

## Lesson 7: The Quest for Peace

**Key message:** Israel has continually pursued peace with its neighbors, signing treaties with Egypt and with Jordan. It also agreed to resolve the Palestinian issue, and has made some progress toward that goal.

### What to Bring

- Handouts 7.1, 7.2, 7.4 (a-b), 7.5 (a-b), 7.6 (a-b)
  - One copy of handout 6.2b (map of Israel after Six-Day War) from previous lesson
  - One copy of handout 7.3 (Khartoum Resolution) to read aloud
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### 1. Orientation

- Takeaways from last class; questions
- Objective for this class
- Timeline (handout 7.1)

### 2. Efforts toward Peace

Recall from Lesson 5, when we talked about Israel's founding in 1948, this quote from the Declaration of Independence:

WE EXTEND our hand to all neighbouring states and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighbourliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land. The State of Israel is prepared to do its share in a common effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East.

In today's class, we'll examine some of the concrete steps Israel has taken toward that goal. The four major steps were:

- A peace treaty with Egypt (1978)
- A peace treaty with Jordan (1994)
- Recognition of the Palestinian goal of independence, and progress toward that goal (1978 Framework Agreement with Egypt, 1992 Camp David Accords)
- Camp David Summit (2000; an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate a "final status settlement," but did not result in an agreement)
- Unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip (2005)

### 3. UN Resolution 242: The Land-for-Peace Framework

- Recall where we left off: Israel's borders after the 1967 war (handout 6.2b from last class)
  - Read UN Security Council Resolution 242 (handout 7.2). Discussion questions\*:
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\* Adapted from StandWithUs, <http://www.standwithus.com/TEACHINGTOOLS/il101lpU9.asp> (Activity 2)

1. Who does the resolution say started the war? (The resolution doesn't say.)
  2. Why does the resolution call for the two main clauses to be read together? (The assumption was that land would be traded for peace through negotiations.)
  3. What territories does the resolution call on Israel to withdraw from? (It doesn't specify. It says "Territories," not "**the** Territories," which has caused much of the controversy about its meaning.)
  4. What does the resolution say about Palestinians and a Palestinian state? (It doesn't mention Palestinians. It was assumed that territorial negotiations would be between Israel and Jordan, Egypt, and Syria.)
  5. What does it say about refugees? Is it referring only to Palestinian refugees or also to Jewish refugees from Arab countries? (By using the general term refugees, it is referring to both Jewish and Palestinian refugees.)
  6. What does the resolution mean by the term "safe and secure borders?" Whose borders had been unsafe and insecure? (Israel's borders had been vulnerable.)
- Israel accepted Resolution 242. The Arab League adopted the Khartoum Resolution (September 1967), with its "Three Nos": No peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with Israel. (Have a student read aloud #3 from the Khartoum Resolution, handout 7.3.)

#### **4. Peace with Egypt**

- Despite the Khartoum Resolution, one brave Arab leader did reach out to make peace with Israel (though not before another bloody war between his country and Israel). Does anybody know which leader or which country that was?
  - In November 1977, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat traveled to Jerusalem. In September 1978, he signed the **Camp David Accords** with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, followed by a full Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty in March 1979.
- Watch Carter video (download [CarterCampDavid1978.wmv](#), 8'39"). Follow along with transcript (handout 7.4; can stop at 6'28" or 6'59").
- What are the two agreements Carter mentions? What are their main features? What is the key open issue?

##### **1. Framework for Peace in the Middle East**

- 5-year transition in the West Bank and Gaza, Israeli military withdrawal, a self-governing authority to be elected with full autonomy.
- Israeli forces to remain in specified locations during this period to protect Israel's security.
- Negotiations to resolve the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and then to produce an Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty.
- Negotiations will be based on UN Nations Security Council Resolution 242.
- Israel may live in peace, within secure and recognized borders.

