

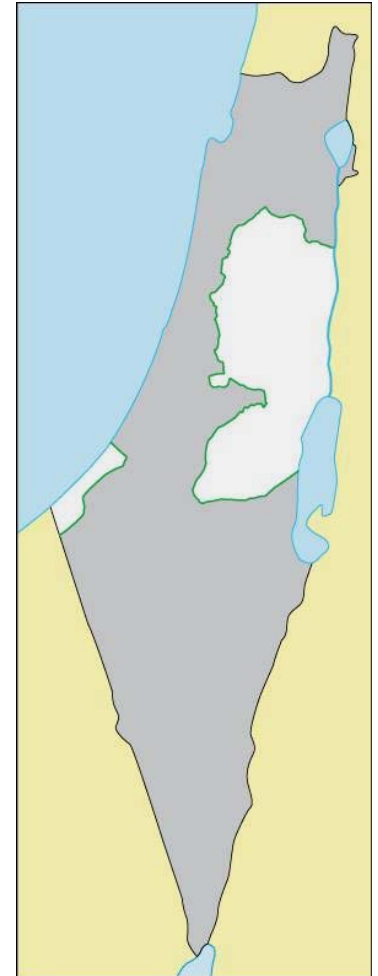
# Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

## *Challenges to a Negotiated Solution*

*Focus on Security*  
*May 10<sup>th</sup> 2009*



PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION  
Negotiations Affairs Department  
Negotiations Support Unit



# Main Points

- Palestinians remain committed to the two-state solution and a peaceful resolution to the conflict.
- Settlements and other facts on the ground are **destroying the two-state solution** and undermining the process.
- Immediate enforcement of Road Map obligations is needed to save the process and the two-state solution.

# Annapolis: Parallel Tracks

## ➤ Permanent Status Negotiations:

- **Territory** – fully sovereign, 1967 line
- **East Jerusalem** – capital of Palestine
- **Refugees** – “just & agreed upon” resolution
- **Water** – equitable & reasonable allocation
- **Security** – w/o impinging on sovereignty

## ➤ Road Map Implementation:

- **Israeli obligations** – settlements, closures
- **Palestinian obligations** – security, reform



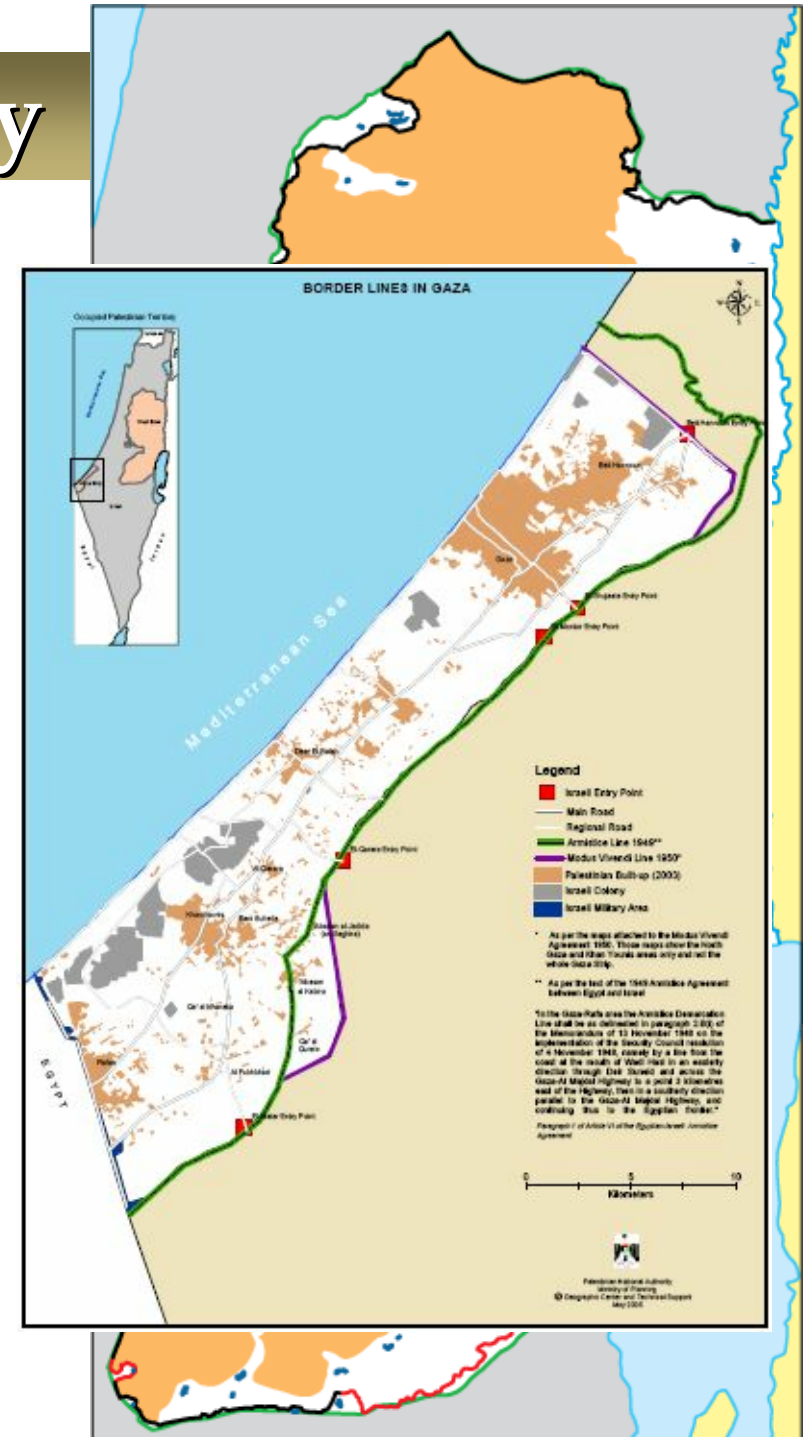
# I. Statehood/Sovereignty

## Requirements:

- 1967 line (incl. East Jerusalem)
- Fully sovereign
- West Bank-Gaza Strip link
- Viable and 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

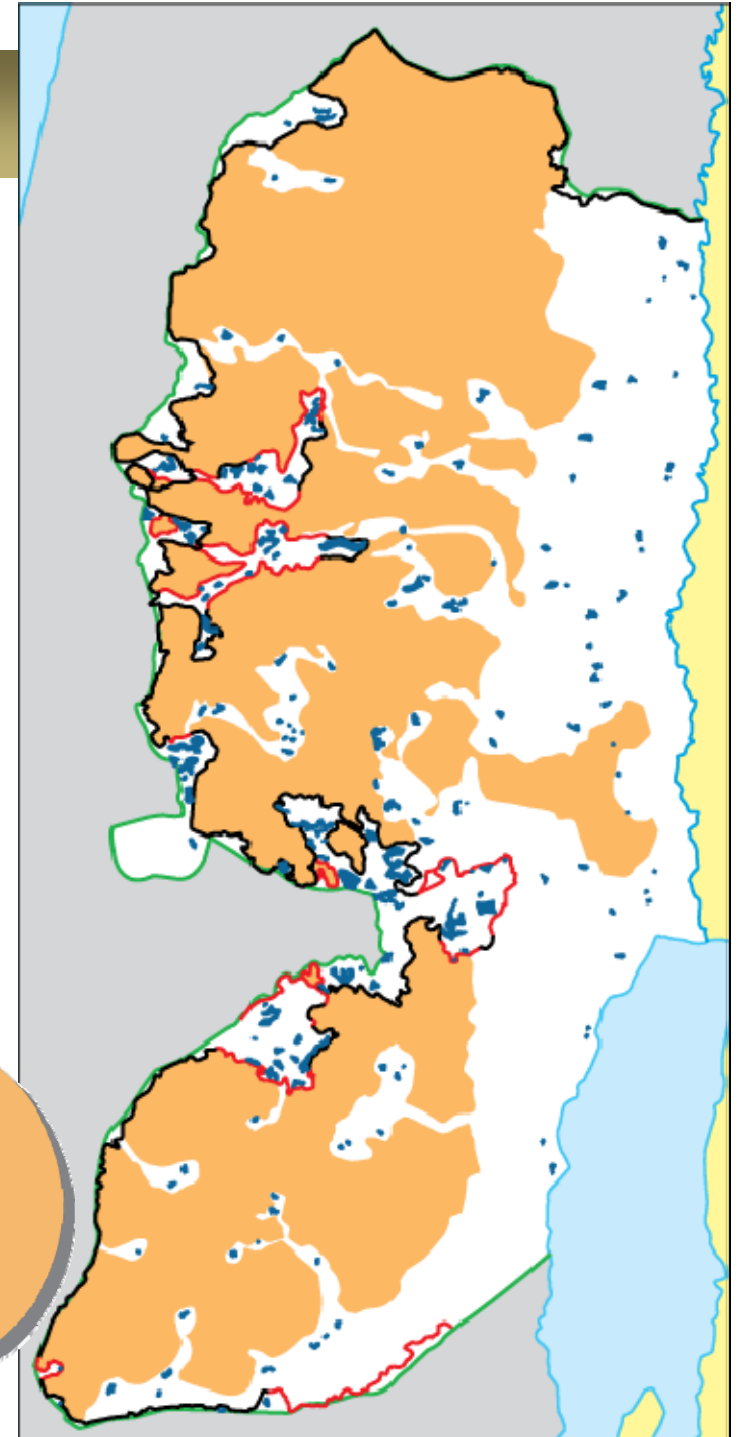
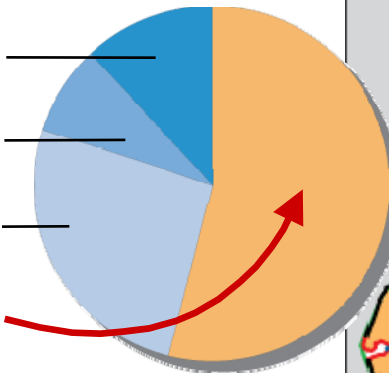
1. Settlements
2. The Wall (and its regime)
3. Settler / by-pass roads
4. Movement restrictions

