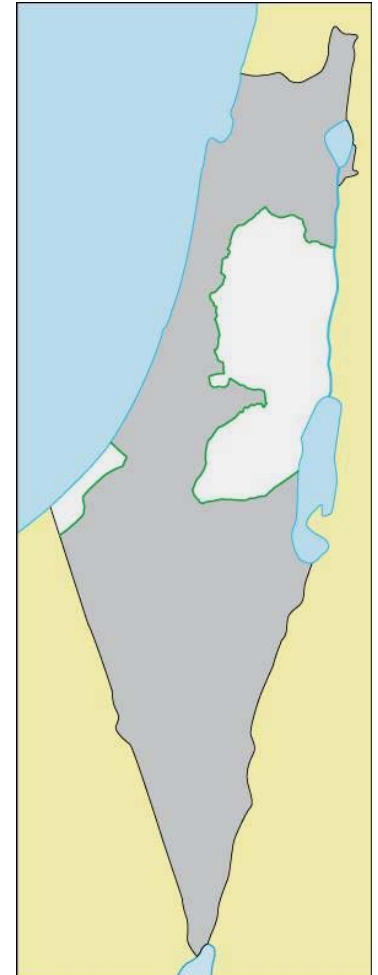PLO Negotiations Affairs Department

Palestinian-Israeli Conflict
Challenges to a Negotiated Solution

NSU presentation for
PNA Senior Officer Course

PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

Negotiations Affairs Department

Negotiations Support Unit

Comprehensive Peace

Permanent Status Negotiations

- *Statehood* – *fully sovereign, 1967 line*

- *Jerusalem* – *two capitals for two states*

- *Refugees* – *"just & agreed upon"*

- *Water* – *equitable & reasonable alloc.*

- *Security* – *w/o impinging on sovereignty*

Road Map Implementation

- *Israel* – *settlements, closures*

- *Palestinians* – *security, reform*
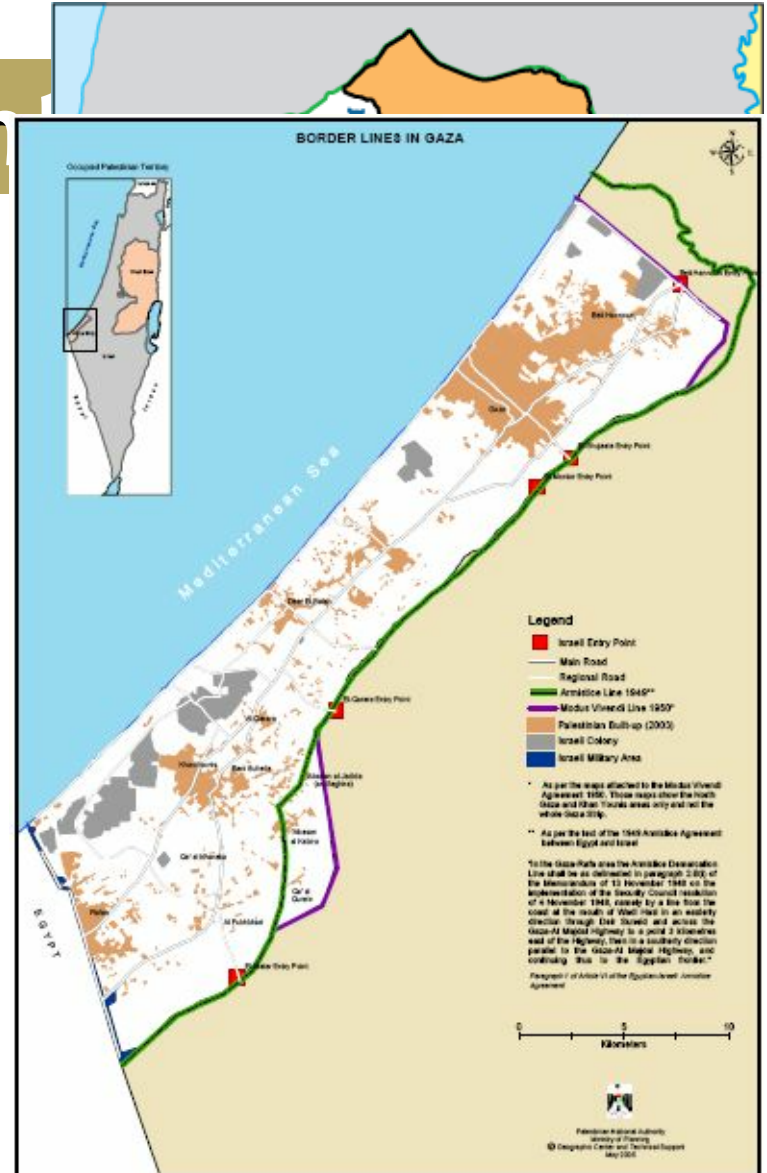
Statehood/Sovereignty