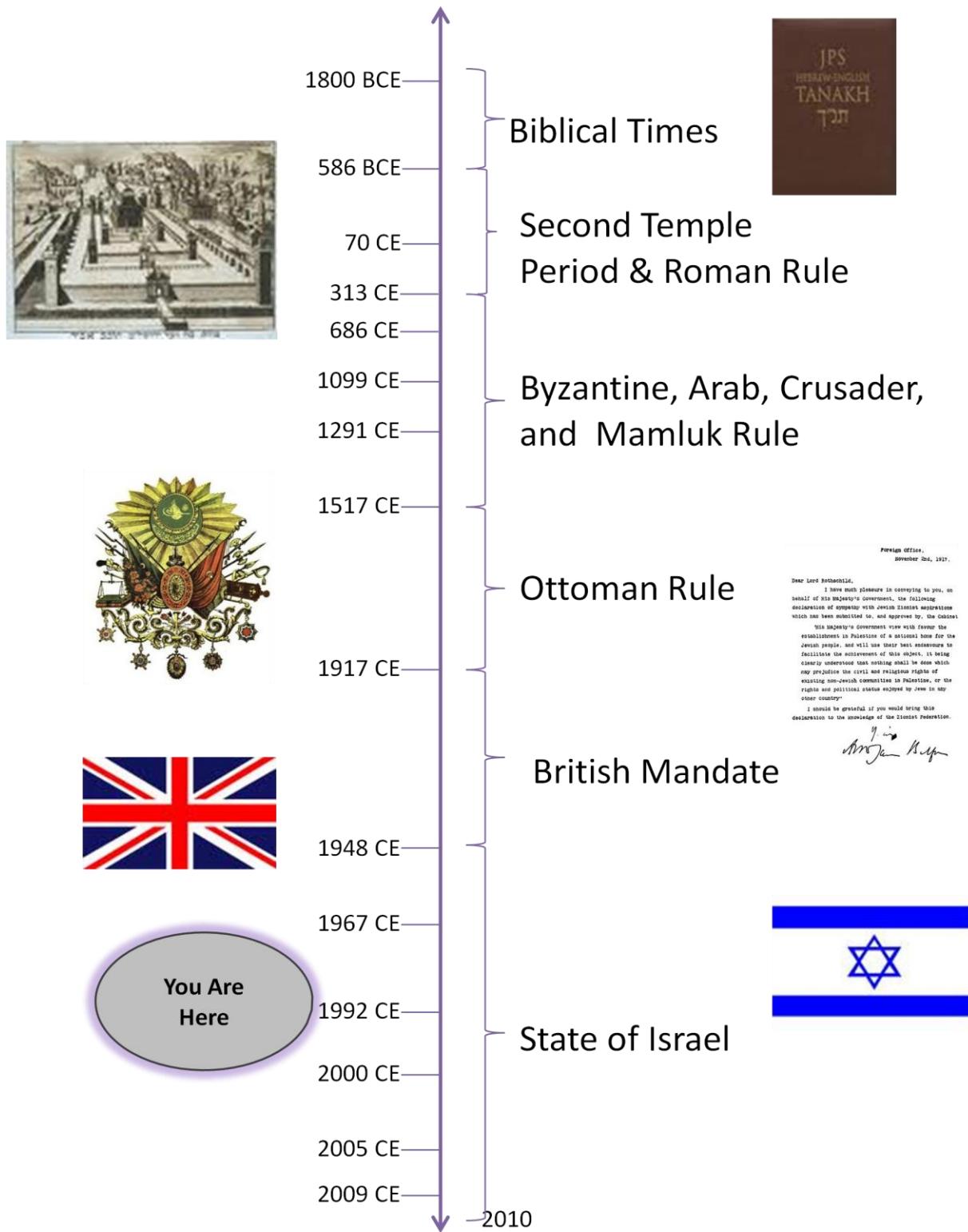
## **2. Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel**

- Israeli withdrawal and Egyptian sovereignty over the Sinai.
- Establishment of normal, peaceful relations between the two countries.
- The open issue: Is removing Israeli settlements in Sinai a prerequisite to a peace treaty, or one of the issues to be negotiated? Which do you think it should be?  
(Note: We are faced with the same issue today in the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations regarding settlements in the West Bank, with the same positions!)

## **5. Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles**

- If time allows, watch (and follow along with transcript) speeches of President Clinton (download [1993-Clinton.wmv](#), 10'08", handout 7.5) and/or Prime Minister Rabin (download [1993-Rabin.wmv](#), 8'50", handout 7.6.) What are the main points each of them makes?

## Timeline: Lesson 7



## 1967: After the War

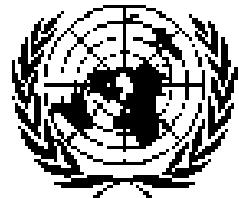
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Source: <http://israelinsider.com/maps>

**United Nations Security Council Resolution 242**  
**November 22, 1967**

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*The Security Council,*

*Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,*

*Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,*

*Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,*

1. *Affirms* that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

- (i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. *Affirms further* the necessity

- (a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;
- (b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;
- (c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

*Adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting.*

## **League of Arab States, Khartoum Resolution, 1 September 1967**

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1. The conference has affirmed the unity of Arab ranks, the unity of joint action and the need for coordination and for the elimination of all differences. The Kings, Presidents and representatives of the other Arab Heads of State at the conference have affirmed their countries' stand by and implementation of the Arab Solidarity Charter which was signed at the third Arab summit conference in Casablanca.
2. The conference has agreed on the need to consolidate all efforts to eliminate the effects of the aggression on the basis that the occupied lands are Arab lands and that the burden of regaining these lands falls on all the Arab States.
3. The Arab Heads of State have agreed to unite their political efforts at the international and diplomatic level to eliminate the effects of the aggression and to ensure the withdrawal of the aggressive Israeli forces from the Arab lands which have been occupied since the aggression of June 5. This will be done within the framework of the main principles by which the Arab States abide, namely, no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it, and insistence on the rights of the Palestinian people in their own country.
4. The conference of Arab Ministers of Finance, Economy and Oil recommended that suspension of oil pumping be used as a weapon in the battle. However, after thoroughly studying the matter, the summit conference has come to the conclusion that the oil pumping can itself be used as a positive weapon, since oil is an Arab resource which can be used to strengthen the economy of the Arab States directly affected by the aggression, so that these States will be able to stand firm in the battle. The conference has, therefore, decided to resume the pumping of oil, since oil is a positive Arab resource that can be used in the service of Arab goals. It can contribute to the efforts to enable those Arab States which were exposed to the aggression and thereby lost economic resources to stand firm and eliminate the effects of the aggression. The oil-producing States have, in fact, participated in the efforts to enable the States affected by the aggression to stand firm in the face of any economic pressure.
5. The participants in the conference have approved the plan proposed by Kuwait to set up an Arab Economic and Social Development Fund on the basis of the recommendation of the Baghdad conference of Arab Ministers of Finance, Economy and Oil.
6. The participants have agreed on the need to adopt the necessary measures to strengthen military preparation to face all eventualities.
7. The conference has decided to expedite the elimination of foreign bases in the Arab States.

Source: Council on Foreign Relations, [http://www.cfr.org/publication/14841/khartoum\\_resolution.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/14841/khartoum_resolution.html)

## ***President Carter's Remarks on Joint Statement at Camp David Summit (September 17, 1978)***

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When we first arrived at Camp David, the first thing upon which we agreed was to ask the people of the world to pray that our negotiations would be successful. Those prayers have been answered far beyond any expectations. We are privileged to witness tonight a significant achievement in the cause of peace, an achievement none thought possible a year ago, or even a month ago, an achievement that reflects the courage and wisdom of these two leaders.

Through 13 long days at Camp David, we have seen them display determination and vision and flexibility which was needed to make this agreement come to pass. All of us owe them our gratitude and respect. They know that they will always have my personal admiration.

There are still great difficulties that remain and many hard issues to be settled. The questions that have brought warfare and bitterness to the Middle East for the last 30 years will not be settled overnight. But we should all recognize the substantial achievements that have been made.

One of the agreements that President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin are signing tonight is entitled, "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East."

This framework concerns the principles and some specifics, in the most substantive way, which will govern a comprehensive peace settlement. It deals specifically with the future of the West Bank and Gaza and the need to resolve the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. The framework document proposes a 5-year transitional period in the West Bank and Gaza during which the Israeli military government will be withdrawn and a self-governing authority will be elected with full autonomy. It also provides for Israeli forces to remain in specified locations during this period to protect Israel's security.

The Palestinians will have the right to participate in the determination of their own future, in negotiations which will resolve the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and then to produce an Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty.

These negotiations will be based on all the provisions and all the principles of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242. And it provides that Israel may live in peace, within secure and recognized borders. And this great aspiration of Israel has been certified without constraint, with the greatest degree of enthusiasm, by President Sadat, the leader of one of the greatest nations on Earth.

The other document is entitled, "Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel."

It provides for the full exercise of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sinai. It calls for the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai and, after an interim withdrawal which will be accomplished very quickly, the establishment of normal, peaceful relations between the two countries, including diplomatic relations.

Together with accompanying letters, which we will make public tomorrow, these two Camp David agreements provide the basis for progress and peace throughout the Middle East.

There is one issue on which agreement has not been reached. Egypt states that the agreement to remove Israeli settlements from Egyptian territory is a prerequisite to a peace treaty. Israel states that the issue of the Israeli settlements should be resolved during the peace negotiations. That's a substantial difference. Within the next two weeks, the Knesset will decide on the issue of these settlements.

Tomorrow night, I will go before the Congress to explain these agreements more fully and to talk about their implications for the United States and for the world. For the moment, and in closing, I want to speak more personally about my admiration for all of those who have taken part in this process and my hope that the promise of this moment will be fulfilled.