WB land west of Wall: 9.0%

Settlement areas east of Wall: 8.0%

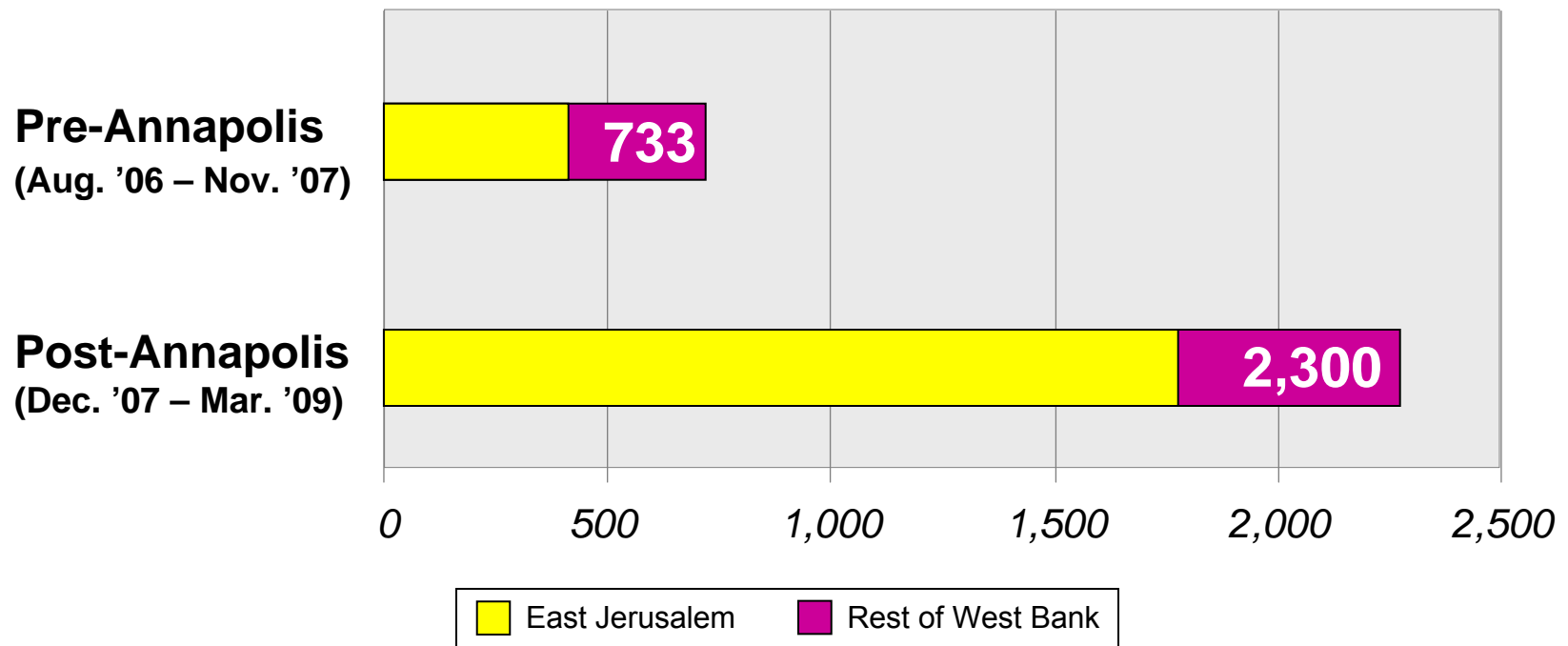
Jordan Valley settlement control: 28.5%

Area remaining for Palestinians: 54.5%



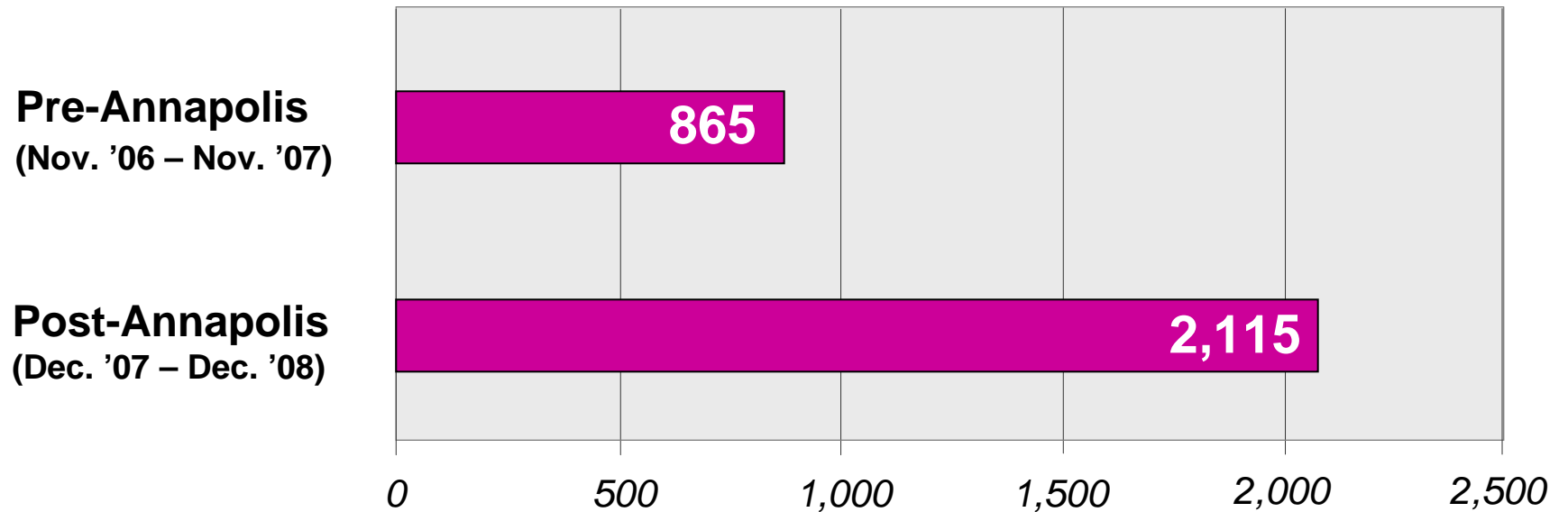
# Post-Annapolis Update

## Settlement Housing Units Tendered



# Post-Annapolis Update

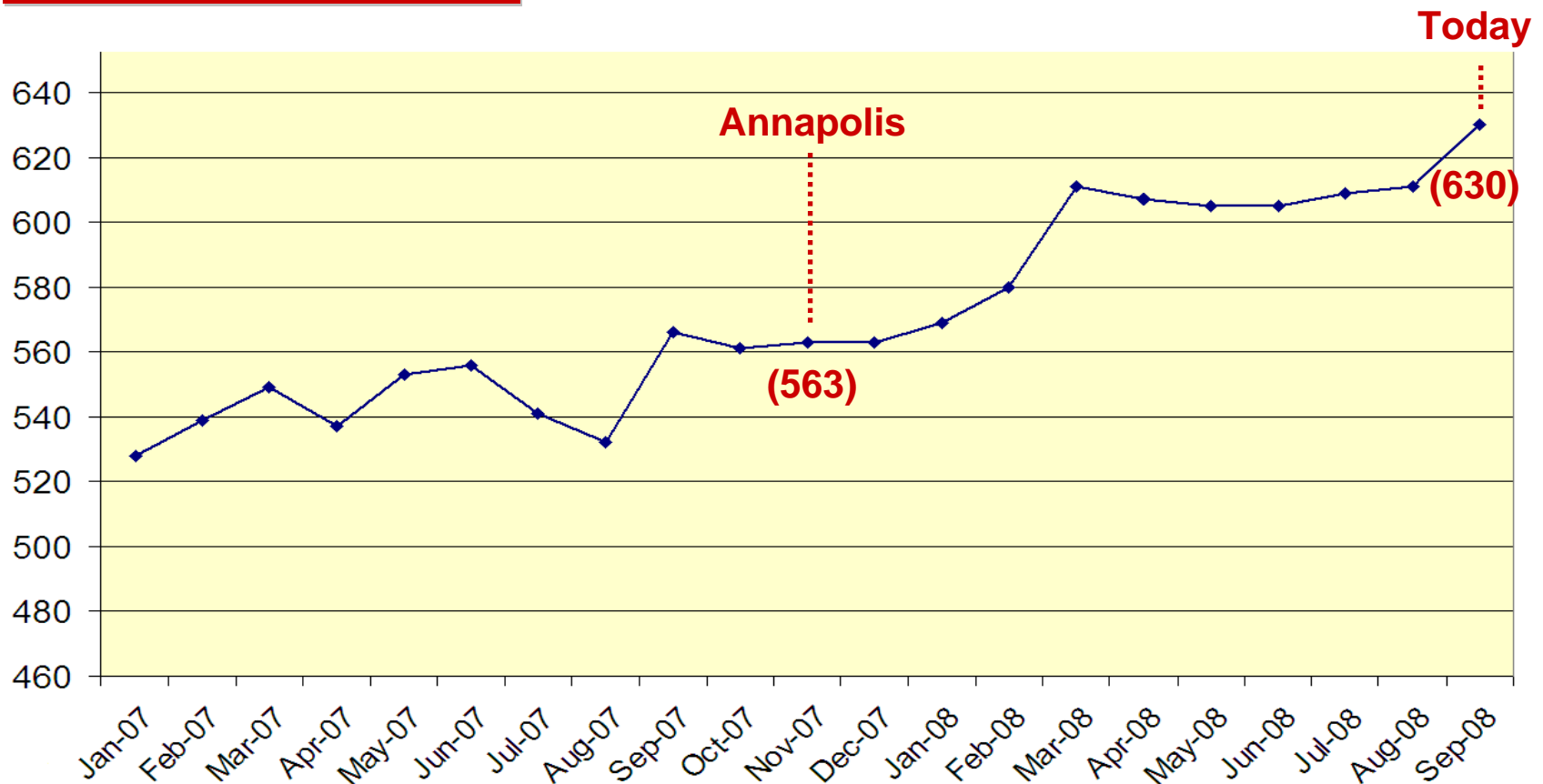
## Building Permits\*



\* Private construction only, not including settlements in East Jerusalem.