Requirements:

- 1967 line (incl. East Jerusalem)

- Fully sovereign

- West Bank-Gaza Strip link

- Viable & Contiguous

Obstacles:

- Ongoing settlement/wall activity

- Internal closure regime

- Control of air, land, sea borders (e.g. Gaza)

'Facts on the Ground'

Israel's Settlement Enterprise

1. **Settlements**

2. **The Wall (and its regime)**

3. **Settler / by-pass roads**

4. **Movement restrictions**

WB land west of Wall: **9.0%**
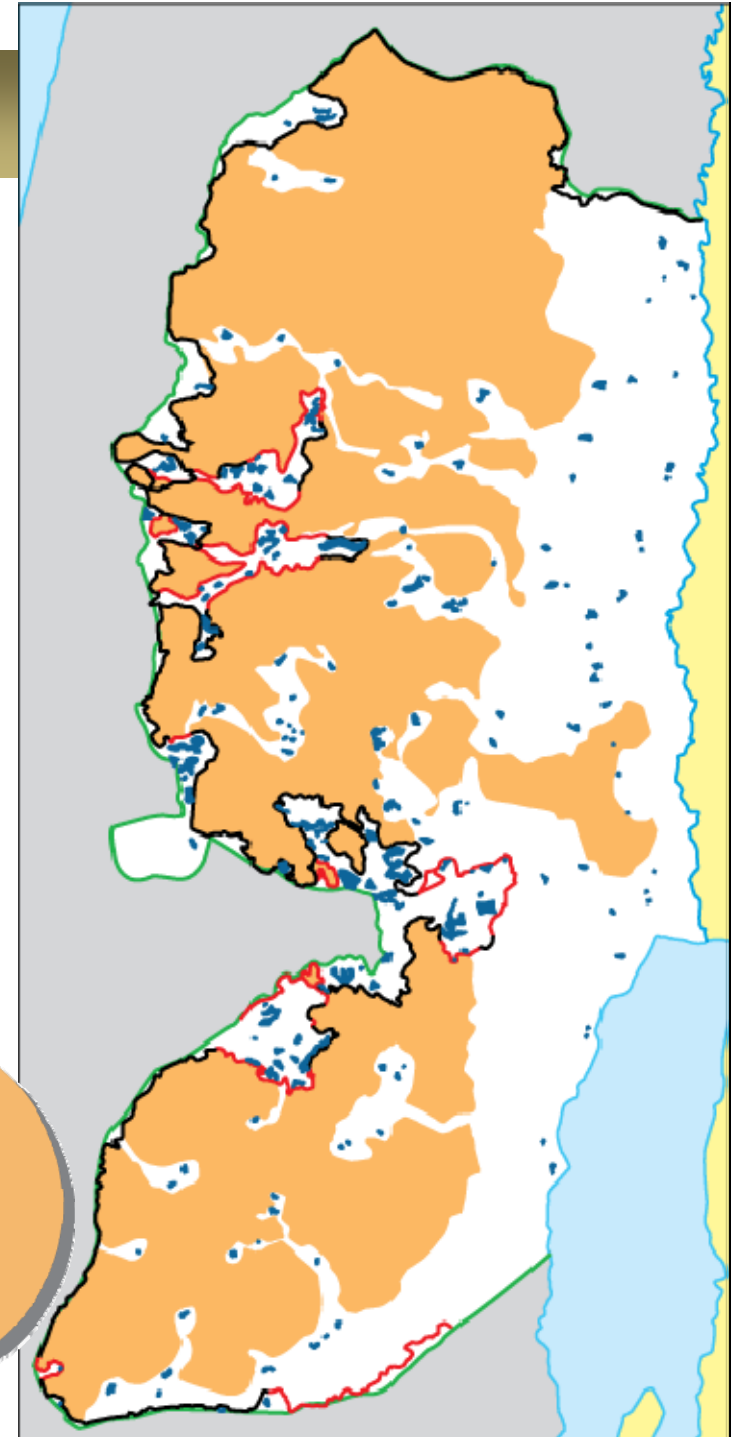
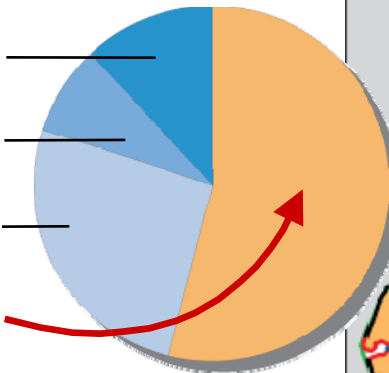Settlement areas east of Wall: **8.0%**