During the last two weeks, the members of all three delegations have spent endless hours, day and night, talking, negotiating, grappling with problems that have divided their people for 30 years. Whenever there was a danger that human energy would fail, or patience would be exhausted or good will would run out—and there were many such moments—these two leaders and the able advisers in all delegations found the resources within them to keep the chances for peace alive.

Well, the long days at Camp David are over. But many months of difficult negotiations still lie ahead. I hope that the foresight and the wisdom that have made this session a success will guide these leaders and the leaders of all nations as they continue the progress toward peace. Thank you very much.

Source: Miller Center for Public Affairs at the University of Virginia,  
<http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/3401>

## ***President Clinton's Remarks at the Signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles (September 13, 1993)***

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Prime Minister Rabin, Chairman Arafat, Foreign Minister Peres, Mr. Abbas, President Carter, President Bush, distinguished guests.

On behalf of the United States and Russia, cosponsors of the Middle East peace process, welcome to this great occasion of history and hope.

Today we bear witness to an extraordinary act in one of history's defining dramas, a drama that began in the time of our ancestors when the word went forth from a sliver of land between tide fiver Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea. That hallowed piece of earth, that land of light and revelation is the home to the memories and dreams of Jews, Muslims, and Christians throughout the world.

As we all know, devotion to that land has also been the source of conflict and bloodshed for too long. Throughout this century, bitterness between the Palestinian and Jewish people has robbed the entire region of its resources, its potential, and too many of its sons and daughters. The land has been so drenched in warfare and hatred, the conflicting claims of history etched so deeply in the souls of the combatants there, that many believed the past would always have the upper hand.

Then, 14 years ago, the past began to give way when, at this place and upon this desk, three men of great vision signed their names to the Camp David accords. Today we honor the memories of Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, and we salute the wise leadership of President Jimmy Carter. Then, as now, we heard from those who said that conflict would come again soon. But the peace between Egypt and Israel has endured. Just so, this bold new venture today, this brave gamble that the future can be better than the past, must endure.

Two years ago in Madrid, another President took a major step on the road to peace by bringing Israel and all her neighbors together to launch direct negotiations. And today we also express our deep thanks for the skillful leadership of President George Bush.

Ever since Harry Truman first recognized Israel, every American President, Democrat and Republican, has worked for peace between Israel and her neighbors. Now the efforts of all who have labored before us bring us to this moment, a moment when we dare to pledge what for so long seemed difficult even to imagine: that the security of the Israeli people will be reconciled with the hopes of the Palestinian people and there will be more security and more hope for all.

Today the leadership of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization will sign a declaration of principles on interim Palestinian self-government. It charts a course toward reconciliation between two peoples who have both known the bitterness of exile. Now both pledge to put old sorrows and antagonisms behind them and to work for a shared future shaped by the values of the Torah, the Koran, and the Bible.

Let us salute also today the Government of Norway for its remarkable role in nurturing this agreement. But above all, let us today pay tribute to the leaders who had the courage to lead their people toward peace, away from the scars of battle, the wounds and the losses of the past, toward a

brighter tomorrow. The word today thanks Prime Minister Rabin, Foreign Minister Peres, and Chairman Arafat. Their tenacity and vision has given us the promise of a new beginning.

What these leaders have done now must be done by others. Their achievement must be a catalyst for progress in all aspects of the peace process. And those of us who support them must be there to help in all aspects. For the peace must render the people who make it more secure. A peace of the brave is within our reach. Throughout the Middle East, there is a great yearning for the quiet miracle of a normal life.

We know a difficult road lies ahead. Every peace has its enemies, those who still prefer the easy habits of hatred to the hard labors of reconciliation. But Prime Minister Rabin has reminded us that you do not have to make peace with your friends. And the Koran teaches that if the enemy inclines toward peace, do thou also incline toward peace.

Therefore, let us resolve that this new mutual recognition will be a continuing process in which the parties transform the very way they see and understand each other. Let the skeptics of this peace recall what once existed among these people. There was a time when the traffic of ideas and commerce and pilgrims flowed uninterrupted among the cities of the Fertile Crescent. In Spain and the Middle East, Muslims and Jews once worked together to write brilliant chapters in the history of literature and science. All this can come to pass again.

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman, I pledge the active support of the United States of America to the difficult work that lies ahead. The United States is committed to ensuring that the people who are affected by this agreement will be made more secure by it and to leading the world in marshaling the resources necessary to implement the difficult details that will make real the principles to which you commit yourselves today.