# Post-Annapolis Update

## West Bank Closures



SOURCE: UN-OCHA



## II. Jerusalem

### 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



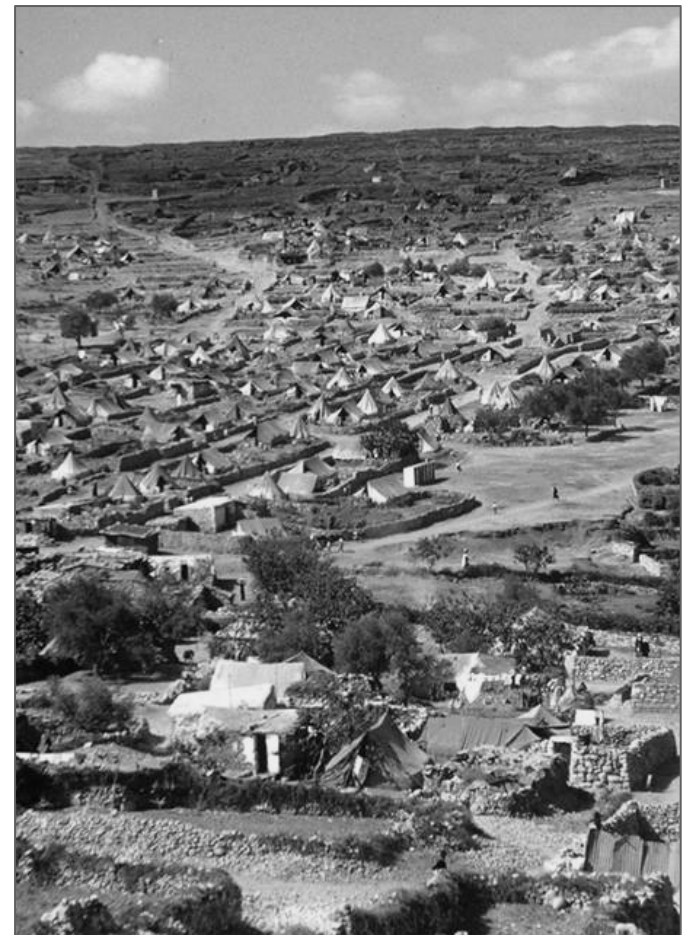
# III. Palestinian Refugees

## Over 60 years after *Al-Nakba*

- Over 7m refugees (4.7m RRs)
- 29% of RRs (over 1.3m) live in 58 camps
- Most refugees 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)



