, because Israelis carried out night raids. Soldiers attacked quiet villages that had not been involved in the fighting troops, entered villages and silently placed dynamite around the stone houses, drenching doors and windows frames with gasoline. Then stepping back they opened fire with their guns. The sleeping inhabitants died in their explosion and fire that destroyed their homes.

Furthermore, she said, Israelis gave warning for villagers to flee their homes but often only to another part of Palestine not far enough away for the Zionist. The Zionist goal was to "clear the land" of its inhabitants, but Palestinian leaders urged the people to stay and fight.

Israelis main strategy was an all out attack throughout the whole of the Palestinian Arab population. As long as most Palestinians stayed in Palestine, the Zionists could not win a decisive victory.

According to Said (1988), the question of Palestine is therefore the contest between an affirmation and a denial, and it is this prior contest, dating back over a hundred years which animates and makes sense of the current impasse between the Arabs states and Israel.

The contest has been almost comically uneven from the beginning. Therefore, there is no doubt that the contest in Palestine has been between an advanced culture and a relatively backward, more or less traditional one.

But we need to try to understand what the instruments of this contest were and how they shaped subsequent history. That this history now appears to confirm the validity of the Zionist claims to Palestine thereby denigrating the Palestinian claims.

In conclusion therefore, we must understand that the struggle between Palestinians and Zionism as a struggle between a presence and an

interpretation. The former constantly appearing to be over powered and eradicated by the latter. What was their presence? No matter how backward, uncivilized, and silent they were, the Palestinians (Arabs) were on the land.

Here Rice (1994) argues that, Palestinians have sometimes been called "the Jews of the Arab world". Certainly they are often high achievers, distinct in their manners in many of their customs and in which much of their culture, given to scholarship and now, more sadly, accustomed to exile and persecution. But at the time of Israelis creation and their dispossession, they were a small people, friendless and bewildered by the disaster to which fate had exposed them.

The Palestinians were politically unsophisticated and unaware of the cardinal importance, so brilliantly realized by their opponents of seeking friends in the cabinet rooms and counting houses of an industrialized world of which few of them had any understanding or contact. Even after the creation of the state of Israel, for a crucial period of a generation or more they wasted time on internecine disputes, tossed from party to party in inter-Arab rivalries and in a succession of minor, often pointless forays against Israeli targets.

These were invariably always battled away with calm assurance by their

vastly more sophisticated opponents who had all the most advanced weaponry and intelligence techniques supplied by misguided and often deliberately misled Western allies. The Palestinians want of success on the battle field was duplicated by their failure to convince the world outside the middle East of the justice or more poignant still, even the relevance of their cause.

Furthermore, Rice still acknowledges the essential elements as the Jewish migrants, largely of European origin, to the land which was once part of Palestine and is now called Israel, claim that they are the direct lineal descendants and heirs of the occupants of the land which was promised to a group of Semitic-speaking clans early in the 2nd millennium BC by the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, three of those putative ancestors from whom they and other Semites claim descent.

Further it is claimed that those who have adopted Judaism as their religious belief, becoming in the process "sons of Abraham", have equal title to live in the land of Israel.

In light of this alleged descent or inheritance every Jew, from wherever he or she may come can claim the right of return to Israel and to citizenship of the State.

All together now for peace, Moussa (1995) put it, to save the peace process from collapse. It all that was required were the serious talk and

earnest pledges of the Summiteers a comprehensive peace in the Middle East would be at hand.

Beilin (1995) also insisted that, the summit would have a positive impact. It showed, how a block was being created for peace.

Arafat (1998) posits that a new empathy for Israelis, we are fully committed to whatever is required from it to achieve real security and constant peace for every Israeli person and for the Israeli people... He promised to do everything possible that no Israeli mother would be worried if her son or daughter is late in coming home.

Furthermore, he saw it as a real opportunity for the Palestinians. It is a turning point, no doubt of it, he said we have to persuade our friends that it should not just be a ceremonial session. There must be a determination to achieve real peace.

The hope that the prospects for peace may actually improve because of Rabin's assassination may be more than wishful thinking says Oz (1995), this will not kill the peace process because under Peres the new government will continue the same policy and perhaps act with even more determination and with more anger. He believed that, the right wing opposition in Israel as a whole will become rhetorically more responsible. In the short run, there will be a kind of restraint and perhaps a relative unity which we have not had for

a long time.

For conflict management, justice, peace as well as stability should be at the forefront. As asserted by Zartman (1991) there is need to ensure stability throughout starting from the regional basis. On African region, the role of Organisation of African Unity (OAU) as a regional organisation in conflict resolution is of importance, so also are the roles of sub-regional organisations such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS-ECOMOG), Southern African Development Community (SADC) League of Arab States (LAS) in ensuring regional security is crucial.

Zartman argued that, without economic redistribution, the basis for achieving substantive justice in a highly inequitable society will not be rather the conflict will be redefined, but not eliminated. He further argued that the most impressive feature of conflicts are refusal of parties in conflict to make genuine compromise and strive to bring the crisis to an end.

Mutual understanding is the pivot of conflict resolution that parties must find an agreed formulae that satisfies their basic needs and reach common understanding about routines of political bargaining. Such understanding should centre on the ability of parties to identify and acknowledge the needs of their antagonists and to see how unilateral actions affects the other.

Parties to conflict should be able to compromise on the core issues and the development of a bargaining culture which are very crucial in moderating conflicting interests. That the management of conflicts must be based on the satisfaction of needs, a sense of fairness, and an acknowledgement of an intrinsic right to participate in decision about one's fate. He refers to this as "Democratic Transformation". This was demonstrated in the resolution of the South African-Namibian and Cambodian conflicts.

Here it could be seen that the resolution of conflicts to the desire to act alone by people as basic to the egotistical nature of a rational actor; in which at any time he wishes to solve the problem multilaterally by holding on and denying the claims of the challenging parties. This is to say that when two or more parties attempt a unilateral resolution of a problem they run up against each other and conflict still persist. Somalia, Sudan, Bosnia, Israel-Palestinians are often cited as examples.

Zartman further stated that resolution can only be achieved by negotiation and parties in conflict should always turn to multilateral solutions, when unilateral solutions become impossible because of the inadequate resources and effective counteractions by another party. Multilateral party must show that it is willing an able to grant the other wide a solution exchange for recognition of its place as part of the problem, as laid claims to the Israeli-

Palestinian conflict in 1973 was curtailed from unilateral resolution, with the articulation of a formula by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 244 tagged "Territory for Security" and was implemented along the Syrian and Egyptian boarders.

Also, cost and benefit analysis, Zartman stated was that what was used in resolving the Iran-Iraqi conflict in 1980s. According to him conflict management was ripe at that moment, for the Iranian source of arms has collapsed and both sides have been worn out by nine years of brutal war and the catastrophe was seen in the possibility of an Iraqi chemical missile raid in Tehran. Therefore the United Nations Secretary General provided the formular for an agreement, and it was fully enacted.

It could be said that the United Nations and the super power(s) which United States has been acknowledged as the leader of the new world order have offered encouragement for peace efforts and negotiated solutions in all major conflicts to make a world a better place to live in.

The foregoing therefore reveals an abundant range of literature on the origin, source and prospects for peace between the Israelis-Palestinians.

1.6 HYPOTHESES/PROPOSITIONS

The lesser the degree of external influence in the Israeli-Palestinians

conflict, the greater the prospects for peace.

1.7 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

a) **PEACE** - Is the recognition and respect for mutual existence and the acknowledgement of the futility of the violent option. Not necessarily synonymous with absolute eradication of conflict, it precludes a mutual preparedness for joint action and cooperation in common fields of human endeavor.

b) **IMPERIALISM** - Is the attempt or action of any state or group of states to influence and dictate the political, economic, cultural and social situation in another state either directly or indirectly, by systematic and subtle manipulation or forceful imposition.

c) **NATIONAL INTEREST** - Is the overall motive that propels a state into action or it relates with other states. It underlines the definition of goals and manner of conduct of international actions. It is a summary of goals national actor hope to score by their policies, decision,actions and inactions in foreign policy dictated either by statesmen ideology or domestic political aspirations.

d) ZIONISM - Is derived from the word Zion, the traditional synonym for Jerusalem and land of Israel. The idea of Zionism - the redemption of the Jewish people in its ancestral homeland - is rooted in the continuous longing and deep attachment to the land of Israel which have been an inherent part of Jewish existence in the diaspora throughout the centuries.

e) CONFLICT MANAGEMENT - Is therefore finding a multilateral solution that replace the attempt of each party to impose its will. Here, conflict management can be seen as a whole range of techniques employed in a society to prevent the development of conflict situation or as to the need to create a conducive atmosphere for resolution.

1.8 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Strictly on the Oslo Peace Accord which is the subject of the research work. How far it has gone with the peace process now that the original initiator is eliminated.

In terms of space, the study covers strictly Palestine area in the Middle East that is the area covering present day state of Israel and then due to the framework of international relations and interdependence that characterises

the international political system, certain places may be briefly mentioned like Egypt, Jordan, Syria, to an extent United States of America and few others. Timewise, covers the period when the Oslo Peace Accord was signed in 1993 till date to resolve the crisis.

1.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

To analyse the Oslo Peace Accord and see how it enhances peace in the area. The research work shall also make a modest contribution to existing literature on the Israeli Palestinian conflict. Also to help us in the Nigerian state to understand the nature and dimension of the conflict in helping us to fashion out a particular foreign policy that can help this.

1.10 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research work shall depend on secondary sources of data collection. That is, use of magazines, newspapers, publications, journals and other current happenings in the area. It will be critically and objectively analysed removing all forms of sentiments.

1.11 ORGANISATION OF WORK

This work shall be organised into five chapters. That is chapter one

will introduce the background to the crisis, aims and objectives of the study, literature review, including concepts definition while chapter two will dwell on the establishment of the state of Israel, factions that aided its establishment in Palestine and the final proclamation. Also try to focus on Palestinians in their earliest stages of the conflict and struggle up to this present state.

Chapter three will focus on conflict management in the Middle East. Chapter four will focus on Oslo Peace Accord and assess how far the peace accord has gone, to determine whether peace will exist between both parties.

Chapter five which is the final chapter will summarise the work by testing the hypotheses, make recommendations and conclusions.

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CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS: THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter would attempt a historical emergence of the modern state of Israel and then the conflict between Israel and Palestinians.

2.2 EMERGENCE OF THE MODERN STATE OF ISRAEL

The Jewish history began about 4,000 years ago, with their claim of birth place in the land of Israel. There, a significant past of the nations long history was enacted of which the first thousand years are recorded in the Bible, there its cultural, religious and national identity was formed; and there its physical presence has been maintained unbroken through the centuries, even after the majority was forced into exile.

