

**PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON PROCESS
(4 October 2007)**

A. Current Palestinian Thinking

1. Pre-November (SE's "new DNA")
 - Bilateral "decisions" by Leaders on core (permanent status) issues.
 - Appoint drafting teams to devise FAPS/Agreed Principles ahead of Nov. 15th.
 - Sign/endorse FAPS/Agreed Principles at November 15th meeting and agree on a timeline for CAPS.
 - No 3rd Party role.
2. Post-November
 - CAPS negotiations begin immediately after November/ conference (*i.e.*, after FAPS/Principles) and concluded within 6 months.
 - Intensive 3rd Party role in all spheres.
3. Missing Elements
 - Understanding relationship between process and substance.
 - Focus on modalities for implementing settlement freeze.
 - Internal capacity (security, reform, etc.).
 - Communication strategy.
 - Coordination among various 3rd Party actors (*e.g.*, Dayton, Blair, Rice, etc.).

B. Current Israeli Thinking

1. Pre-November
 - Bilateral discussions by Leaders to explore all issues, including core PS issues.
 - Appoint drafting teams to devise joint *general* statement ahead of Conference (November date "not sacred").
 - Conditions for discussions on general statement:
 - must take place in the region;
 - must be held in total secrecy;
 - must not result in "declaration of principles".
 - No 3rd Party role.
2. Post-November
 - Discussion of core PS issue only *after* November conference (no time ceiling).
 - Implementation of future PS agreement subject to full implementation of Roadmap Phase I.
 - No (or limited) 3rd Party role.

(over)

C. Issues / Questions for Discussion

1. What is the current process?... Is it effective? Why or why not?
2. What are requirements for a successful conference (for Pal's, Israel, USA, etc.)?
3. What are key interests/objectives of main players, both internal (PLO, Hamas, etc.) and external (Israel, USA, EU, Saudi, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, etc.) vis-à-vis Nov. conference?
4. What is the current level of Palestinian coordination with key Arab states? What roles should Arab states play prior to / after the Nov. conference?
5. What roles should other 3rd Parties (USA, EU, Quartet, Blair, etc.) play prior to / after the Nov. conference?
6. What needs to happen between FAPS/Principles Agreement and CAPS? What should be the deadline for achieving a CAPS?
7. How will Israeli actions vis-à-vis Gaza (military attacks, embargo, collective punishment, etc.) affect the process?
8. How does Palestinian unity/disunity affect the process? (At what stage, if at all, must there be reconciliation?)
9. What should be the relationship between the various 3rd Party "technical" envoys (Dayton, Blair, etc.)?
10. How do you ensure a process that is based on *parallel*—as opposed to *conditional*—implementation?
11. What is the relevance of the Roadmap in this new process?