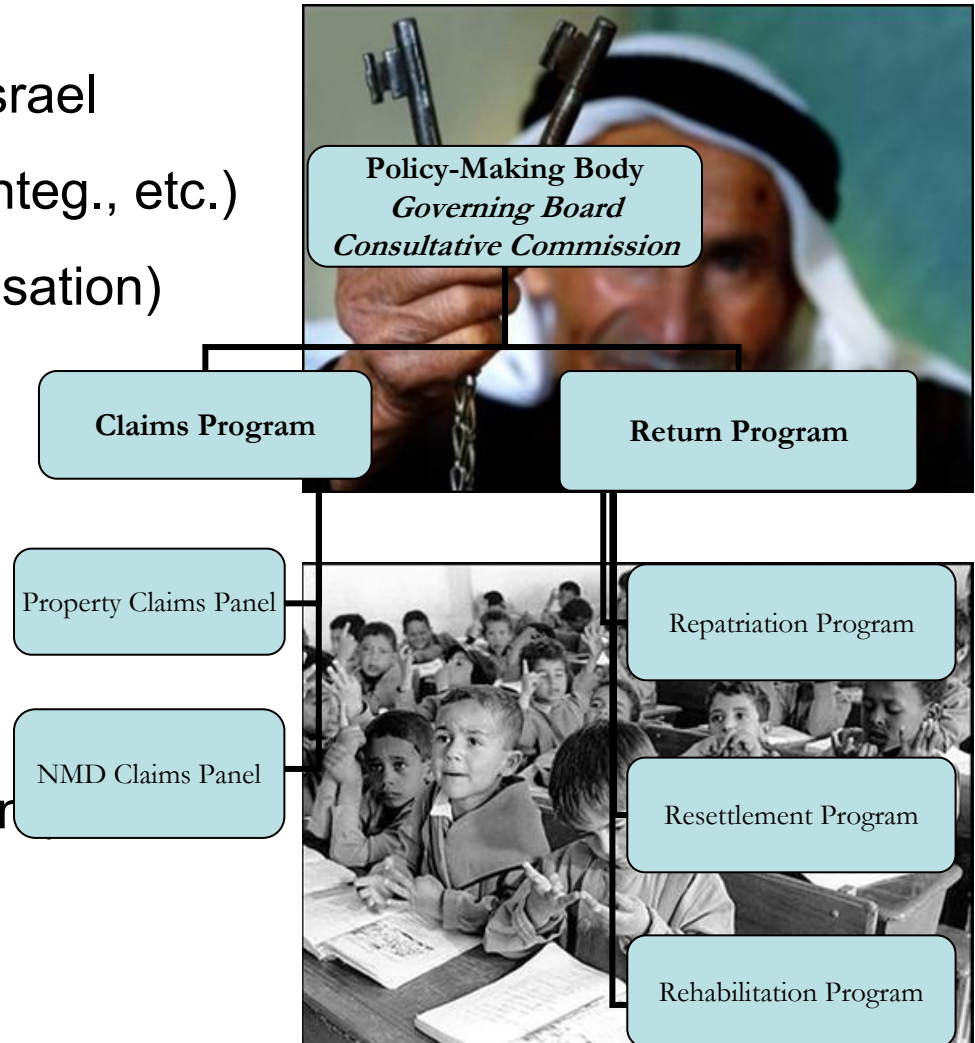
# III. Palestinian Refugees

## 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”)



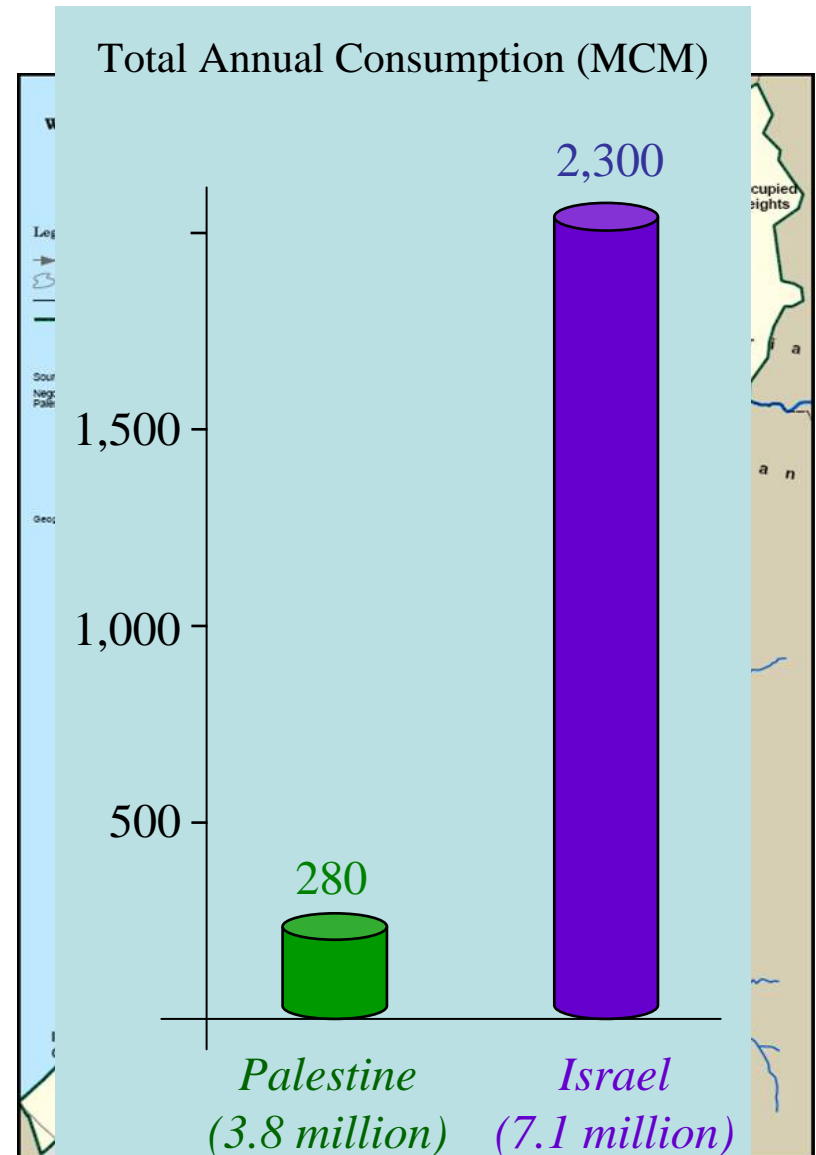
# IV. Water Issues

## 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



# V. Security Arrangements

## Requirements:

- Full military withdrawal
- Effective Palestinian security force
- Peaceful relations, regional cooperation
- International presence

## Obstacles:

- Overriding Israeli military presence/control
- Insistence on “demilitarized state”
- Interference / limitations on Pal. security



# Guiding Principles

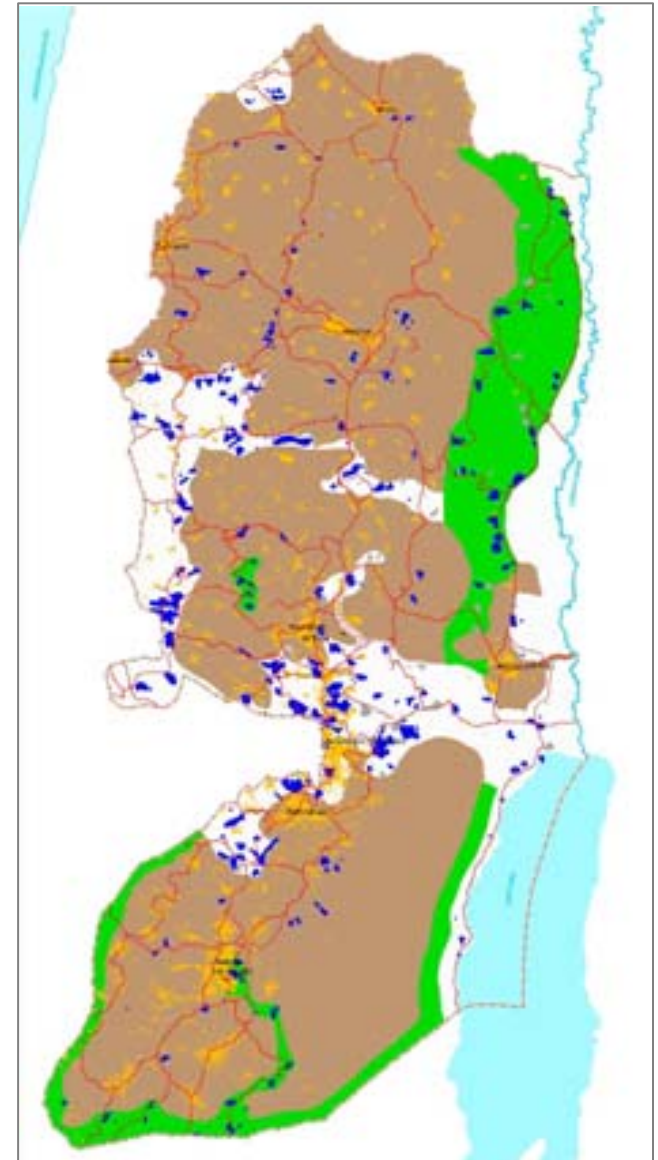
- **Agreed security arrangements should be based on**
  - legitimate interests and concerns of both sides
  - International standards and best practice
- **Must ensure basic requirements for statehood, otherwise will not work and conflict will not end**
- **Should target legitimate threats and concerns, not economic and political viability of the state**

# Key Negotiation Issues I

- Limitations on armament / capacity
  - “Limited and appropriate arms” based on agreed functions
  - Functions: internal security; law and order; protection of territory
  - Models for security sector
  - 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*