During the long years of dispersion, the Jewish people did not forget its bond with the land. The Jewish had been under a number of foreign domination like the Roman Rule (3BCE-313CE); Byzantine Rule; (313-636) under the Arab Rule (636-1099) etc. During the Roman rule, the Jews did not willingly accept the new regime, and the following years witnessed frequent

insurrections. The Romans insisted in ruling, the land became a vassal state of the Roman Empire. The Jews resisted the Roman rule until Jerusalem and the Temple was destroyed in 70BC by the Roman forces. This gravely affected the Jewish people. Also, an estimated one million Jews perished in the siege of Jerusalem alone, with many killed elsewhere in the country and tens of thousands sold into slavery.

By the defeat of the Roman rule by the Byzantine Empire, Jews were deprived of their former autonomy, as well as of their right to hold public positions and were forbidden to enter Jerusalem except on one day of the year to mourn the destruction of Jerusalem, eventually, the Arab took over. (Hirsch 1993:18-21). The Arab conquest of the land too lasted more than four centuries, with Caliphs ruling first from Damascus, then from Baghdad and Egypt. At the outset of Islamic rule, Jewish settlement in Jerusalem was resumed and the Jews were granted permission to live under "protection", the customary status of non-Muslims under Islamic rule which safeguarded their lives, property and freedom of worship in return for payment of special poll and land taxes.

However, the subsequent introduction of restrictions against non-muslims affected the Jews public conduct, religion and legal status while the imposition of heavy taxes on agricultural land compelled most of them to leave

their rural communities and move to towns, where their circumstances hardly improved.

Increasing social and economic discrimination forced many Jews to leave the country, so that by the end of the 11th century, the Jewish community in the land had diminished considerably and had lost some of its organisational and religious cohesiveness.

At this point, the Jews were dispersed all over the world like in Europe, Asia etc. Even though, the Jews were in diaspora, they still believed so much in their Biblical story of Israel as their designated area to them by God, for that the land of Palestine should belong to them. It was then that the Jews though of their independence whereby moves towards the creation of Israeli State was started.

2.2.1 REASONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT

The Jews believed so much in the Biblical story of Palestine or Jerusalem specifically as should belong to them, so no where else could satisfy them as the land of Israel. However, East Africa too was offered to them as a land by British government but they rejected it that they have no connection with Africans. T he only place for them was the land of Palestine. The Jews had their reasons for the choice of Palestine as the land designated to them by

God (Safran 1978:19-20).

First the Jewish experience in Europe where they expected harsh treatment, persecutions, massacre and even to a point of extermination by the Nazi-Germany. This destruction of human lives made them to mobilize themselves for more support among the Jews all over the world and seek for a permanent solution or finding a homeland in Palestine. (Noah 1975:16).

Also, the contribution of Zionism to the fact that, the land of Palestine belongs to Jews. This was championed by Theodor Herzl, in many ways he was self-inspired in his decision to seek a solution to the question of the Jews in Europe. Herzl, called for the creation of a Jewish state that would absorb European Jews and thus end the anti-semitism that still prevailed even in Western Europe and proved that assimilation was impossible but that the only solution to the Jewish problem was a mass exodus of the Jews to a state of their own. (Smith, 1996:29).

Zionism claimed that, in the 19th century, the land of Palestine was a neglected administrative district of Ottoman Empire, it was sparsely populated by Palestinians peasantry and various foreign and religious foundations including the communities of pious Jews engaged in religious study and subsisting on meagre charity, so even after the dispersion, some considerable population of Jews were still left in Palestine, which had formed the basis for

argument of the Jews claiming the land of Palestine as their homeland (Noah (1975:23).

Also the Arabs themselves were not so much keen about international politics neither did they understand the political gimmicks of the international world (Mayhew 1975:10) and this lack of understanding prevented them from declaring their own Palestinian State as was guaranteed by the United Nations General Assembly in November 1947, the partition plan of the majority. The Jewish leadership was quick to accept it, the Palestinians kicked against the approval. (ThisDay Newspaper, 1999). Additionally and more importantly, is the total support enjoyed by the Jews from the British administrators, especially the Labour Party which wanted the Jews settled in Palestine.

Mayhew (1975:11) in his analysis was critical of the roles played by the Jews in Great Britain using the Labour Party in achieving their ends. Also, the wealthy European-Jews provided financial assistance in sponsoring the formation of an organisation, that would arrange the transference of Jews to their home land in Palestine. They also helped persuade the European leaders of the validity and feasibility of the idea. (Smith 1996:29).

2.2.2 FINAL DECLARATION AND ESTABLISHMENT IN PALESTINE

Despite the harsh treatment and the persecutions that the Jews suffered

in diaspora, they still held unto their Judaism faith, the thinking of going back to the land of Palestine as designated to them was also intensified. This led to the formation of Zionist Movement by Theodor Herzl (1860-1904). According to him,

> "The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is a very old one: it is the restoration of the Jewish State".

The official statement of Zionist purpose was adopted by the first Zionist congress in Basle (Switzerland) in August, 1897. The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law. The congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end.

a) The promotion on suitable lives of the colonisation of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.

b) The organisation and binding together of the whole Jews by means of appropriate institutions, local and international in accordance with the laws of each country.

c) The strengthening and fostering of Jewish National sentiment and consciousness.

d) Preparatory steps towards obtaining government consent, where

necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism (Laqueur 1969:11-12).

The whole plan in essence was the creation of a new state for the Jewish people.

Zionism as a doctrine rejected outright the possibility of the Jews being able to live as citizens of various countries on equal terms with non-Jews and asserted that Jews everywhere constituted a single nation for which it sought to secure a national home not any where but in Palestine. (Safran 1978:21).

Thus, due to persecutions, harsh treatment that Jews were facing in diaspora, Zionism championed the cause of establishing a National Home in Palestine to help Jews of all this problems. So at Basle, (Switzerland) in August 1897, the Zionist Congress was held, which Herzl further asserted that:

> In Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this aloud, I would meet with general laughter; but in another five years, and certainly in another fifty years, everyone will be convinced of this. This state is created mainly upon the people's will for state". (Safran 1978:20).

Herzl devoted himself to this great task of building a national home in

Palestine, for the Jewish people but it was rather deemed advisable not to declare that openly because of the Ottoman rule objections to the idea of a new nationality seeking self-rule in its territory.

The Ottoman rule was rather afraid of any Western influence and intrusion in their empire which was already disintegrated mainly because, religiously, the Jewish faith in Judaism and possibly Christianity will bring problems to the already established Islamic faith which they suffered in establishing (Smith 1996:30) Herzl went to Constantinople on several occasions and met with Sultan Abdul Hamid but the authorities were reluctant to grant this request, but he continued his efforts and project as leadership of Zionism till his death in 1904 (Smith 1996:31).

However, the situation changed after the world wars, Germany was defeated, the Ottoman rule had to give way since it was an ally of Germany. Palestine was then handed over to the British rule under the League of Nations mandate (Smith 1996:40). Here again, the Jews continued their struggle and quest for a national home in Palestine, the leader of the Zionist Movement became Dr. Chaim Wejzmann. The British interest in Zionism and Palestine then increased, British recognised and supported the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine (Smith, 1996:50).

As a result, the British decided to issue the Balfour Declaration which

consisted of a single long sentence in the form of a letter dated November 2, 1917 addressed by foreign secretary Arthur Balfour to Lord Rothschild as representative of the Zionists. It read:

> "I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to and approved by the cabinet. His majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which many prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country". (Safran 1978:24).

Amidst open protests from Palestinians National Congress between 1919 and 1923 which expressed fear of Zionist political objectives and rejected the Balfour Declaration, in spite of warnings contained in report of various commissions of enquiries such as King Crane Commission, 1919 which simply reported and suggested that the British Zionist objective project) should be given up. The British proceeded by manipulating immigration laws and pressured the Ottoman government to do same (Khalid 1984).

In 1939 about 75,000 Jews were admitted into Palestine and between

1931-1936 about 64 more Zionist colonies were established. Landownership laws were also ascended to fit prevailing policies. Also, a Muslim congress in Jerusalem attended by delegates from 22 Arab States warned against the political dangers of British pro-zionist policies (Banwo 1995:18).

This opposition and settlement of the Jews continued, the British ignored the handwriting on the wall and persisted on their policies. The British government quietly withdrew her mandate and went back to the League of Nations which in turn divided Palestine territory between Jews and Palestinians (Arabs). The Palestinians rejected the partitioning which Israel was quick to act, a state of Israel was proclaimed in Tel Aviv on May 14, 1948 by David Ben-Gurio and came into effect the next day (Smith 1996:145).

Even though, the state of Israel was proclaimed but all this took place in the midst of on going conflict, crisis and for the Jews jubilation. The Palestinians opposed this, the independent state had international recognition and backing by both Britain, United States, League of Nations then, couple with Israeli claims over Palestine as designated to them. This then made all other Jews from all over the world to return home and this has culminated into the problem of settling them and displacing the Palestinians of land for settlement.

2.3 RESISTANCE AND STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIANS

The name, Palestine referred to the ancient land of Cannan, the Biblical promised land was derived from the Philistines who occupied the southern coastal region in the 12th century BC (Banwo 1995). Until the end of World War I, Palestine was as unimportant back water of the Turkish Empire. There were no political frontiers defining the country. Both the land and its people were regarded as part of the Ottoman dominated Syrian provinces (Peretz 1970:4).

The Palestinians made no claim to racial purity. They are a people of highly diverse ethnic origins, compounded from all the conquerors of the land since the Amorites. Every invader until this century has, to some degree, left a mark upon the population. The people might become Aramaic speakers, they might accept Greek customs, but they remained the same people. Most historical Palestine can be seen from one hill, Mount Ebal the variations in land and people are remarkable.

The present Palestinian population is estimated to be between 3 1/2 and 4 million people, which indicates that there has been an enormous increase in population over the past 70 years (Gilmour 1980:20). Palestine had been under the rule of Ottoman Turks and Arabs until then, the Arab Nationalist Movement in conjunction with British Army, finally destroyed the Ottoman

Empire, Palestine became under the control of Britain. The Palestinians became fully aware of the threat from Zionist Movement to which Britain had already committed itself, they demanded their independence unity with the rest of Arab States.

However, while they waited for Britain to honour its pledges made to Sheriff of Mecca, the Palestinians were eager to be associated with the promised Arab State. Only when it became clear that, the Middle East was to be carved up and that French was going to take Syria in any event did the Palestinians turn back from the Arab nationalist ideal and began to concentrate on their own struggle from Britain and against Zionism which started at partition and the final declaration of the Israeli State. (Gilmour 1980:31-35).

As has happened with other peoples, nationalism among the Palestinians only emerged as a result of an external force and threat. Zionism became an issue to all Palestinians which they all oppose to "the Jews must possess Palestine as the Arabs are to possess Arabia or the poles Poland echoed Israel Zangwill". (Gilmour 1980:39). The Palestinian struggles was well back during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, which also was the Zionist Movement.