Together let us imagine what can be accomplished if all the energy and ability the Israelis and the Palestinians have invested into your struggle can now be channeled into cultivating the land and freshening the waters, into ending the boycotts and creating new industry, into building a land as bountiful and peaceful as it is holy. Above all, let us dedicate ourselves today to your region's next generation. In this entire assembly, no one is more important than the group of Israeli and Arab children who are seated here with us today.

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman, this day belongs to you. And because of what you have done, tomorrow belongs to them. We must not leave them prey to the politics of extremism and despair, to those who would derail this process because they cannot overcome the fears and hatreds of the past. We must not betray their future. For too long, the young of the Middle East have been caught in a web of hatred not of their own making. For too long, they have been taught from the chronicles of war. Now we can give them the chance to know the season of peace. For them we must realize the prophecy of Isaiah that the cry of violence shall no more be heard in your land, nor wrack nor ruin within your borders. The children of Abraham, the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael, have embarked together on a bold journey. Together today, with all our hearts and all our souls, we bid them shalom, salaam, peace.

Source: Miller Center for Public Affairs at the University of Virginia,  
<http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/speeches/detail/3925>

## ***Prime Minister Rabin's Remarks at the Signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles (September 13, 1993)***

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Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, here today, is not so easy neither for myself, as a soldier in Israel's wars, nor for the people of Israel, not to the Jewish people in the Diaspora who are watching us now with great hope, mixed with apprehension. It is certainly not easy for the families of the victims of the wars, violence, terror, whose pain will never heal. For the many thousands who have defended our lives in their own, and even sacrificed their lives for our own for them, this ceremony has come too late. Today, on the eve of an opportunity opportunity for peace and perhaps an end of vioence and wars we remember each and every one of them with everlasting love.

We have come from Jerusalem, the ancient and eternal capital of the Jewish people. We have come from an anguished and grieving land. We have come from a people, a home, a family, that has not known a single year not a single month in which mothers have not wept for their sons. We have come to try and put an end to the hostilities, so that our children, our children's children, will no longer experience the painful cost of war, violence and terror. We have come to secure their lives and to ease the sorrow and the painful memories of the past to hope and pray for peace.

Let me say to you, the Palestinians: We are destined to live together on the same soil, in the same land. We, the soldiers who have returned from battle stained with blood, we who have seen our relatives and friends killed before our eyes, we who have attended their funerals and cannot look into the eyes of their parents, we who have come from a land where parents bury their children, we who have fought against you, the Palestinians -

We say to you today in a loud and a clear voice: Enough of blood and tears. Enough. We have no desire for revenge. We harbor no hatred towards you. We, like you, are people people who want to build a home, to plant a tree, to love, to live side by side with you in dignity, in empathy, as human beings, as free men. We are today giving peace a chance, and saying again to you: Enough. Let us pray that a day will come when we all will say: Farewell to the arms.

We wish to open a new chapter in the sad book of our lives together a chapter of mutual recognition, of good neighborliness, of mutual respect, of understanding. We hope to embark on a new era in the history of the Middle East. Today, here in Washington, at the White House, we will begin a new reckoning in relations between peoples, between parents tired of war, between children who will not know war.

President of the United States, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Our inner strength, our high moral values, have been derived for thousands of years from the Book of Books, in one of which, Koheleth, we read:

To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven:  
A time to be born, and a time to die;  
A time to kill, and a time to heal;  
A time to weep and a time to laugh;  
A time to love, and a time to hate;  
A time of war, and a time of peace.'

Ladies and Gentlemen, the time for peace has come.

In two days, the Jewish people will celebrate the beginning of a new year. I believe, I hope, I pray, that the new year will bring a message of redemption for all peoples: a good year for you, for all of you. A good year for Israelis and Palestinians. A good year for all the peoples of the Middle East. A good year for our American friends, who so want peace and are helping to achieve it, for Presidents and members of previous administrations, especially for you, President Clinton, and your staff, for all citizens of the world: may peace come to all your homes.

In the Jewish tradition, it is customary to conclude our prayers with the word 'Amen'. With your permission, men of peace, I shall conclude with words taken from the prayer recited by Jews daily, and whoever of you volunteer, I would ask the entire audience to join me in saying 'Amen':

"He maketh peace in His high places. He shall make peace for us and for all of Israel. And they shall say: Amen."

(translation from Hebrew).

Source: Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, [http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Archive/Peace+Process/1993/  
Remarks+by+PM+Yitzhak+Rabin+at+Signing+of+DOP+-+13.htm](http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Archive/Peace+Process/1993/Remarks+by+PM+Yitzhak+Rabin+at+Signing+of+DOP+-+13.htm)