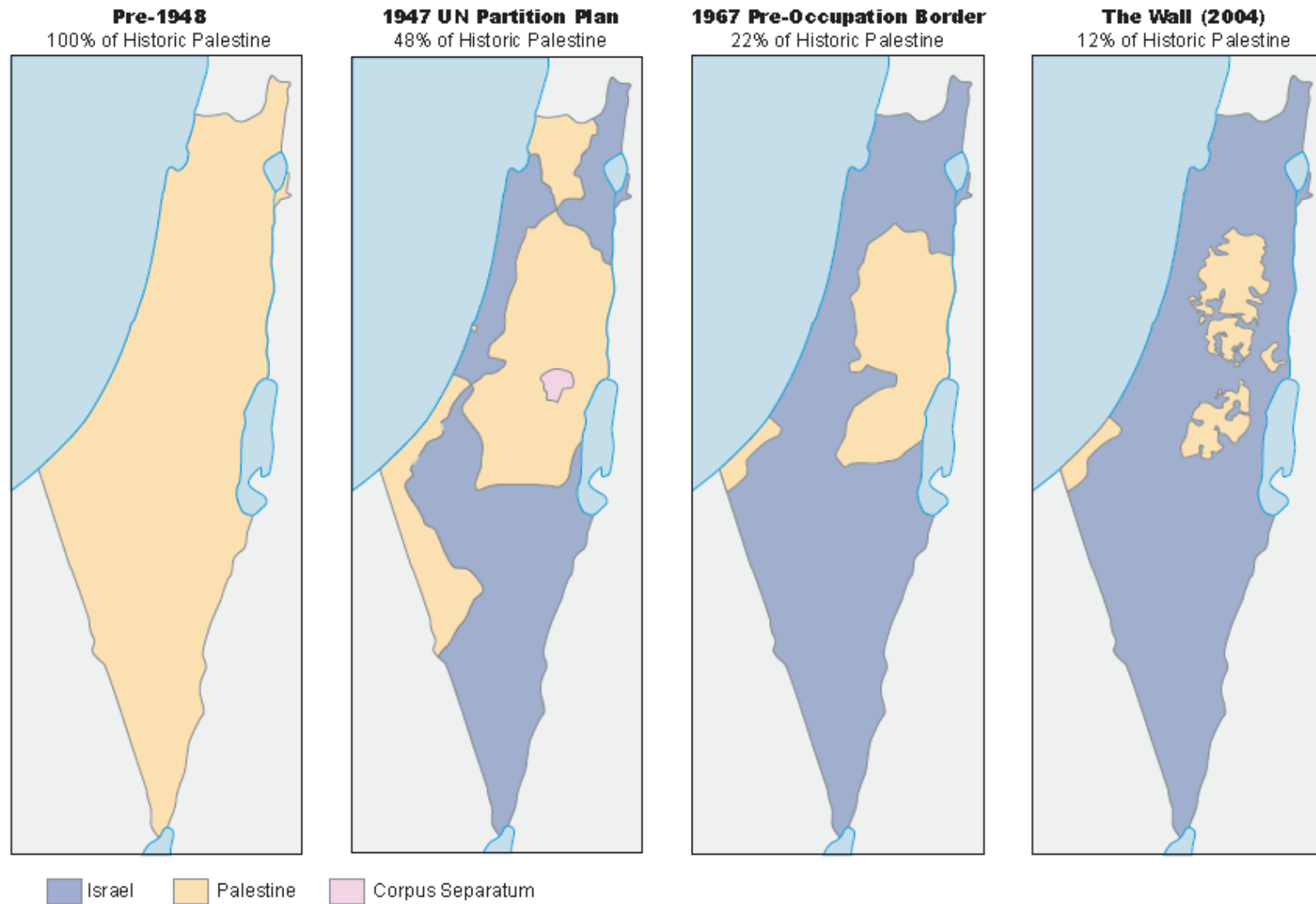




# Conclusion

- Palestinians remain committed to the two-state solution and a peaceful resolution to the conflict.
- Israeli policies, particularly on settlements and other “facts on the ground” are **destroying the two-state solution** and undermining the process.
- Immediate enforcement of Road Map obligations is needed to revive the process and the two-state solution.

# Destroying the Two-State Solution



**BANK**

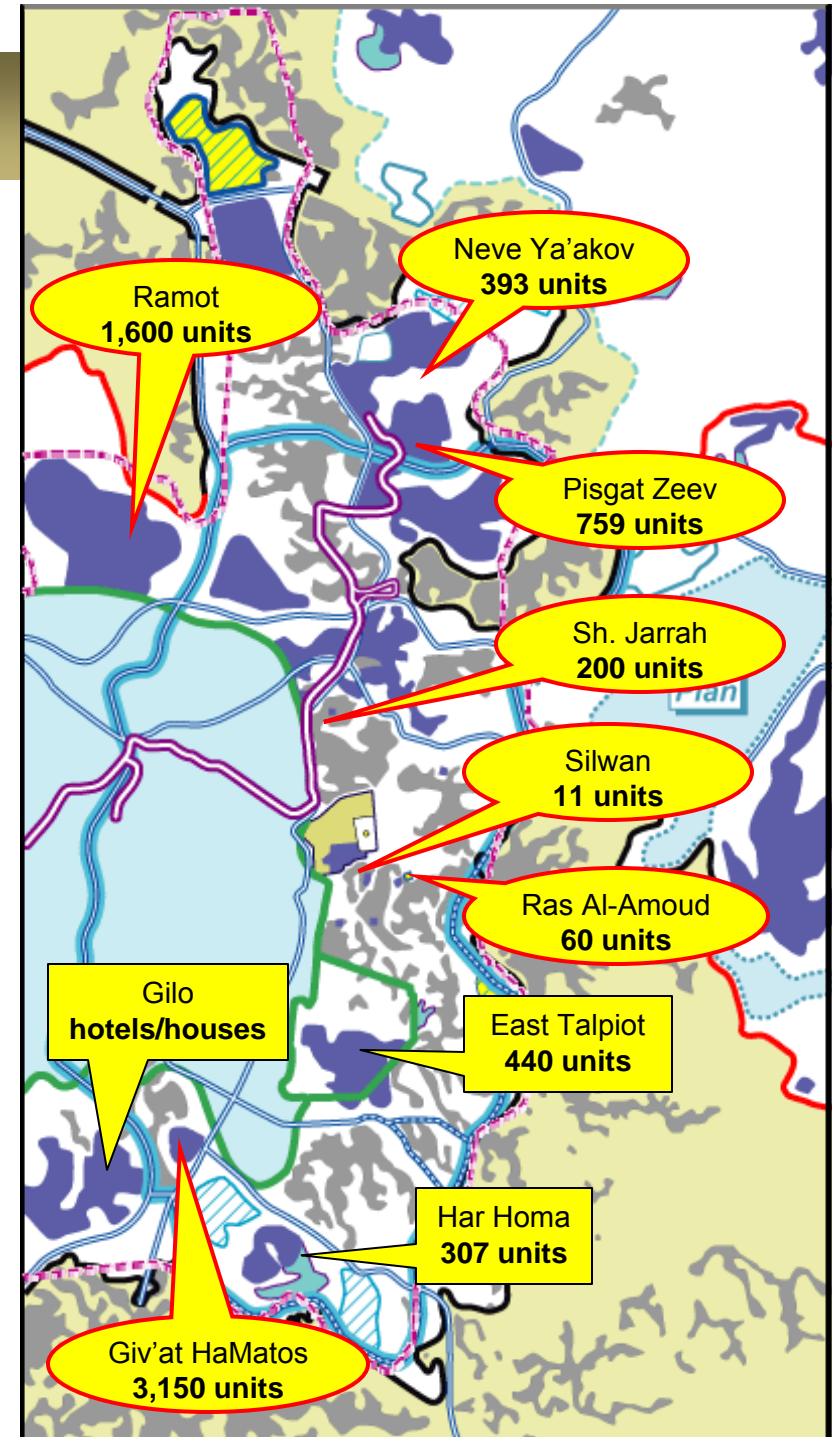
## II. East Jerusalem

### Requirements:

- Two capitals for two states
- 1967 line, including Old City
- Access for all to holy sites
- Administrative arrangements

### Obstacles:

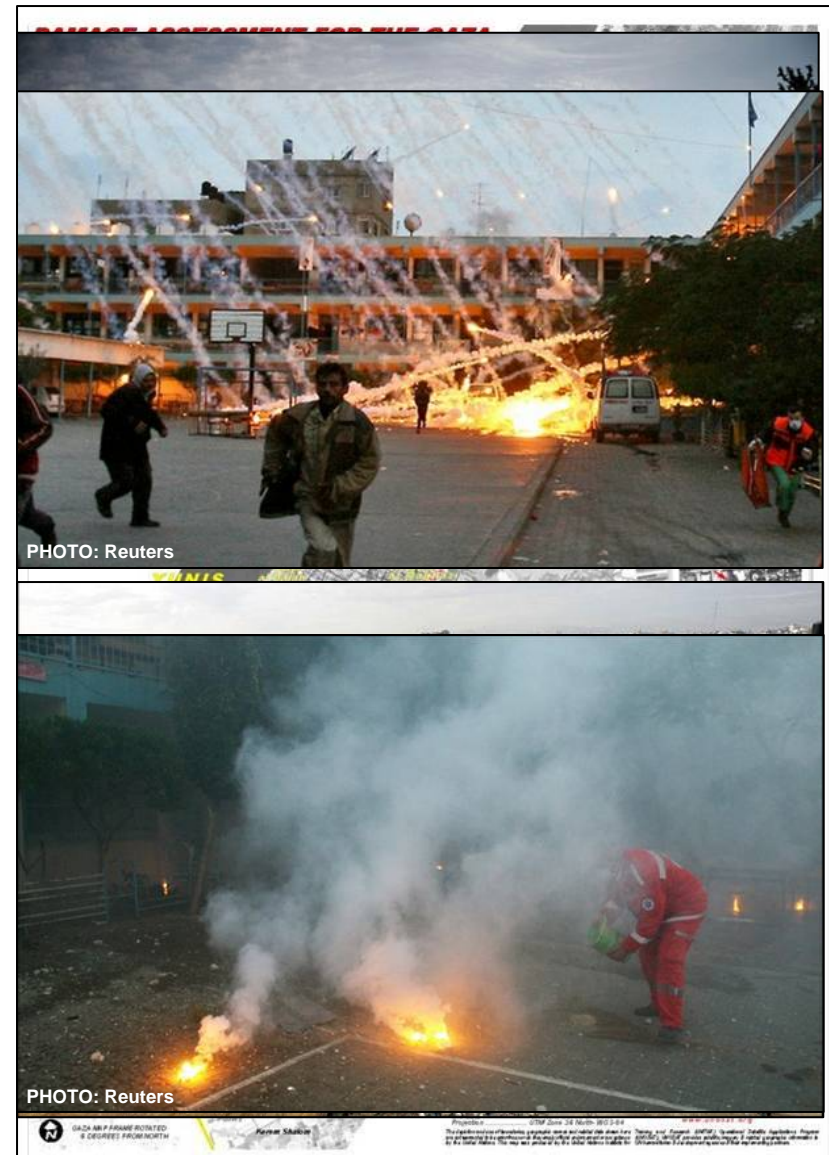
- Ongoing settlement/Wall activity



# The Gaza Strip

## Israeli Assault (Dec 08/Jan 09)

- **1,314 killed, mostly civilians**
  - 417 children (32%)
  - 108 women (8%)
- **5,380 injured**
  - 1,872 children (35%)
  - 800 women (15%)
- **4,000 homes completely destroyed, 11,500 partially damaged**
- **Total destruction est. at \$1.6 bn**
- **Credible evidence of war crimes**