Opposition to Zionism was already widespread at the turn of the century as friction developed between Palestinian Fellahin and the Zionist colonists financed by Baron de Hirsch and Rothschild family. (G'lmour 1980:314. It became more intense as Jewish migration increased, shortly then took over Palestine and which escalated the crisis. The Palestinian struggle and resistance in all spheres of life, religiously, the Palestinians were justifiably anxious about their fate of their holy places; because Palestinians are mostly Muslims, while Jews are into Judaism. Educationally, it has become a common observation that Palestinians living under occupation place a particularly high value upon formal education attainment. Education is an important form of investment for the future, providing people with a passport to greater economic security and enhanced life chances.

Israel is well aware of this orientation towards education on the part of Palestinians, therefore, it should have come as no surprise that educational institutions became a specific target in the power resistance and struggle. The use of education as a means of collective punishment has been a particular feature of Israeli policy towards the Palestinians. (Rugby 1991:98).

Socially, and economically, the Palestinians have continued to live in refugee camps displaced from their former homes; camp life which is dehumanizing, frustrating and unbearable, especially during winter, snow and

rain bring mud and misery, in summer, hot winds blow dust and sand through the camps (Cooley 1983:51-53). The economic life of the Palestinian depended totally on the Jewish line. Jewish began to restructure the tranaport and communications network in order to physically integrate with the State of Israel alone. So that was done to make it very difficult for Palestinians; coupled with that was the denial of free access to Israeli markets of Palestinians products. Also a large proportion of Palestinians worked for Israeli sites and were paid little or nothing at all. Palestinians are intimidated in some ways or another (Cooley 1973:51)

Politically, the Palestinians started their resistance and struggle since the time the Israeli state was created which was against their wish and desires becauseit displaced them of their homeland. In their resistance and struggle for survival, wars upon wars with Idraelis, but the Palestinians have repeatedly insisted on their right of return, their desire for the exercise of self-determination and their stubbon opposition to Zionism as it has affected them (Said 1980:46-47).

In their quest for peace and survival that Palestinians never gave up, the Israelis fought and destroyed much for the Palestinians and claimed more lands from. However, the Palestinians held meetings and began military operations and more resistance so as to be independent of the Israelis. The

Palestinians recognised the need for close links with the nationalists Arabs so as to fight the Israelis of forceful occupation especially in 1964, Israeli plan to divert Jordan river water for its new national water carrier; the main artery of irrigation carrying water from the Jordan system in Galilee down to the Negev desert to enable new settlers to establish themselves. A conference was called of Arab states in order to find a definitive solution for the problem of Palestinians (Cooley 1983:94).

2.3.1 FORMATION OF PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANISATION (PLO)

The Israelis took heavy reprisals on Palestinians, killed tortured and wounded many and occupied more and more places. This did not go well with the Palestinians, especially Israeli plan to divert Jordan river for its new national water carrier, on January 13 to 16 President Nasser of Egypt in Cairo was host to an Arab summit conference to discuss the Israeli plan and how to counter it. But Nasser played diplomacy that he did not believe to liberate Palestinians and for that, other Arab States should not get Egypt involved in to battle with Israel, rather the result of the meeting was the creation of Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the official Palestinian Organisation sponsored by the Arab League which was to 'affirm a Palestinian entity" and

place the cause of liberation in the hands of the Palestinians themselves. Under the leadership of Ahmed Shuqairy, a fire brand whose dire threats against Israel became legendary in 1964 (Acosta 1970:154).

The PLO was formed in 1964 and the Al-Fatah wing also whose duty was military operations, bold principles into action with daring and courage. This military wing was led by Yasser Arafat, series of attacks were carried out by the wing, some successful and others not, but they strove on, despite Al-Fatah, smaller groups sprang up to liberation; al-fatah under Yasser Arafat's personal efforts managed to create the Palestine Armed Struggle Command (PASC) which mainly was trying to coordinate and reconcile the often conflicting and wild communiques of the various groups on their operations against Israel.

But then, Arafat faced opposition from other groups, after a long struggle Arafat succeeded in evicting Ahmed Shuqairy, whose many intemperate and conflicting statements had led many cynics to wonder whether he was not perhaps on the pay roll of the Israeli secret services because, of the harm he had done to the Palestinian cause.

Shortly after which, Arafat was able to take control of the main official PLO apparatus and establish a sort of point PLO-Fatah military command which has come to be recognised as Palestinian sole representative body

(Cooley, 1973:102-103); PLO has come to be accepted by the Palestinians as their sole representative body and have been inclined to treat it as their government in exile, even though it has been headquartered in far away Tunisia this solid relationship between PLO and Palestinians has afforded the organisation its international legitimacy and structure.

2.4 CRISIS OVER OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

During the 1948 crisis, the Jews retained all of the territory assigned to them under the partition plan and also gained large portions of the proposed Palestinian State and West Jerusalem; which brought in more resistance all over Palestinians areas. With increased tension and strife, Israelis fought more wars and claimed lands which shall be examined later in the discussion of various wars between Israelis and Palestinians.

The territories captured and occupied were Jerusalem (West) West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula etc., like in Jerusalem as it is, the city of the three great monotheistic religions and for most of its history, Christianity, Judaism and Islam have been able to live there. There are important holy places of all three within the walls and for the most part, each religion has enjoyed the freedom to visit them, but while Jerusalem belong to no particular religion, it does belong to a particular

people.

In character and in composition as claimed by Arabs, it is an Arab city and, except for three short periods during the crusaders, it has been so far 1,340 years. It is so today, though several thousands of its Arabs inhabitants have been expelled over the last decade and replaced by Jews (Gilmour, 1980:117).

The 1949 armistice line drove through Jerusalem in a north-south direction. The old, walled city and a few areas to the north of it remained in Arab hands, the suburbs became part of Israel. In June 1967 the old city was captured by the Israeli army and three weeks later it was annexed by the government. The Israelis termed nothing of the sort. It was illegal occupation. (Gilmour 1980:117)

The Israeli soldiers who swagger down the souls past a sullen population fail to indicate the benefits of 'living together'. And nothing demonstrates the Zionist domination better than the view from the month of Olives; Palestinians are fighting to get back Jerusalem as is ringed by Jewish housing estates, built on confiscated Arab land, which are placed strategically on the summits of the surrounding hills, cutting off the city from its Arab hinterland.

Israelis annexation was illegal and was condemned as such by the international community. A week after 'unification', the General Assembly

of United Nations adopted a resolution calling upon Israel to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which will alter the status of Jerusalem. Not a single nation voted against this resolution except of course, for Israel and not a single delegate spoke in support of Israelis annexation. The Israelis replied that Jerusalem must never again be a divided city and insisted that the benefits of 'unification' would be spread evenly over all sections of the population.

Following up this was difficult to see much evidence Israelis expelled people and thousands of new apartments were built for Jewish settlers while the Palestinians inhabitants who lived in overcrowded conditions were left there and sent away. A few Palestinians who still believed that they would benefit from the unification, also their property but then ended up on the other side; their property seized and left as refugees (Gilmour, 1980:118).

In West Bank too, both parties had crisis over but then before the annexation, Jerusalem was the capital of West Bank, the central hill country comprising the Biblical regions of Judea and Samaria and the hinterland of old Palestine. West Bank was the only region to escape the Israeli conquest of 1948. It is worth looking at it in some detail because, although it has been occupied by Israel since 1948, and although a large number of its inhabitants are refugees from 1948, the West Bank is the only area anywhere in which

Palestinian society still exists in anything approaching its natural surroundings.

West Bank was annexed during the 1967 war, and the people were so demoralised that they could never have formed a state on their own, which they thought could help in fighting the cause of the Palestinian rights. The problems confronting the West Bank after the war were enormous, economically it had always looked westwards and its trade was tied closely with the coast.

Now it was forced to turn around and face east. (Gilmour, 1980:121). The river and the desert beyond had previously played no part in its existence; now it has to look to them for its survival.

After the war, they were deprived not only of their traditional outlets to the sea; but also lost most of their lands which lay on the plain itself. Instead of the rich fields they had previously farmed and whose produce they had sold to the coastal towns, the inhabitants of Qualiqiliya had to turn to the infertile hills behind their homes and try to sell their new and more meagre crops to poorer markets in the East, to a point Arabs of the old city were denied access to the West.

During the annexation too, the main road to Bethlehem in the south was also blocked and expansion eastward was prevented and therefore, the

Palestinian suffered a major economic reverse after the war.

However, the West Bank Palestinians were educated community in the Arab world. Their ratio of students to population was higher than that in any country in Europe and Israel; those well educated West Bank people could come back to be under strict rule and control and to a larger extent refugees due to Israeli occupation.

In general however, the West Bank economy remained stagnant and the small growth in agriculture was not sufficient the economy has shown no improvement and very bad since Israeli occupation. Industrial and commercial activit es have been the chief sufferers because neither have been allotted much room in the new Israeli order. A good illustration of the West Bank problem is the town of Nablus, the largest in the West Bank after Jerusalem with 80,000 inhabitants.

Its economic life has always revolved around a handful of small industries and the surrounding farmland; but since then has suffered a disastrous decline. Products from subsidized industries in Israeli have swamped the market and caused the closure of some businesses. The West Bank have suffered; they cannot import raw materials through Israel and only those factories established before 1967 can export goods.

Besides, costs and taxes are far higher under Israeli occupation than they are in Jordan. Lack of job opportunities is one of the major problems facing the West Bank people. It drives perhaps a third of the labour force to seek unskilled work inside Israel and it drives most of the educated abroad, because they are unable to find work in their homeland due to that most I've abroad.

The decline of West Bank since then has not been unintentional. It is the direct result of the policy of the Israel government which has chosen to exploit the area for the advancement of its economy. As rightly observed by an Israeli lawyer, Felicia Langer has described this relationship and its development how the West Bank with Gaza became a not-small pool of cheap labour; a market for Israeli's products, its had a place for settlement, and its wells a source of "black gold".

Israel derives so much cheap labour from West Bank and Water which both are survival of the Israeli economy. Without the 'not-so-small pool of cheap labour", several sectors, such as the construction industry, would collapse immediately. Most West Bank workers are registered to work in Israeli factories, once there the immigrants are shunted off to factories, farms or building sites.

Most menial jobs in Tel-Aviv, rubbish collection, dish-washing and so on are done by Palestinians (West Bankers), while the construction industries takes more than half its labour from the occupied territories (Aburish 1991:8-9).

The exploitation of West Bank can be more than this, the Israelis have imposed heavy tariffs on all imports to the territories from every country except Israel. Its ensures that the territories take 90% of their imports from Israel; that is to ensure that the territories depend totally on Israel which works out for the Israeli governments advantage.