Jordan Valley settlement control: **28.5%**

Area remaining for Palestinians: **54.5%**

East Jerusalem: Capital of Palestine

Requirements:

- Two capitals for two states

- 1967 line, including Old City

- Access for all to holy sites

- Administrative arrangements

Obstacles:

- Ongoing settlement/wall activity

- Excavations around Haram

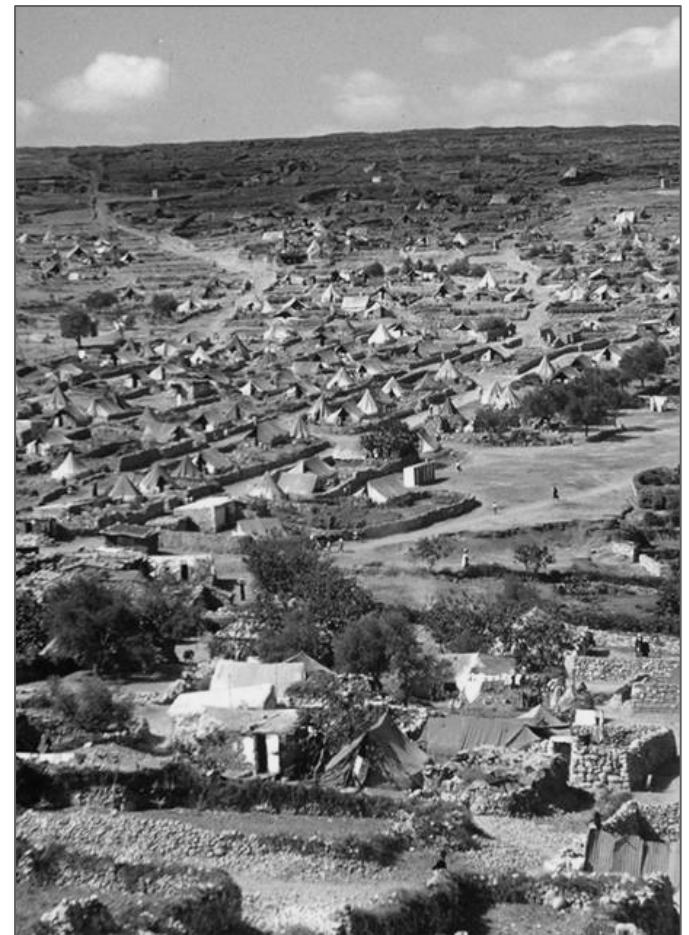- Closure of Jerusalem institutions

- ID revocations & home demolitions

Palestinian Refugees

60 years after *Al-Nakba*

- *7 million Palestinian refugees*

- *1.3 million still in camps*

- *Most are stateless*

- *Refugee properties held by Israel*

*" … a **just** solution to the Palestinian refugee problem to be **agreed upon** in accordance with UN General Assembly Resolution 194. "*

— Arab Peace Initiative (March 2002)

Palestinian Refugees

Requirements:

- Recognition of responsibility by Israel

- Menu of options (return, resett., integ., etc.)