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# 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

# The Gaza Strip

## 'Disengagement' & The AMA (2005)

- **Agreement on Movement & Access**

"...the Palestinian economy is in deep

1. Rafah & other crossings  
crisis. Disengagement alone will not alter

2. Link between Gaza & West Bank.

If disengagement is implemented with  
3. Internal closures within West Bank  
wisdom and foresight, however, it could

4. Gaza seaport & airport  
make a real difference.

- **Despite international assurances,  
Palestinians' worst fears realized**

- "Gaza first, Gaza last"
- Consolidation of WB facts on ground
- Gaza becoming a prison



Legend





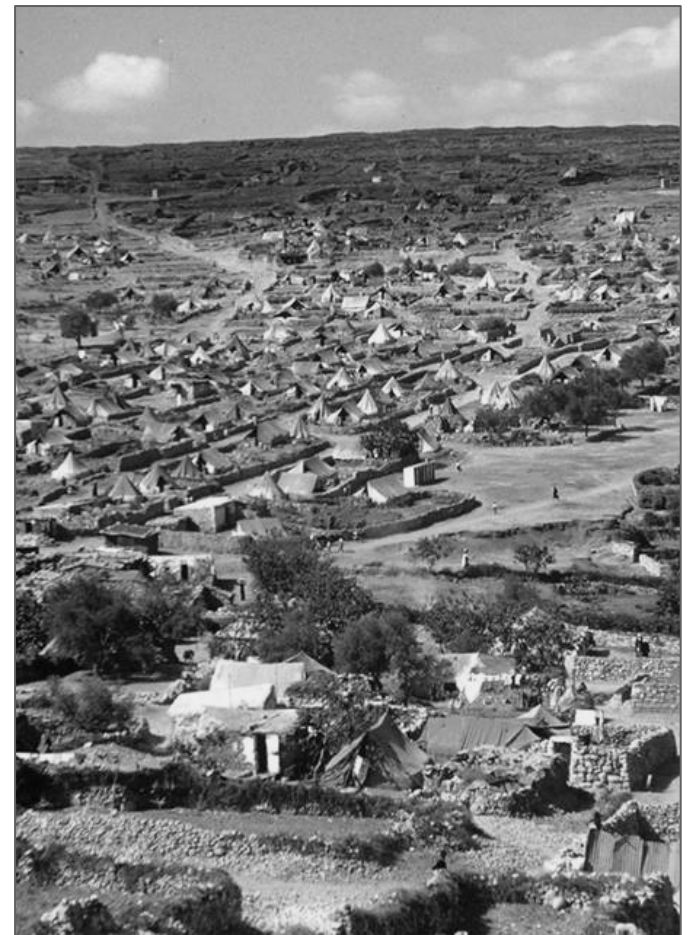
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## 60 years after *Al-Nakba*

- 7 million Palestinian refugees
- 1.3 million still in camps
- Most are stateless
- Refugee properties held by Israel

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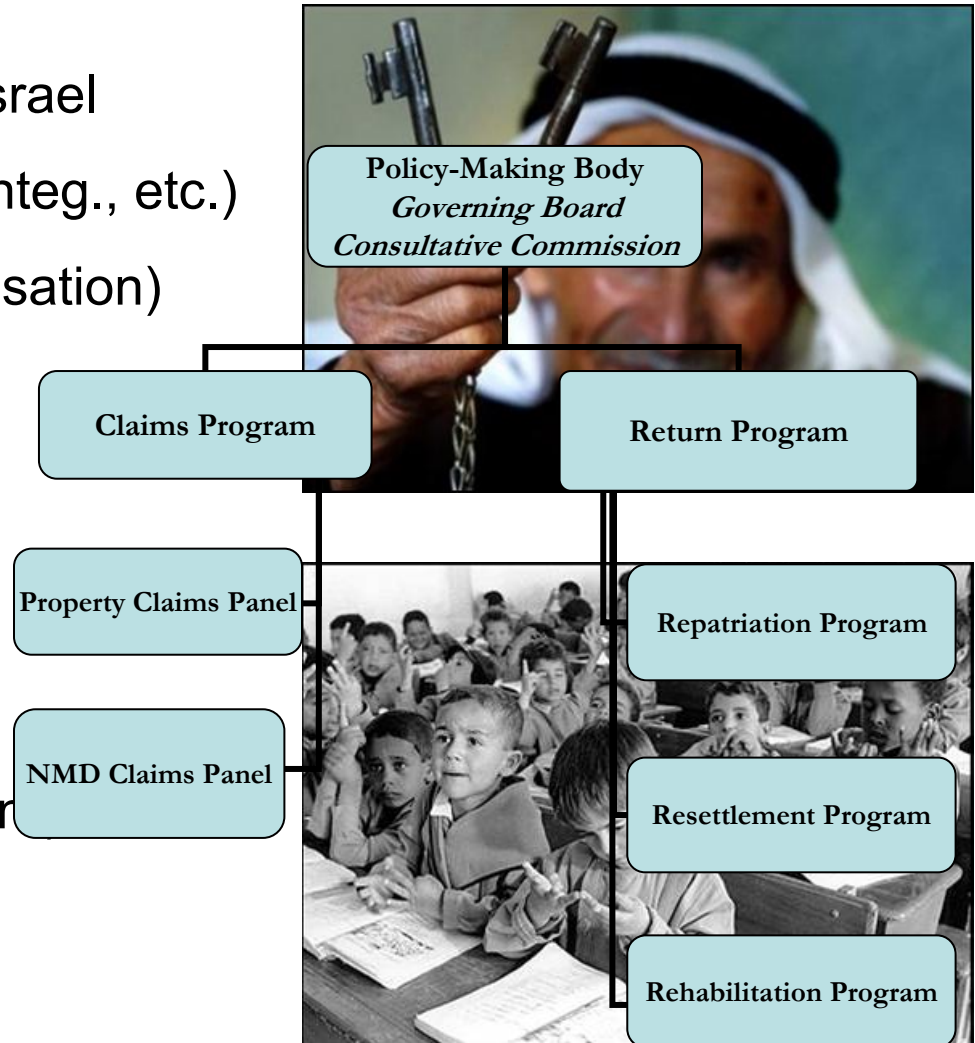
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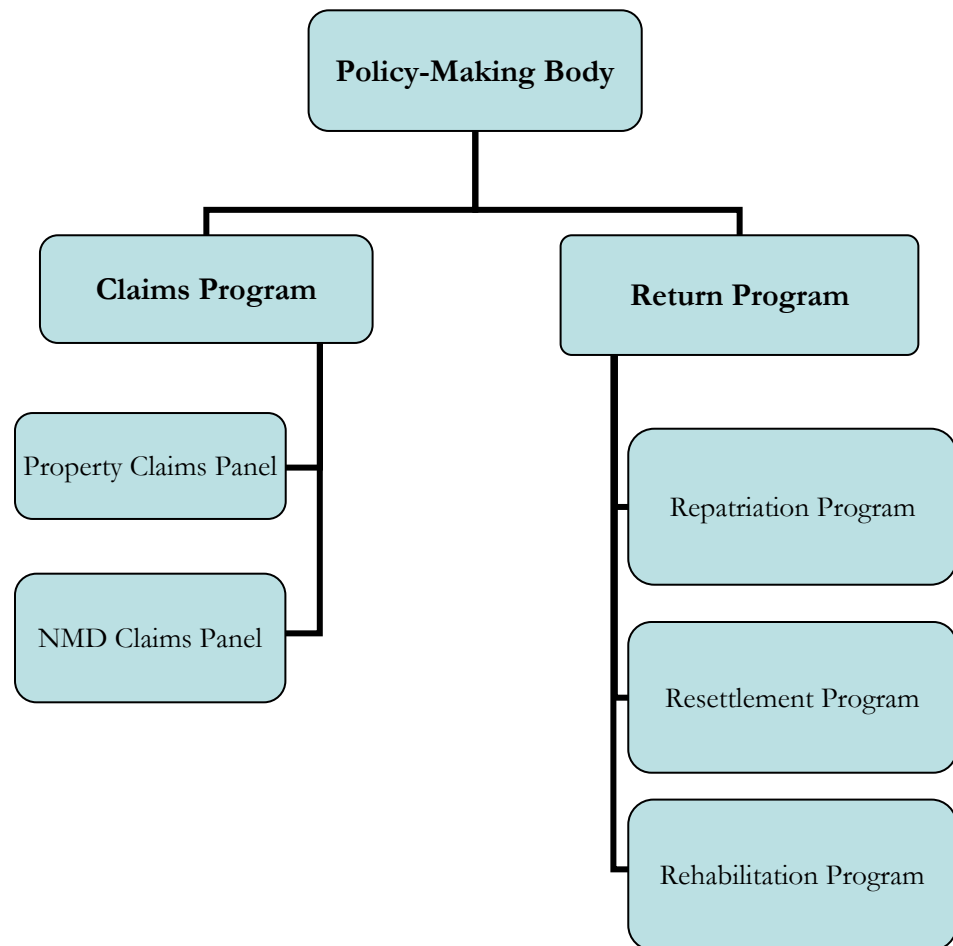
- No recognition of responsibility
- Refusal of return
- No restitution (only “compensation”)