One feature of the occupation which the West Bankers particularly resent is the establishment of a Jewish settlements on their land. The Israelis justify these colonies either by pointing out that Judea and Samaria were populated by Jews in the days of David and Solomon or by saying that they are necessary for "security reasons". How civilian settlements in "enemy": territory can be of security value either in war or peace is never explained. (Gilmour 1980:126).

But then "security reasons" are like "public purposes", if you are grabbing somebody else's hand it sounds much better if you say you are doing it for security reasons rather than admit that you are simply stealing it (emphasis added). Not that world opinion has been deceived by the jargon:

no country in the world supports Israelis colonialist policy.

Moreover, it is for bidden by the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 (of which Israel is a signatory) which declares that an occupier shall not transfer parts of its own population into the territory that it occupies" (Gilmour 1980:126) Israelis captured and built for settlers in West Bank which they do not even bother simply taking land away from Palestinians so that Jews can stay on it.

The 1967 war really was bad upon the taken over of West Bank because Israel really took over and sent a lot away. In West Bank alone there are more than a million refugees who fled during the war, coupled up with that is no minerals only major source is water. The area provides some 620m cubic metres a year, which would be ample if they were all used inside the West Bank.

From drillings in Israel itself, however, 500 millions of this is taken and used in Israel. Even the remaining 120 million is not left to the Palestinians, since 15 million is required for the settlements. The Israelis have drilled 17 wells in the West Bank since 1967 and enjoyed the use of others belonging to 'absentees', not one Palestinian has been allowed to drill a single irrigation well in the last 12 years. (Gilmour 1980:128).

Israel taken over of West Bank has really affected them in that, during the war, almost everything was destroyed and what was left was taken over. Especially a chunk of land was predictably wired off for 'security reasons' and turned into a military camp. It is now deserted, a mangled collection of barbed wire, broken pipes and derelict houses crunched in the desert where banana plantations and fields of tomatoes once stood.

The occupation of Gaza Strip too has led to crisis over and over. A narrow stretch of coast running for 40 miles down to the pre-1967 Egyptian border. Gaza was the only other fragment of Palestinians to survive 1948 and it too was taken over in 1967 war. It is wretchedly poor and overcrowded, crammed with more than 35,000 refugees as well as the native population, and yet Israeli insists on taking some of its most fertile land and settling its own inhabitants upon it.

When it was captured and occupied by Israel in 1967 war, they displayed incredible brutality towards the population of the Gaza Strip. Many hundreds of civilians were murdered in an apparent effort to force the refugees to the Gaza was never a part of the kingdoms of Judah or Israel and its only contact with Jewish history was in 12 B.C. when Alexander Jemnaeus captured the city and massacred its inhabitants. Nor can the Israelis use the ubiquitous 'security-reasons' quite so readily since they signed a peace treaty

with Egypt (Gilmour 1980:128).

Gaza, which was once a prosperous Greek city is an ugly sprawl today. The orchards around the town now house an enormous refugee population. Standards of living are low and the camps are some of the worst anywhere. The refugees, who come from Jaffa and Beersheba, live in squalid huts mass-produced by United Nations Relief and works Agency (UNRWA). About 200,000 people live in the vast camps of Jabalia, Ratah, Beach and Khan Yoyonis; most of them without prospects of employment or anything else.

After the 1967 war which Gaza was captured by Israel its totally dependent on Israeli economically, like its been prevented from exporting to the West simply because is wants to prevent uncontrolled competition (with her grown fruits) even again to plant this fruits, is a problem, the people of Gaza are not allowed to do that because it is inconvenient to Israel. (Gilmour, 1980:120).

Employment opportunities are limited so tens of thousands of refugees leave their camps each day before down to assemble at one of the markets near the border; here children too are all out to work and earn which amounts to child labour which Israel bothers not about it, and the days wages are very low.

Israel have many settlements in Gaza Strips and the area is so miserable and so over populated that they are more obtrusive; there is special site for Israel and army, barbed wire is erected and the flag is flown from the nearest piece of high grounds. Gazans are really wretched refugees in their shacks outside, separated from the colonists by great walls of barbed wire.

John Reddaway a former deputy commissioner general of UNRWA has written of his disgust:

> At the sight of these greedy intruders grabbing large tracts of some of the best land in this small corner of Palestine, where for thirty years past hundreds of thousands of refugees of farming stock have been living without a hope of ever getting even a small plot of land to cultivate for themselves, because what land there was to farm barely sufficed for the local population. In Gaza these Zionist land grabbers can live with the injustice they are perpetrating every day of their lives to their wretched fellow men whose land they have stolen and fenced off to keep them out. (Gilmour, 1980:132).

Edward Hodgkin, the former editor of the Times, visited the occupied territories in 1969 and wrote:

> The intensity with which the Israelis are hated everywhere by all sections of the population. It is not simply the enmity which any people might show towards an occupying power, it is a vivid loathing of a power that is not only occupying land that does not belong to it, but which is also colonizing that land and throwing out its rightful owners and inhabitants.

The oppression to which Israel has resorted in order to extinguish any sort of resistance, civilian or military, has been documented by among others, the International Red Cross, Amnesty International, etc., to investigate Israelis practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories. The conclusions which these organisation arrived at indicate that, the people under occupation possess not even the most elementary democratic rights. (Aburish, 1991:1-2).

As Michael Adams, a former correspondent of the guardian in Beirut, has written. Palestine in the occupied territories have enjoyed since 1967 no rights and no representative institutions. There is no authority to which they can appeal, no protection which they can involve. Their every movement and action is subject to the arbitrary authority of the Israeli military governor.

They can be detained, imprisoned, deported, without the intervention of any tribunal. Their houses and property may be destroyed, their lands confiscated their crops burned and their trees cut down. (Gilmour, 1980:133).

Israel oppression is directed against both individuals and groups; the punishment melted is usually collective punishment irrespective of whoever, like curfew can be imposed without warning in towns, villages or refugees camps and demolition of houses for 'security reasons'. The logic behind these forms of retribution hardly needs clarification. Their policy is simple and ruthless, clearly designed to make the Palestinian population realise that it is going to suffer.

Also, the question of deportation too and interference with the educational system to prevent nationalist leadership, to this end, schools, training centres and universities are subjected to regular harassment by the army and many of them are periodically closed down. All damage has been done to the people of Gaza, to this, Israel has managed to eliminate the Palestinian leadership in the occupied territories.

However, the occupied strategy continued to a point a former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin made it clear when asked about the occupied territories, he quickly snapped at a journalist, "what occupied territories, you mean the Gaza Strip, Judea, Samaria, they are liberated territories, they are part of an integral part of the land of Israel".

Begin argued that conquered territories formed a necessary barrier against invading Palestinians, and also firmly believed that Israel's chief claim

to these territories was an historical one. (Palumbo 1990:33).

This concept of occupied territories has generated crisis, wars and conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. Several wars fought for each party's survival and eventually get rid of another, which include the six day war, 1967 the Yom Kippur war 1973 and others.

2.4.1 THE SIX DAY WAR (JUNE 1967)

The six-day war was a crucial, fateful experience in which all Israelis partook equally, which provided a powerful and enduring sense that they all instituted one nation and shared in one common enterprise and dating beyond their communal differences.

When Egypt moved large numbers of troops into the Sinai Desert (May 1967) ordered United Nations Peace Keeping forces out of the area; reimposed the blockade of the straits of Tiran and entered into a military alliance with Jordan, Israel found itself faced by hostile Arab armies on all fronts.

Having failed to restore the arrangements agreed upon following the 1956 Sinai campaign, Israel invoked its inherent right of self defence, launching (5 June 1967) a pre-emptive strike against Egypt in the south followed by a counter-attack against Jordan in the east and the routing of Syrian forces entrenched on the Golan Heights in the north.

In actual fact, the war witnessed an overwhelming Israeli victory at the end of six days of fighting; with Egypt bearing the bulk; Jordan lost approximately 38% of her productive land on the West Bank of the Jordan River, Syria conceded the control of Golan heights while the Sinai peninsula, Gaza Strip and the Suez Canal was wrested from Egypt all were under the control of Israel.

This resulted rather in a territorial adjustment with Israel extending her borders deeper into Arab territories in size and strategically defensible status. This tilted the Middle Eastern balance of power in favour of the Jews and led to a decline in Egyptian influence within the region (Hirsch 1993:41).

2.4.2 THE YOM KIPPUR WAR (1973)

Calmness along the borders were shattered after the war, another broke up again which was the Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement, the holiest day in the Jewish year). When Egypt and Syria launched a coordinated surprise assault against Israel (October 6, 1973) with Egyptian army crossing the Suez Canal and Syrian troops penetrating the Golan Heights.

During the next three weeks, the Israel defence forces turned the tide of battle and repelled the attackers, crossing the Suez Canal into Egypt and advancing to within 20 miles 32km of the Syrian and Damascus. Inspite of the

seemingly controversial outcome of the war in terms of victor and vanquished, certain undeniable facts and realities unveiled themselves. On the Arab side was the recovery of their self esteem and prestige which is traceable to their overwhelming initial success in the wars.,

Territorially, there was no gain, the occupied territories remained occupied, in the Golan Heights, infact, the Syrians lost more land. On Israeli side also was the colossal loss in economic, military and social terms. Consequently disengagements of forces agreement between Israel and Egypt and Syria were signed, according to which Israel withdrew from parts off the territories captured during the war (Hirsch 1973:42).

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CHAPTER THREE

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter would attempt to analyse the international influence and mediatory with conciliatory role played into the Middle Eastern Crisis and attempts to resolve the crisis.

3.2. EXTERNAL INFLUENCE

The world powers had had interest in the Palestine area long before now. Amongst them were Britain, America, Russia and the French. The British were more sympathetic with the Jews, especially at the time that witnessed multipolar world system, and the time of first World War. The British were quick to adhere to the Israeli request which led to the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, mainly for the fear that, the beginning of 1917 witnessed a revolutionary ferment in Russia that toppled the Tsarist regime and ultimately brought the Bolsheviks to power to that Russia might withdraw from the war, permitting the Germans to concentrate all their forces against France and Britain in the West, led to promote Zionism as a means of persuading Russian Jews believed to be influential in revolutionary circles.

More importantly, the fear of Russia extending her tentacles of its socialist's ideologies. Since all the super powers were against each other and of different ideologies, all the same Israel aligned with the West block of capitalist ideology (Smith 1996:50). Inspite of all this support that Britain gave, back home, it had domestic economic crisis, coupled with its commitment in Palestine, Britain acknowledge that, it could no longer continue due to its financial and military problems, United States would state pinto the role.