- Reparations (restitution / compensation)

- International mechanism

Obstacles:

- No recognition of responsibility

- Refusal of return

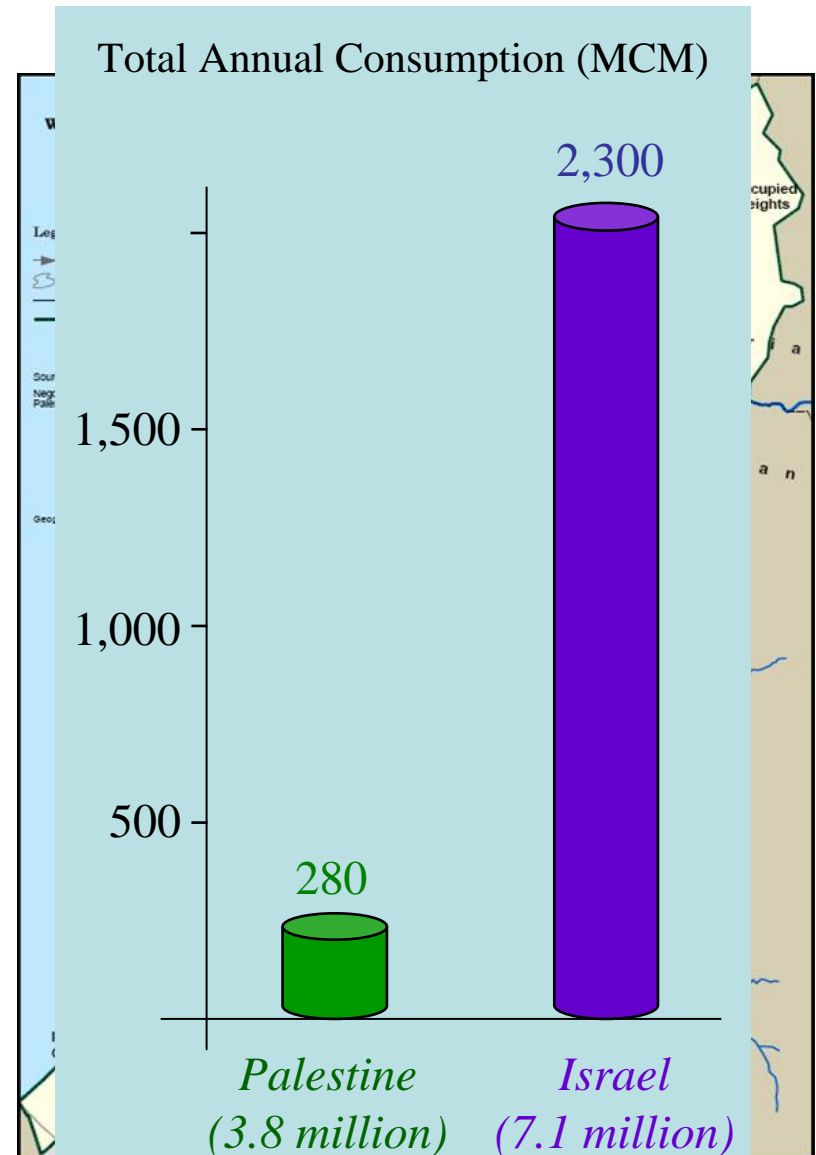- No restitution (only "compensation")

Water Issues

Requirements:

- "Equitable & reasonable" allocation of shared water resources (int'l law)

- Development without harm to other party (no unilateral activity)

- Joint monitoring & management

Obstacles:

- Current allocation highly *inequitable* & *unsustainable*

- Comprehensive denial of access

- Over-pumping of Palestinian share

Total Annual Consumption (MCM)

2,300

1,500

1,000

500

280

Palestine
(3.8 million)

Israel
(7.1 million)

Security PS Issues

I.   History and Context

II.   Key security issues for negotiation

- ➤ *Limitations on military capacity / alliances*

- ➤ *Israeli military presence and control*

- ➤ *International presence*

- ➤ *Security cooperation*

Requirements for Palestinian State

➤ Sovereignty and independence

➤ Control over territory and borders

➤ 67 borders – Jerusalem / contiguity

➤ Ability to make and implement policy

On security this requires:

- *Full Israeli military withdrawal and end to control*

- *Any exception must be <u>limited</u>, <u>temporary</u>, and <u>based on legitimate concerns</u>*

Key Negotiation Issues I

➢ **Limitations on arms and structures**
  - *"Limited and appropriate arms" based on agreed functions*
  - *Functions: internal security; law and order; protection of territory*
  - *Structure and organisation of forces: models*
  - *Precursors, components, other dual use materials /equipment*

➢ **Alliances and cooperation**
  - *Will not enter hostile alliances*
  - *Bilateral / regional security regime*
  - *Neutrality*

➢ **Airspace**
  - *Civil aviation: Chicago Convention / ICAO rules.*
  - *No overriding Israeli air traffic / management control*
  - *Possibility of air corridor (WB – GS)*
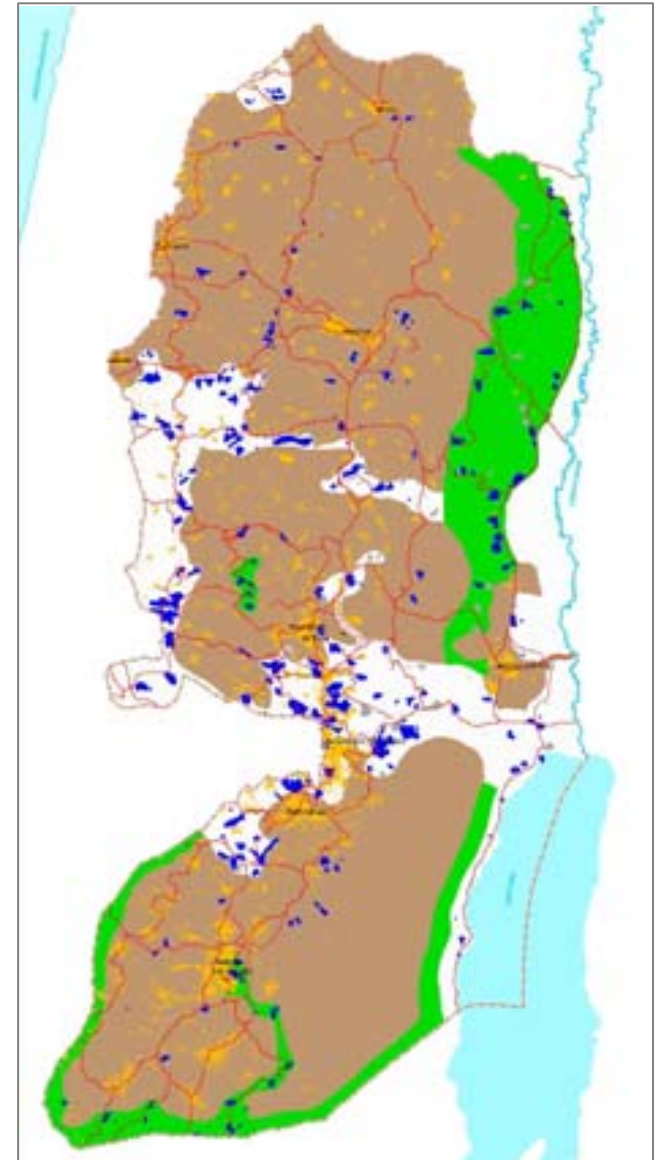 - *Military: training / operational needs*

Key Negotiation Issues II

➤ **Israeli military presence**
  - *Early Warning Stations (EWS)*
    - *to detect "threat from the East"*
    - *Intrusive and of questionable value (NB satellite detection)*
  - *JV Bases & access routes / "emergency deployment"*
  - *Unspecified control over borders*
  - *Control over electromagnetic sphere*

➤ **International role**
  - *UN/EU/ NATO mandate and leadership*
  - *Range of functions:*
    - *Assist with crossings and ports*
    - *Build capacity*
    - *Monitor and assist implementation of agreement*
    - *Perform other tasks as agreed*

Conclusion

➤ Agreed security relations should be based on
- legitimate interests and concerns of both sides
- International standards and best practice

➤ Must ensure basic requirements for statehood, otherwise will not work and conflict will not end

➤ Should target legitimate threats and concerns, not economic and political viability of the state

➤ Need economic prosperity for peace, which will ensure durable security