# III. Palestinian Refugees

## 60 years after *Al-Nakba*

- **Policy-making body**
  - *Governing board*
  - *Consultative commission*
- **Return program**
  - *Return, resettlement and rehabilitation (based on free choice)*
- **Claims program**
  - *Restitution of refugee properties*
  - *Claims for compensation for damage to and loss of property*
  - *Claims for non-material damages*



# The Gaza Strip

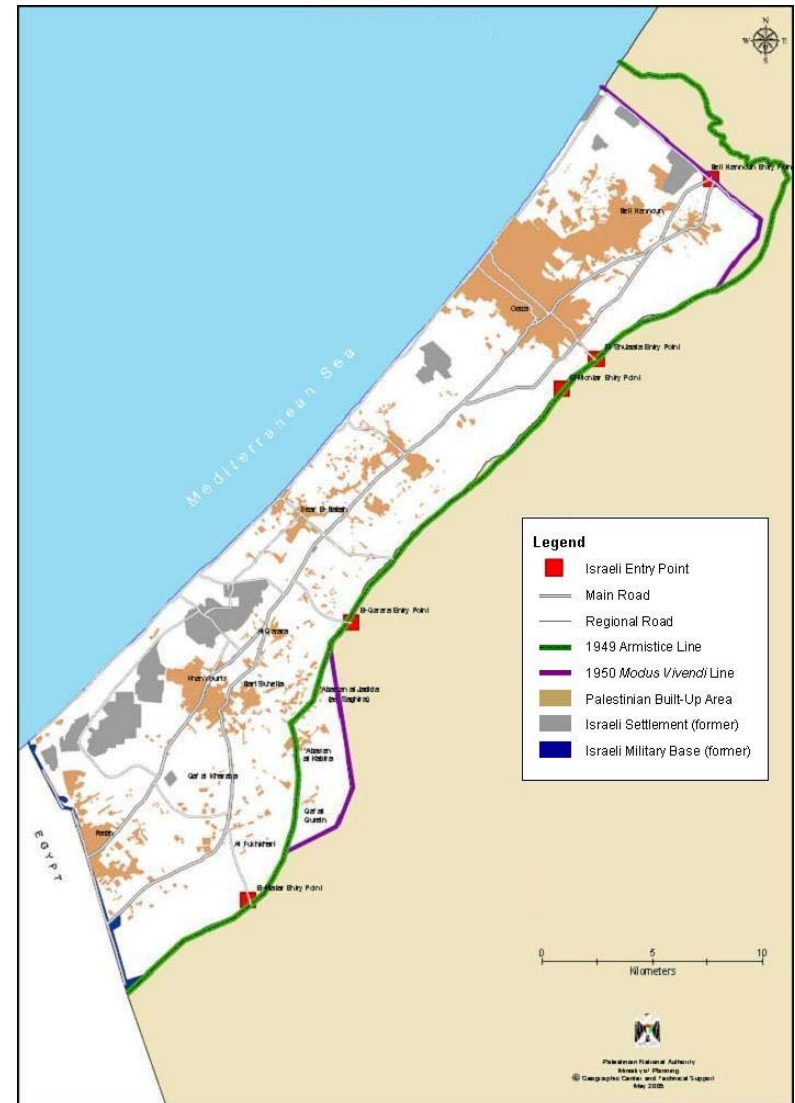
## Basic Facts

**Population:** 1.5 million (2007)  
70% Refugees

**Area:** 365 km<sup>2</sup>

**Unemployment:** 30% (2008)  
19% (2000)

**For. aid reliance:** 86% (of pop.)



# The Gaza Strip

## 'Disengagement' & The AMA (2005)

- **Despite international assurances, Palestinians' worst fears realized**  
*Disengagement alone will not alter this dangerous, unsustainable situation. Consolidation of WB facts on ground*  
*Gaza 1st, Gaza last*  
*If disengagement is implemented with wisdom and foresight, however, it could make a real difference."*
- **Agreement on Movement & Access**  
*James Wolfensohn, World Bank Pres. (June 2004)*
  1. Rafah & other Crossings
  2. Link between Gaza & West Bank
  3. Internal closures within West Bank
  4. Gaza Seaport & Airport



Legend



# Requirements for Palestinian State

## Security issues for negotiation

- Limitations on military capacity / alliances
- Israeli military presence and control
- International presence
- Security cooperation