Against this back drop, that United States stepped in and gained much influence especially after the Yom Kippur war of 1973. The United States is one of the most prominent actor in the international political system. It represents the epitome of capitalist interest of the Western bloc. United States involvement in Palestine dates back to the 1780s due to trade links, this also extended American power too.

America's direct involvement with Palestine was really during the period of intensive Zionist activities, when United States sympathy was more for the destitute Jews, and she tried to supply relief materials to those that were expelled from Russia. (Bryson 1977: 1-5). United States in her involvement also depended on Middle Eastern oil, this was really exposed during the second World War, when especially most Arab States now saw to it that

Britain has betrayed them by the Balfour Declaration, United States now stood a better chance and gained total access and a break through.

After the war, Zionist activities intensified so much, that the United States now had total control over the area and also was all out not to allow Soviet Union to have access to leadership in the area, so as not to spread its socialist ideas over its Western ideology. Therefore, United States enjoyed a solid base position in the area, her policy was found on various interest, the preservation of pro-Western regimes (buffer States), the suppression of Soviet influence: the protection of all supplies for herself and her NATO allies, also the security of the state of Israel.

3.2.1 THE SOVIET INFLUENCE

Since the reign of Czar Peter The Great of Tsarist Regime (1877-1879) Russia had influence in Palestine. But more importantly, the emergence of the Union of Socialist Republic (USSR) following the Bolsheviks revolution in 1917, the Soviet came to represent the champion of the Eastern, Socialist bloc and assumed leadership of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation - America's rival in the cold war conflict.

Directly related to Palestine is the fact that prior to 1948, (which was the creation of Jewish state), the Soviets have been known to have supported

the Palestinian communities. This has been aimed at edging out British influence and supremacy in Palestine as a precedent for other Middle Eastern States and subsequently filling the power vacuum created.

By 1954, Soviet Union position in the Middle East acquired a super power status. Her position during the Suez crisis in 1956 endeared her to the Arab States. She became a major arms supplier and aid giver to these key Arab States namely, Egypt, Syria and Iraq, and by 1955, Soviet Union entered into an arms deal with Egypt. (Banwo 1995:37-38).

Unfortunately, the Soviets prescribed strict avoidance on any form of outside dependence resources, that meant, she had produced a considerable large quantity of oil, her interest was gaining control of the oil as a weapon against America and her NATO allies especially Japan and other West European states which are substantially dependent on the region for their energy needs.

Here the Soviets intensified and encouraged the nationalization of the Middle Eastern oil companies and also intensified her diplomatic and trade activities too which earned her hard currency.

Soviet Union perception of the Jews as an insignificant minority and therefore viewed the Arabs revolts as a typical revolution. An argument was set up lasting until 1936 leaving behind a Palestinian communist party.

Moscow, thereafter became a firm supporter of Pan Arabism and joined in the opposition to the idea of Palestinian partition in 1937. The Soviets saw it as a path way to the loss of Arabs best lands and a deliberate move by Britain to destroy Arab revolutionary movements. (Laqueur 1969:148). Until when the state of Israel was created, official Soviet position to the succeeding Arab attack was a sharp contrast. The Arab action was fogged an "act of aggression" against Israel and the Soviets called on the Arabs to desist, even though, the Soviets granted the new Zionist a de jure recognition epitomizing a pro-Israeli posture. (Laqueur 1969:148). The Soviets still held Israel at arms length especially when the position of the Israeli state infiltrated the Soviets domestic politics and threatened her stability, it made this support short lived; due largely because Russian Jews became pro-Israel and constituted a centripetal force possessing a disruptive capacity for the communist union.

Ever since, the Soviet position has been pro-Arab; between 1954 and 1970, Soviet involvement shifted from a defensive-passive to an offensive-active nature; which can be said that, the Soviets engaged in pro-Arab propaganda and exhibited anti-Israeli and anti-West resentments as in the case of Suez crisis of 1956 (Confino and Shamir 1973:108). Also Soviets commenced its sales of arms to Arab States, also it was obvious after the six day war, specifically during the Israeli-Egypt war of attrition of 1967-1969, it involved

Russian military fighters against Israeli air force, even before the actual war, it was the Russian information intelligence on the movement of Israeli troops that created that atmosphere that resulted in the six day war, (Gallia 1958:108).

In actual fact, the Arabs became dependent on Soviet arms, coupled with the socialist ideology which weakened the Western influence in the Middle East. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is on which back that Soviet Union rode into the entire Middle East region. (East 1931: 6-47).

3.3 THE ROLE OF AMERICAN JEWS

The external influence was not only limited to the super powers but also the American-Jews. They played very significant role in the Middle East crisis. That is since the inception of Zionist movement in the 1914, Herzl called for the creation of Jewish state that would absorb European Jews and thus end the anti-semitism that still prevailed even in Western Europen and proved that assimilation was impossible (Smith (1996:29). That was directed mainly to the wealthy American Jews that would provide financial assistance for the formation of an organisation; its because a lot of them were wealthy.

However, this geared most of them to put on a lot of pressure and lobbying for the state of Israel. Until after the creation their activities intensified in the Middle East conflict. as their claim over Palestine as the land designated to them, since most of them are wealthy there was continuous influx of Israelis to Palestine.

In all the wars fought, where the concept of "occupied territories" were added, the American-Jews are solidly behind that, to the extent that, America's attitude towards the occupied territories cannot be understood with due consideration of the influence of the power Zionist lobby in Washington. No president or member of Congress could defy its wishes and hope to be re-elected to office.

Leaders of the Zionist lobby have instant access to top United States government officials, to whom they frequently express their wishes in letters and telephone calls. (Palumbo 1990:137). In the same vein the American Jews claimed and complained that Arab s planned a war of genocide against the Israelis and also that the Palestinians were indigenous to Palestine, that Israel was the only proper destination for Jews and so a PI O West Bank-Gaza State was a threat to the survival of Israel.

Consequently the efforts Zionist lobby had a noticeable effect on the Carter's administration Middle East Policy. Former President Jimmy Carter

of the United States pledged not to threaten a cut off of military and diplomatic aid to Israel as a bargain lever. Carter also faced protests when in August 1979, made statements favourable to the Palestinians; the New York Board of Rabbis notified the White House that it was astounded by the comparison between the plight of the Palestinians and the battle for the civil rights by black Americans. They also added, that it appeared President Carter was prepared to support the establishment of a Palestinian state which will be observation be a destabilizing entity in the Middle East. With American Zionist lobby, there was little to stop Prime Minister Begin from making a mockery of the autonomy negotiations, (Palumbo 1990:138).

However, American-Jews have continued to play their role in Palestine till date, with so much influence and desire.

3.4 VARIOUS PEACE ACCORDS

Now that we have seen the internationalization of the Middle East conflict, that is, now Israel aligned with the Western bloc and Palestinian aligned with the Eastern block in their bid to get support.

But then America tried to gain more influence in the middle Eastern crisis, first by peaceful negotiations in form of peace accords or agreements and then later its full role in the conflict.

That is America influence had gained ascendancy after the Yom Kippur war of 1973. There was therefore an American initiated diplomatic move that culminated in the very first peace accord that was signed between Israel and Arab State being Camp David Agreement which later ushered in other accords.

3.4.1 CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT (1978)

The Likud Party won elections and its leader Menachem Begin took over as Israeli Prime Minister when he did mention to invite late President Sadat of Egypt. Assad of Syria and King Hussein of Jordan to come and start with us together either in our capital cities or in a neutral place like Geneva, face to face direct negotiations to sign peace treaties between their states and israel without any prior conditions.

But before this, at the end of Yom Kippur war in 1973 the opposing forces in Sinai as well as the forces along the Golan Heights has to be disengaged. President Assad of Syria took a hard negotiating position. His demands that the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) evacuate the Golan heights as a precondition to negotiations were dismissed out of hand by the Israelis. Nevertheless, despite Assad's opposition in December 1973 a conference was arranged in Geneva which was attended by Egypt, Jordan and Israel, the

United States and former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) which was a hard task. (Palumbo 1990:143).

In January, 1977, Jimmy Carter came in as United States President then continued with the negotiations. He was bold enough to tell late Yitzak Rabin that he considered Israeli settlements in the occupied territories to be 'illegal' which needed major adjustments in the 1967 borders, this did not also go down well with the Israelis. It was then that, the American surrender to Israel and Palestine problem cannot be possible especially from people like late Anwar Sadat of Egypt.

The late Egyptian President realized that he could not count on America initiatives to bring peace since there was no chance that Carter would risk the displeasure of the Zionist lobby by putting pressure on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories. Sadat came to the conclusion that he would need to initiate his favourable agreement with Israel over the Sinai. The late President decided and went to Israel on November 9 1977 which was welcomed by Begin.

By Summer of 1978, there was the concern that the momentum towards a peace agreement which had been launched by Sadat's visit to Jerusalem was being lost. the United States President therefore planned a meeting between United States, Israel and Egypt leaders to be held at the Camp David

Presidential Retreat near Washington DC.

The meeting would decide the future of both; which was that Begin took full advantage of his strong position. He refused to agree to the evacuation of Jewish settlements in Sinai unless Sadat accepted his scheme for autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza, which was aimed at preventing a West Bank-Palestinian State; there was every reason for his negotiating strategy to succeed. Sadat's devotion to the Palestinians cause was questionable. (Palumbo 1990:144).

But then on Saturday 16 September, after almost two weeks of haggling, the outcome of an agreement was worked out thus;

a) Israel would evacuate its Jewish settlements from Sinai desert, which would be returned to Egypt.

b) There would also be an accord which provided for five years temporary autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza, during which negotiations for the final disposal of the territories would take place.

c) Within the West Bank and Gaza the Israeli troops would only be withdrawn into designated areas.

Menahem Begin was adamant on this and refused to agree to that, there would be no Israeli evacuation of settlements in the West Bank and Gaza as there would be in Sinai. The return of territories to Jordan or the creation of a Palestinian State were defacto ruled out.

The accord mentioned nothing about the construction of settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Begin however claimed that he had only promised a freeze for the accord for the negotiation of Israeli-Egypt treaty on Sinai.

Consequently, the Camp David negotiations on autonomy for West Bank Gaza were doomed and relations between the two (Begin and Carter) went sour. Indeed Begin added more insult to injury when on November 1, he announced: "we will now add population to the existing settlements as I have informed President Carter at Camp David specifically". Begin repeatedly made it clear that there would not be a Palestinian State and refused to consider a limit on Israeli settlements or the presence of the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) in the West Bank-Gaza. (Palumbo 1990:145).

The Israeli Prime Minister insisted on sovereignty and went ahead. When President Reagan came into power in the United States, he wanted to revisit Camp David process, and also his own proposals, which Begin however would not be part of the Reagan Plan, he rather stressed more on the Israeli sovereignty.

Nevertheless, although no international negotiations were taking place in the early 1980s over the future of the occupied territories, the Israelis were not marking time. They were rigorously attempting to impose their version of autonomy on the Palestinians.

3.4.2 BAKER' S F VE POINT PLANT OF 1989

The United States did not stop after then,another talk initiative was planned, the Baker Plan named after the Secretary of State James Baker on October 1989 included the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) where Yasser Arafat as a fourth party in multilateral negotiations.

The Baker's five point plan states that:

1. The United States understands that because Egypt and Israel have been working hard on the peace process, there is agreement that an Israeli delegation should conduct a dialogue with a Palestinian declaration in Cairo.
2. The United States understands that Egypt cannot substitute itself for the Palestine and Egypt will consult with Palestinian on all aspects of that dialogue Egypt will also consult with Israel and the United States.

3. The United States understands that Israel will attend the dialogue only after a satisfactory list of Palestinians has been worked out.

4. The United States understands that the government of Israel will come to the dialogue on the basis of the Israel governments May 14 initiative. The United States further understands that Palestinians will come to the dialogue prepared to discuss elections and the negotiating process in accordance with Israel's initiative. The United States understands, therefore, that Palestinians would be free to raise issues that relate to their opinions on how to make elections and the negotiating process succeed.

5. In order, not facilitate this process, the United States proposes that the foreign Ministers of Israel, Egypt and the United States meet in Washington within two weeks. (Lukacs 1991:133).

Although this position recognised the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian Arab. Baker points plan put Egypt as a mediator between Israel and PLO and proposed a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Israel, Egypt and United States in Washington. The role of PLO therefore gained prominence.

Here, the result of this was a range of peace conferences which pioneered by the United States, was co-sponsored with Russia, like the Madrid (Spain) talks of October-November, 1991.

3.4.3 MADRID TALKS (OCTOBER 1991)

The Madrid talks were historic in that the participants engaged in official direct negotiations for the first time. They were based on United Nations Resolution 242 and 338 as well the Camp David agreement of 1978. The United Nations resolution declared the principles of land in exchange for peace and the need for direct negotiations. The Madrid multilateral talks on topics of regional significance such as water, arms control and trade, discussions intended to establish bases for practical cooperation in the entire Middle East.

Despite their significance, the talks produced little discernible progress except between Israel and Jordan. The Palestinians and Israelis remained far apart. The Palestinian with PLC approval, had agreed to interim stages for deciding the fate of the territories as stated in Camp David, but insisted that self-determination, meaning of a Palestinian State, should be the final outcome.

The Shamir government in Israel adhered to its position of autonomy for the Palestinian people but continued Israeli control of the land and all major functions, including security and foreign affairs. Shamir's intent as he admitted after leaving office in June 1992, "was to drag out talks on Palestinian self-rule for ten years while attempting to settle hundreds of thousands of Jews in the occupied territories", thereby creating the appearance of accommodation while working to ensure Israel retention of the territories (Smith 1996:314).

The rigidity of these instances caused increasing despair among Palestinians in the territories and intensified violence often promoted by Hamas and as revived Islamic Jihad. Shamir's anxiety to fight, ultimately led to American's sanctions in February 1992; because of Israel's settlement activity, amounting to a reported 18,000 new housing units since June 1990; the Bush Administration withheld the $10 billion in loan guarantees promised during the Gulf war. Prime Minister Shamir responded with more settlements and United States began efforts to undermine Likud credibility and to assist a labour party victory in elections scheduled for June.

Consequently, the Madrid talks did not yield much the idea of land for peace was not backed by Shamir but rather settled more and more Jews (Smith 1996:314).

3.5 UNITED NATIONS ROLE IN THE ERA OF PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS

The issue of Israeli-Palestine conflict cannot be discussed without United Nation's involvement in the resolution of peace in the area; since the UN's as the world's major international organisation set up in 1945 after the Second World War to maintain peace and resolve conflicts in the international political system.

Following the end of second World War which also marked the collapse of the League of Nations (1939-45); the UN was formed to forestall the recurrence of such a devasting phenomenon. The diplomatic sharing which preceded the formation was concluded in San Francisco, US when on June 26, 51 States signed the treaty and the UN official became operational, October 10,1945. (Kaufman 1980:225).

Dates back when the British withdraw their mandate over the Palestine region as designated by the defunct League of Nations. The organisation's initial pre-occupation was aimed at curbing the crisis. A special committee was set up to look into the trouble spot and make recommendations where were to be implemented by a proposed UN Palestinian commission assisted by the Security Council. (Report of Committee, 1976:2).

The mandate was officially terminable in July, 1948. However, by November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly working on the recommendation of the special committee in her 128th plenary meeting passed Resolution 181(1) which recommended a partition plan the creation of two independent Arab and Israeli States leaving Jerusalem under as international administration. (Thisday Newspaper May 1, 1999). The mixed reaction that succeeded the resolution had hardly died down when the Zionist authorities declared an independent State of Israel with Jerusalem as capital on May 14, 1948.

This attracted Arab military confrontation and within twenty-four hours UN role assumed a control posture (Banwo 1995:48).

No other international issue is more complex and more potentially dangerous for the maintenance of international peace and security than the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Middle East. No other issue has claimed more of the organisation's time and attention. It is also the issue out of which the concept of UN-PEACE KEEPING emerged (emphasis added).

The concepts of peace keeping depicts an operation involving personal without enforcement power, established by the UN to maintain or restore peace in conflict zones, depending on the consents of the government in the warring states. It derived a basis from the principle of preventive diplomacy,

assumes a more realistic form and approach by taking cognizance of the bi-polarity in the world system and the cold war contradictions. This is opposed to the idealist-inclined collective security principle that guided the operation of the fragile League of Nations.

As all is understood that, UN's role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has predominantly been mediatory and conciliatory, like during the Yom Kippur war of 1967 each power was bidding time to favour its own beneficiary such was it that, it took several UN resolutions to end the war.

There could be no doubt that the UN could solve the crisis if the powers particularly US, and the Russian wanted such a settlement. It is known to everybody that the moral and material support of the Russian to the Palestinians hardened their attitudes to Israel. On the other hand, America backing was mainly responsible for the intransigence of Israel. (Banwo, 1995:53).

For the UN to have had meaningful success in the Middle East conflict therefore, it needed to have worked out a solution acceptable not only to the parties directly involved but also their super power patrons. Moreso, that the interests of these do not always coincide. To say that UN has failed in the Middle East is an exaggeration of the facts, to say it has succeeded is a hyperbole. It has succeeded in keeping peace at intervals like mentioned

before, the Madrid talks negotiations were based on UN resolutions 242 and 338. The UN resolutions declared the principles of land in exchange for peace and the need for direct negotiations.

Against this backdrop, former Prime Minister Shamir was been difficult in response, shortly after which the Labour Party won election and came into power (Smith, 1996:314).

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE QUEST FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will assess the role played by the U.S. in the peace process in the Middle East and other States like Egypt. It was in the process of these mediatory roles that came the Oslo Peace Accord which shall be examined in this chapter.

4.2 ORIGIN OF THE OSLO PEACE ACCORD

The Camp Dayid Agreement which was signed after many years achieved an Israeli-Egyptian rapproachment. However, others like the Madrid talks did not yield any meaningful result. Then again an Israeli-Palestinian Accord, tagged Oslo Peace Accord was initiated in September, 13, 1993.

It all began in the Whit House, the American Seat of Power, Israel and Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) were to formally sign an agreement allowing Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho town, the West Bank: known as the occupied territories, the area originally claimed as home

land of the Palestinians which was forcibly annexed by Israel following its defeat of her neighbours in 1967 war.

This particular pact was to be signed between Israel and PLO with U.S. mediating to find peace in the area. To this effect, the PLO leader Yasser Arafat went to Washington amidst great expectations and pledges of assistance from leading world powers and supporters. Arafat had it that, unity may exist between whereby the proclamation of a Palestinian state can then follow with Jerusalem as capital and that the Palestinian state will be the land to be occupied by the Palestinian people on the political chess board of the new world order (Guardian, September, 1993:1-3).

The Israeli Prime Minister, the late Yitzhak Rabin and Mr Shimon Peres, Foreign Minister were also in Washington amidst uncertainty on who between them will endorse the historic pact for the Jewish State. The Prime Minister was not sure to sign the agreement even though he was disposed to shake hands with Mr. Yasser Arafat if necessary.

But the PLO leader was ready to sign the pack himself provided the Israeli Prime Minister did so. The pact was eventually signed which was a landmark event in the history of the Middle East. The monumental accord which guarantees self-rule for Palestinians in Gaza Strip, Jericho and West Bank - a development they have been fighting with Israel to attain since

decades.

Specifically, the Accord, set out in three stages, first, provides for mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO: Palestinian control of Gaza Strip and the town of Jericho along the West Bank and withdrawal of Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories.

Secondly, it provides for election into a Palestinian Council which will govern for five years. In this area, the Palestinians will exercise control all over local services including the police force.

Negotiations on the status of Jerusalem was to follow within two years. But the status of Jewish West Bank and Palestinian refugees remain uncertain.

As declared by American President Bill Clinton:

> "That the time had come for the state of Israel to live in harmony with its neighbours. The new realities in the region dictates that the security of the Israeli people be reconciled with the hope and more hope for all to put sorrow and antagonism behind them and work for a shared future." (Guardian, September 14, 1993:2).

Both parties agreed to the accord, whereby Rabin also declared that:

> "The dawn of an opportunity for peace, although admitted the journey to the accord was difficult and painful, but then looking ahead with optimism for a new relationship with the Palestinians" (Guardian, September 14, 1993:2).

4.2.1 THE ANALYSIS OF THE ACCORD

Even though, the accord was signed and agreed upon by both parties, Israel was still striving to retain as much authority as she could. Also Yasser Arafat's lack of funds could not permit creation of administrative organisations, so the delays stemmed from the intense struggle that ensued between the parties themselves, which the accord really meant with respect to the future of both Israel and Palestinians rooted back since 1948 (Smith, 1996:321).

The question of Jerusalem which to Israel is their capital was of central importance, Palestinians too viewed Eastern part as their future capital.

However, late Rabin noted that, even though the accord was signed Jerusalem was never mentioned as part of Palestinian state, so it has to remain limited under Israeli sovereignty and be the capital forever. Though the (accord) transitional period called for "Interim stage" served two purposes for late Rabin. First, it established a transitional period during which Israeli confidence in Palestinian governing ability might increase setting the stage for a transference of authority to a joint Palestinian-Jordan entity. Secondly it afforded an opportunity to consolidate control of territory considered essential, namely, greater Jerusalem, because Arafat had left Jerusalem under Israeli auspices until final-status talks began.

Furthermore, the late Israeli leader was embracing peace with anguish, apparently referring to previous killings of four Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories, even though the people were watching with great hope and apprehension, the Israeli government was willing to give peace a chance, to that late Rabin added.

> That, "we undertake to live together on the same land. We say loud and clear enough, we like you to build your home and live together, that yesterday it was a dream, today it is a commitment". (Guardian September 14, 1993:2).

The late Prime Minister thereby pleaded for mutual respect and good neighbourliness, whereby Arafat too promised for cooperation and said:

> "Without peace in Middle East, the world would live in distress and in security. (Guardian, September 13, 1993:1).

Arafat pointed out clearly to the international community to press for the speedy resolution of contentious issues between both parties, again that was the first time in modern history that a Palestinian flag had flown over the territory (Guardian, September 14, 1993:2-3).

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At that point far in the future there might be nothing to negot ate because it was not riversible. Late Rabin seemed to intend for Jerusalem w hat Shamir had sought for all the territories protected negotiations that enabled consolidation of their fundamental objectives (Smith 1996:323-324).

To that exteit, PLO had no place to create any state, because Israel had no intention of ever allowing a state as they admitted openly, even though both Israel-Palestinian relied on UN resolutions that could not be imposed from without. As envisioned by Haydar Al dal-Shati, the PLO negotiator (for Madrid talks) there would be popular disillusionment when people realized that a state was unattainable and it will lead to upsurge of violence.

What then, were the reasons for signing the accord beyond restoring Arafat and the PLO to prominence and to forcing the US to talk to them?

From this perspective, the accord accomplished much. The Palestinians were addressed "as a people" not simply as the residents of the territories, thereby including all Palestinians, the territories were named specially. The accord also stressed that resolution 247, land in exchange for peace, would be the basis of negotiator.

> Nabil Shaath the main negotiator stressed that, what basically broke the impasse was the Israeli willingness to accept territorial jurisdiction, with temporal exceptions. And for U.S. once the exceptions became time related, we were willing to accept what the issues of settlements and Jerusalem be in these categories of exceptions. Our agreement to temporarily relegate these issues to the permanent settlements (Permanent status talks) constituted a very important break through from the Israeli point of view. What made it possible for us to agree was, first the fact that these issues were placed on the agenda not just as issues to be raised but as matters to be settled and second, that the permanent status talks were given a specific frame either as soon as possible or a maximum of two years. In the case of Jerusalem, our acceptance was made a little easier by the fact that Jerusalemites can vote and be nominated in elections and that the Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem would be run by the Palestinian authority. (Smith 1996:325).

The major problem here was that Israel had not committed itself to the settlement issue, to that, the negotiations became tough when the reality came because Rabin's problem was the ability of Palestinian to control the areas allotted to them all this centred on Arafat's capacity to govern and control the dissidents who might threaten the accord and Israel's security. Shortly after, violence broke out on both sides especially in Gaza, where Hamas seemed to have gained control in the face of Fatah ineffectiveness, many Israelis and Palestinians saw little hope of resolving their differences (Smith 1996:325-326.).

4.2.2 THE ROLE OF UNITED STATES IN PEACE PROCESS

The US has been in the forefront of events in the Middle East, especially in the conflict between Israel and Palestinians. The emergence of U.S. as a super power brought about dimension to the peace process, which was the fact that, the PLO men, who attended the ceremony had since the mid 1970s almost prevented from setting foot on American land, especially PLO leader Yasser Arafat whose last visit to the US was November 1974 when he addressed the UN General Assembly. (Guardian, September 13, 1993:1).

More importantly, US restored diplomatic ties with PLO after a time of bad relations, after the accord was signed. Other nations with the help of US applauded the Israeli-Palestinian understanding, especially that the Palestinian issue was going into the White House at the official invitation of the US president who decided that the first agreement between Israel and PLO should be signed inside the American Presidential quarters, (Guardian, September 13, 1993:1-2).

Furthermore, nations like Japan also offered assistance, and promised to play positive role to help reconstruct the Israeli occupied territories, to that extent, the Prime Minister said:

> We would also like to pay tribute to the efforts of U.S. and Russia for encouraging the agreement and hope that talks will continue between Israel and other Arab parties with the aim of reaching peaceful agreement. (Guardian, September 15, 1993:1-2).

All this of the world opinion was initiated and pursued by U.S. to enhance peace in the Middle East.

4.2.3 THE ARAB'S ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS

By the time America had called for peace between Israel and Palestinians, other Arab nations too were in support of it. Saudi Arabia had expressed its readiness to join America in providing major financial backing for the Palestinians following the Middle East Peace Agreement (Guardian, September 15, 1993:2).

Also, the Egyptian government too played a very significant role between Israel and Palestinians for peace to reign within the area. Egypt was the first Arab state to restore diplomatic ties with Israel during the Camp David Agreement in 1979. This heralded peace between Israel and Egypt (Guardian, September 15, 1993:2). To that extent, the Egyptian Foreign Minister Amir Moussa explained that:

> Those who opposed the Israel-PLO peace deal because it did not guarantee a Palestinian state were using a laughable excuse, that Palestinians not to outbid each other in opposing the agreement, but should unite and there is no need for bidding (for positions and right now because it is a losing bid). They should all review their conscience regarding their stance. (Guardian, September 15, 1993:2).

Also on how best a rapproachment between Israel and the Arabs, Israel's Arab neighbours including Jordan, where late King Hussein and late Rabin have had discussions and Jordan endorsed a time table for negotiations at American State Department in Washington, raised hope that a peace treaty on crucial points of contention between both countries may be signed. Syria and Lebanon were yet to announce complete approval of late Rabin's concession to the Palestinian. The PLO had hoped that Syria would endorse efforts to make the accord successful.

However all issues for consideration as the recovery of territories conquered by Israel from Arabs and fate of Palestinians refugees was discussed also (Guardian September 15, 1993:3).

4.3 THE REJECTION OF THE ACCORD BY BOTH PARTIES

The threat to the accord was exemplified by Rabin's death who was

murdered in cold blood by an assassin in 1995. Hitherto, immediate effect of the Israeli-Palestinian accord reached in Washington by both parties had been seen by hard liners (Israelis) who oppose the accord: thus bringing back the accord to as it was before.

But it has been argued that the peace process had not brought unity between the Israel-Palestinians, due to the characterised violence of the occupied territories: thus leading to the deadlock of the peace process. The Palestinians did not relent their efforts too, the militants continued their attacks on Israelis and killings all through. Especially the Muslim world condemned and vowed a holy war against Israel, Iran was ahead of that and supplied money to that effect. (Time, November 13, 1995:21-22).

4.4 PEACE PROCESS UNDER NETANYAHU (LIKUD)

Due to the death of Rabin, elections were held and won by Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu who then became the Prime Minister of Israel. The new Prime Minister was a hardliner, hence there was stalemate. Consequently, International pressure mounted on Israeli government which culminated in the Likud Party agreement to work for peace (the Wye Pact), which was a result of diplomatic manoeuvres of U.S. President, Bill Clinton, Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak and late King Hussein of Jordan.

All the principal actors had in mind, the same agreement reached by late Rabin. However, due to the hardline position of Netanyahu, the peace process was slowed (Time, October 14, 1996:21-22).

The process under Netanyahu was generally slow and conflictual due to the seeming differences in the policy pronouncements and the agreement reached.

Specifically the boundary adjustments were never adhered to. The self-rule and autonomy issue by PLO leader Yasser Arafat was not in any way discussed.

However, things turned out that, Netanyahu's tenure of office came to an end when he lost in election to the Labour Party and Mr. Ehud Barak emerged as the new Israeli Prime Minister on May 17, 1999. Shortly after assuming office planned a big leap towards peace (Time, July 5, 1999:32).

4.5 PALESTINIAN AUTONOMY

The autonomy issue was hinged on the legitimate inalienable rights of the Palestinians and are made up of:

- the right to return to their home land and property.
- right to self-determination

- right to establish their own state of Palestine
- right to Palestinian Liberation Organisation, which is the representative of the Palestinian to participate on equal footing with other parties in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East.
- Need to put an end to Israelis occupation of Palestinian occupied territories since 1967, including Jerusalem.

Put differently, what constitutes Palestinian rights and which Palestinian desires are the rights to life, right to exist as an independent sovereign nation based on the principle of self determination. (ThisDay Newspaper May 1, 1999:15).

The PLO in its restless efforts to the Palestinians autonomy, has tried so much for that. Especially with Prime Minister Ehud Barak who appears to be a strong and honest man who desires peace. Israel and Palestinians signed an accord granting the Palestinians passage across the Jewish State. This was a sign of growing trust between them.

Thus, Palestinians can now travel between the West Bank and Gaza Strip without most of the strict security measures enforced since 1993 Oslo Accord. Now, there is a level of trust between Israeli government and

Palestinians. The PLO hailed the agreement for making the geographic and demographic unit of the West Bank and Gaza Strip a reality. (Punch October 7, 1999:17).

4.6 APPRAISAL

The Oslo agreement or peace accord as has been collectively referred to has had its pros and cons. Thus to assess it one has to look at its merits, that is what it has achieved and the demerits, what it had failed to achieve.

The Oslo accord was signed between late Rabin and PLO leader, Yasser Arafat in 1993 when the accord called for peace between Israel and Palestine.

There was a combination of domestic and international pressures put on the Israeli state. Though late Rabin signed, he could not live to implement it due to his untimely death.

His successor Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu being a hard liner found the accord a bitter pill to swallow. There were the return of the occupied territories, autonomy, free movement of passage of Palestinian to "occupied territories". The accord stopped short of everything but granting of autonomy of independence to the Palestinian state.

On the other hand, due to the slow implementation of the agreement, Islamic fundamentalists (Hamas) carried out attacks on Israelis homes to show

their grievances. This amounted in Arafat's view to a declaration of war, a characterization Netanyahu didn't even bother to dispute, Netanyahu ended that:

> You cannot have peace when people are blown to smithereens, (Time August 11, 1997:20).

Furthermore, it was central to Oslo that, the so-called final status of the Palestinian territories be decided jointly by the Israelis and the Palestinians, but with negotiations over expanding even limited authority dead-locked, and given the intransigence of the former Prime Minister Netanyahu over the issue, Arafat had threatened to ditch the process and simply declare a state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip on May 4, 1999. That was the expiry date of the "interim' Osolo accord, which provided for some self-rule while the two sides haggled over a permanent deal.

Also, Israelis militants viewed the occupied territories as belonging to the Jews alone as part of the Biblical land of Israel God promised them, releasing any of it contradicts that notion. The militant settlers felt that the leadership had made too many concessions.

The militant Israelis had erected make-shift synagogue and farm houses, threatened never to leave quietly, its that simply nothing in Middle East is ever that simple (Newsweek November 1, 1999:28).

In conclusion, the accord has brought or eased tension in some ways, it has enabled both sides to trust each other more.

Moreso, Barak's is the highest decorated general in the Israeli army, so also was late Rabin, both wanted peace and security by all means.

But ever since Barak won a decisive victory in May's election - and his government showed a renewed commitments to the peace process - the new climate has allowed more moderate settler leaders to emerge, whom are calling for peaceful talks and negotiations and no division amongst the people. (Newsweek, November 1, 1999:28-29).

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY

This chapter would serve as a summary for the entire work, bearing in mind the aims and objectives of this work. Hypotheses tested and recommendations made.

The first hypothesis states that, "the lesser the degree of external influence in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the greater the prospects for peace". The work has shown how the external powers like Britain created the problem. It could be recalled that, the Palestinian struggle arose as a result of British duplicity at the initial stage, international denial of justice following the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 and the refusal by the Palestinian since then, to accept the status quo.

It was duplicity and denial of justice because the British offered as a gift what did not belong to them. Also, duplicity and injustice again because the international community recognised the situation of injustice but had not been able to deal decisively with the problem as a result of other commitments. Thus, the Palestinian question is a resultant of the provision of a Jewish home in Palestine without the British being able to secure the support of the Arabs

and to provide for a "Palestinian Home".

Consequently, America took over from there and is in firm support of Israel, supplies aids to Israel, especially during the cold-war hostilities, where former Soviet Union also played its own role, where confrontations were from all parties, which made resolution impossible. It was because both Israel and Palestine had other backings which refused to call for amicable resolution. An effective solution would have reduced the parties to two, that is Israel and Palestine only whereby interests would have been discussed and peace process could have been resolved.

The work has shown that, before the Oslo accord was signed in 1993, Israeli-Palestinian relation was really bad; none wanted to see another, which also culminated in their activities, of each party attacking the other fiercely, with cases of bombing, terrorists activities and so on.

But then, when the Oslo Accord was signed, it was then that the leaders realized their status and showed apparent willingness to find solution. Gradually the two parties have now come to understand themselves more. The Israeli leadership is ably represented and has already called for peace.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Following the declaration of principles and subsequent moves towards

Palestinian self rule, the fact that suspicion and distrust have been able to subside between the following recommendations are made:

1. Since the agreement was made and already concessions are under way, Palestinians should still negotiate and settle the issue of independent state of Palestine with the present Israeli government. It must be understood here that, the longer the delay in establishing the State of Palestine, the longer the periods of Middle Eastern crisis. So Israel should still try and agree to negotiations, whereby Palestinians should declare their State.
2. Also arrangements should be made for two separate States, that is Israel and Palestine whereby both should recognise the rights of each other. That is what constitutes Palestinian rights and what Palestinians desire are rights to life, right to exist as an independent sovereign nation based on the principle of self-determination. This means the same to Israel, only by this concrete peaceful atmosphere America can contribute to this process.
3. Also, if the interest parties especially America could limit all kinds of aid be it military, economic, etc., into the area it will minimize tension.

4. The question of Hamas has really been a problem in the flesh in Middle Eastern crisis. It operated openly for six years where it had a Bureau in the Jordanian capital, issuing out press releases, briefing journalists and generally propagating its cause - the violent destruction of Israel, suicide bombings and other attacks on Israelis. The Hamas group should be controlled by the Palestinians in order to create an atmosphere for peace.

It is noteworthy that whatever attainment of peace Israel-Palestinian conflict will be a gradual process.

Considering the history and dynamics involved in the conflict, it should be noted that, all agreements reached should be carefully managed or else any infringement could spark off another crisis.

However, the United States of America mediatory role has helped so much in the peace process and this is expected to continue.

However, the road ahead is still bumpy, rough and slippery.

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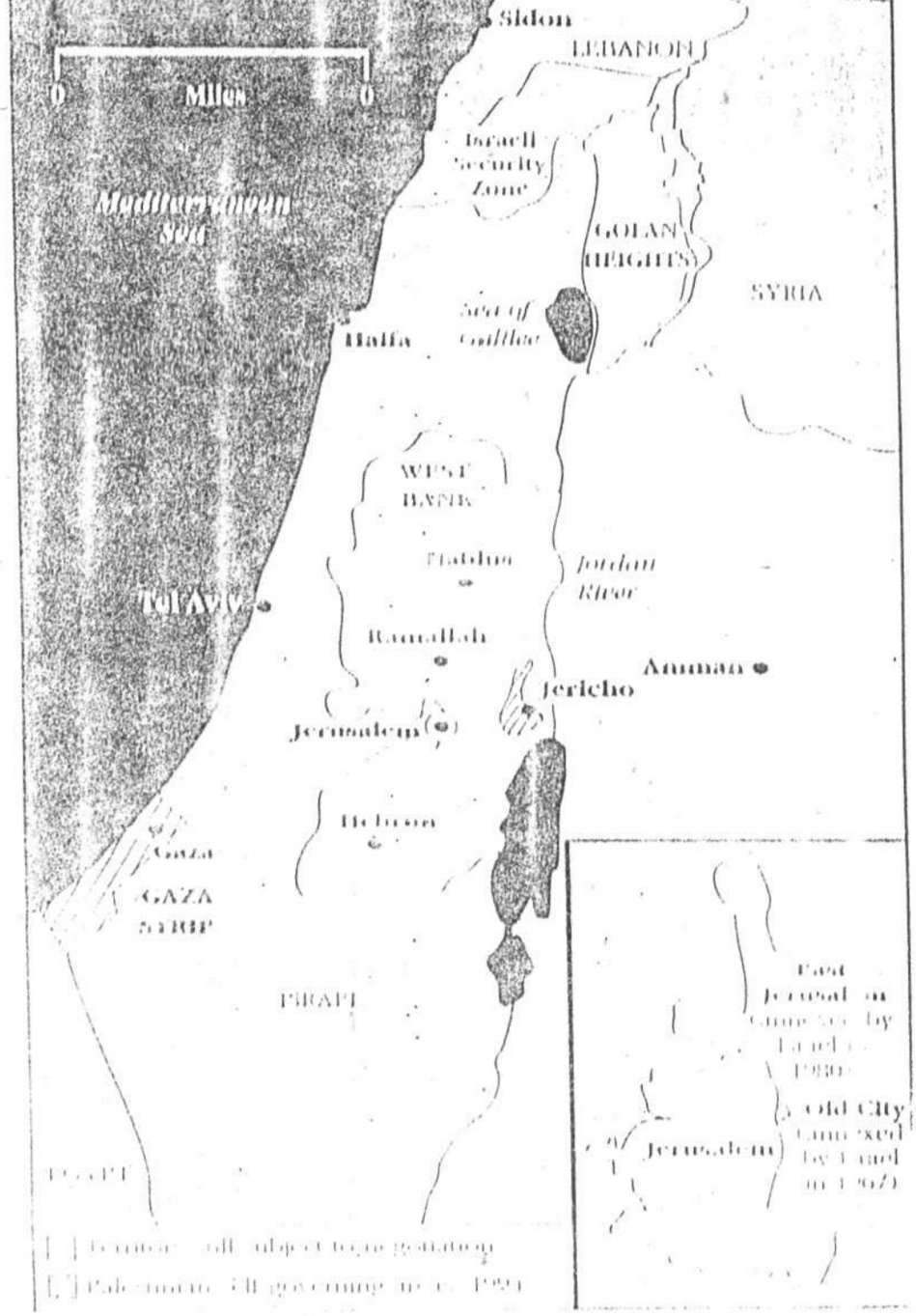
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APPENDIX B: THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

The draft known as the Balfour Declaration issued as a letter to Lord Rothschild on 2 November 1917. It stated:

> His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

SOURCE: Smith, D.C. Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, (New York St. Martins Press, 1996, pg. 54)

APPENDIX C: THE OSLO PEACE ACCORD

The Government of the State of Israel and the PLO team (in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the Middle East Peace Conference) (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 II

FRAMEWORK FOR THE INTERIM PERIOD

The agreed framework for the interim period is set forth in this Declaration of Principles.

Article III

ELECTIONS

1. 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.

2. 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.

3. 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

1. The five year transitional period will begin upon the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area.
2. 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';s representatives.
3. It is understood that these negotiations shall cover remaining issues,

including, Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbours and other issues of common interest.

4. 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

1. 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 authorised 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.

2. 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

annexation, 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 agree upon.

Article VII

INTERIM AGREEMENT

1. The Israeli and Palestine delegations will negotiate an agreement on the interim period (the "interim agreement").

2. The Interim Agreement shall specify, among other things, the structure of the council, the number of its members and the transfer of powers and responsibilities from the Israeli military government and its civil administration to the Council. The Interim Agreement shall also specify the councils executive authority, legislative authority in accordance with Article IX below, and the independent Palestinian judicial organs.

3. The Interim Agreement shall include arrangement to be implemented upon the inauguration of the council, for the assumption by the council of all of the powers and responsibilities transferred previously in accordance with Article VI above.

4. In order to enable the Council to promote economic growth, upon its inauguration, the Council will establish, among other things a Palestinian Electricity Authority, a Gaza Sea Port Authority, a Palestinian Development Bank, a Palestinian Export Promotion Board, a Palestinian Environmental Authority, a Palestinian Land Authority and a Palestinian Water Administration Authority, and any other Authorities agreed upon, in accordance with the interim agreement that will specify their powers and responsibilities.

5. After the inauguration of the council, the civil administration will be dissolved and the Israeli military government will be withdrawn.

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

1. The Council will be empowered to legislate, in accordance with the interim agreement, within all authorities transferred to it.

2. 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

1. 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.

2. In redeploying its military forces, Israel will be guided by the principle that its military forces should be redeployed outside populated areas.

3. Further redeployments to specified locations will be gradually implemented commensurate with the assumption of responsibility for public order and internal security by the Palestinian policy force pursuant to Article VIII above.

Article XIV

ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GAZA STRIP AND JERICHO AREA

Israel will withdraw from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, as detailed in the protocol attached as Annex II.

Article XV

RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES

1. 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.
2. Disputes which cannot be settled by negotiations may be resolved by a mechanism of conciliation to be agreed upon by the parties.
3. The parties may agree to submit to arbitration disputes relating to the interim period, which cannot be settled through conciliation. To this end, upon the agreement of both parties, the parties will establish an arbitration committee.

Article XVI

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION CONCERNING REGIONAL PROGRAMS

Both parties view the multilateral working groups as an appropriate instruments 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.

Article XVII

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

1. This declaration of principles will enter into force one month after its signing.

2. All protocols annexed to this declaration of principles and agreed minutes pertaining thereto shall be regarded as an integral part hereof.

Done at Washington, DC,

This thirteenth day of September 1993.

For the Government of Israel. For the PLO

Witnessed by:

The United States of America,The Russian Federation.

SOURCE: Usher G. Palestine in Crisis: The Struggle for Peace and Political Independence After Oslo. Plato Press, London, East Haven, Ltd., 1995, pg 93.97.