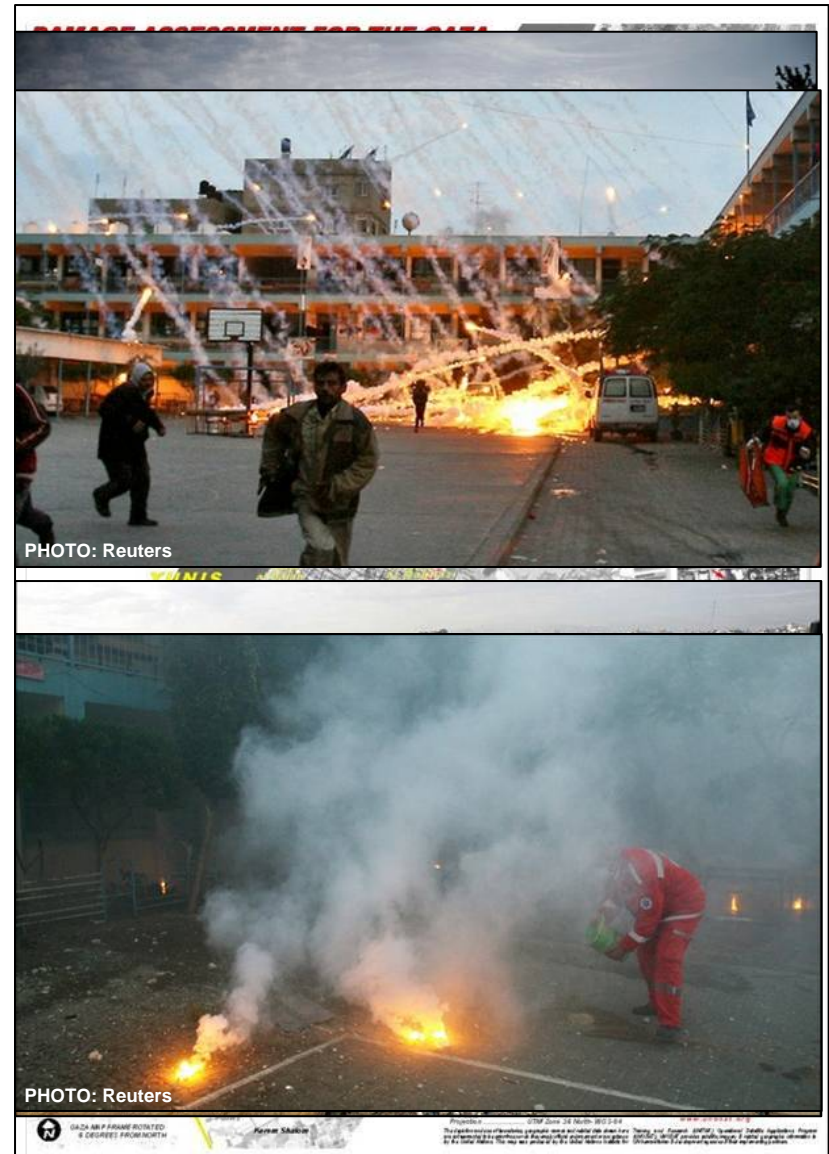
## Principles

- 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

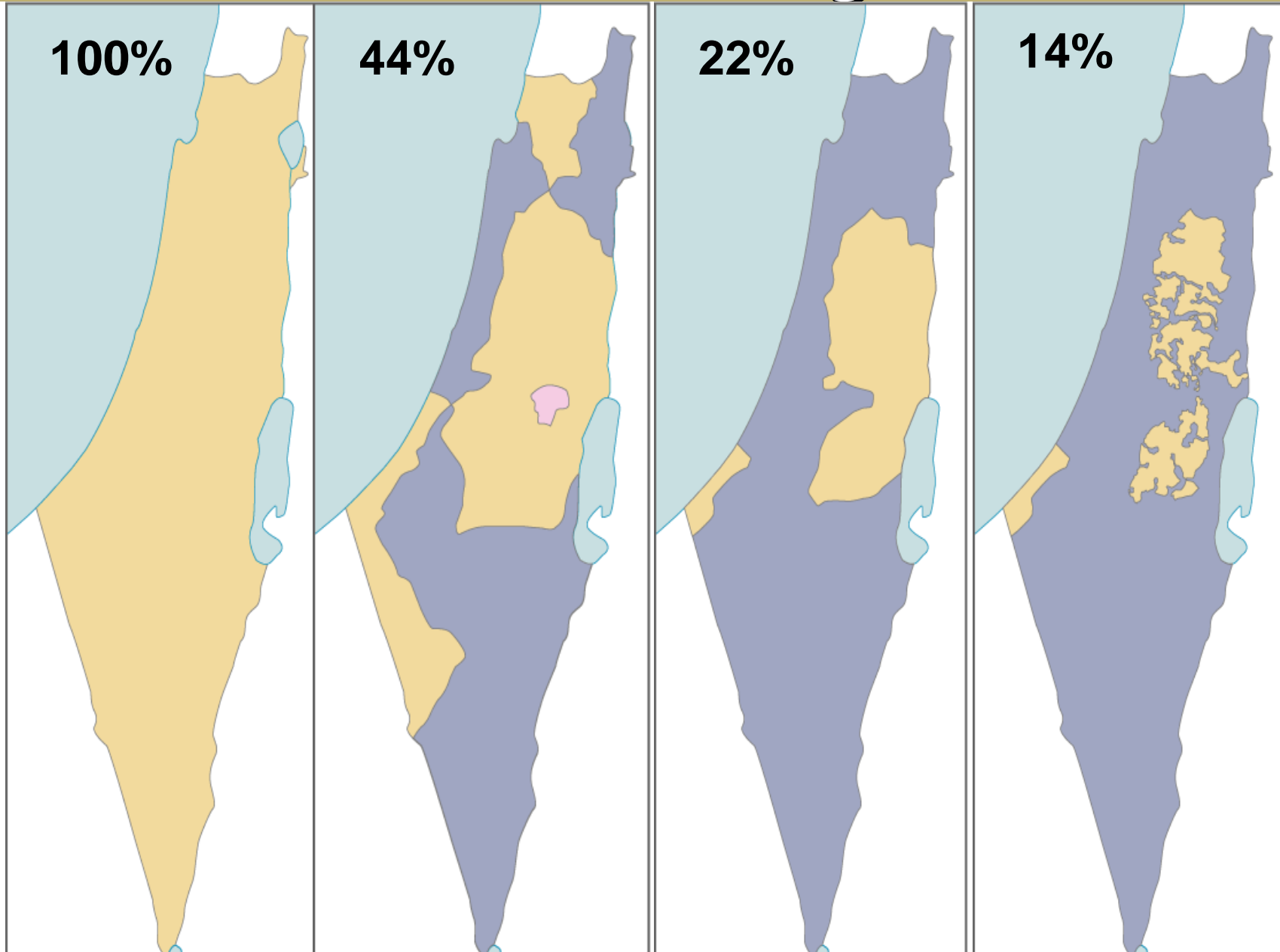
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# Historical Background





# Annapolis: Parallel Tracks

- **Permanent Status Negotiations:**

*“Immediately launch good faith bilateral negotiations in order to conclude a peace treaty resolving all outstanding issues”*

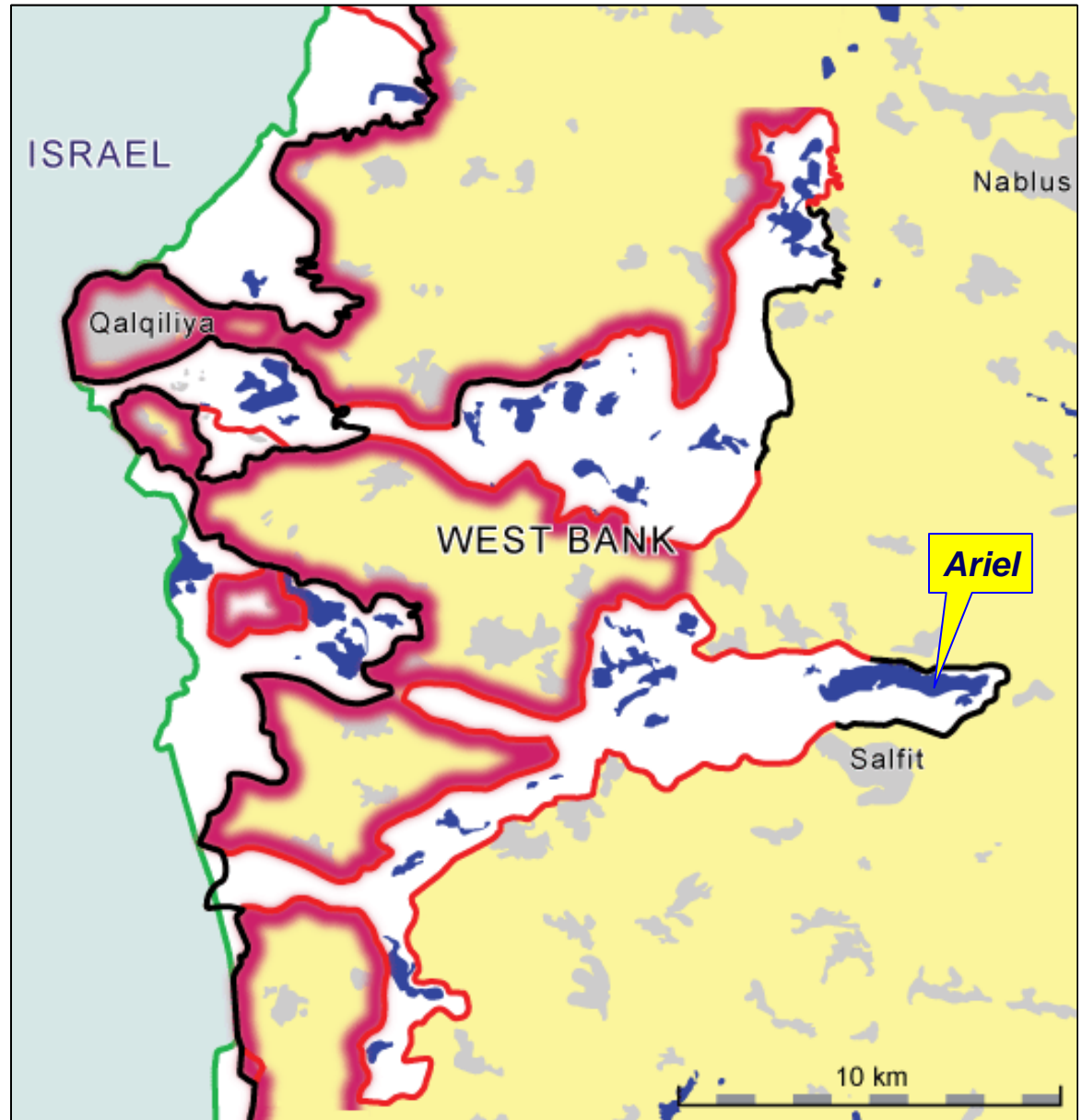
- **Road Map implementation:**

*“The parties also commit to immediately implement their respective obligations under the... Road Map...”*

# 'Facts on the Ground'

## Northern West Bank ("Ariel-Shomron")

- *Disabled agriculture*
- *Restricted urban dev.*
- *Non-viable enclaves*

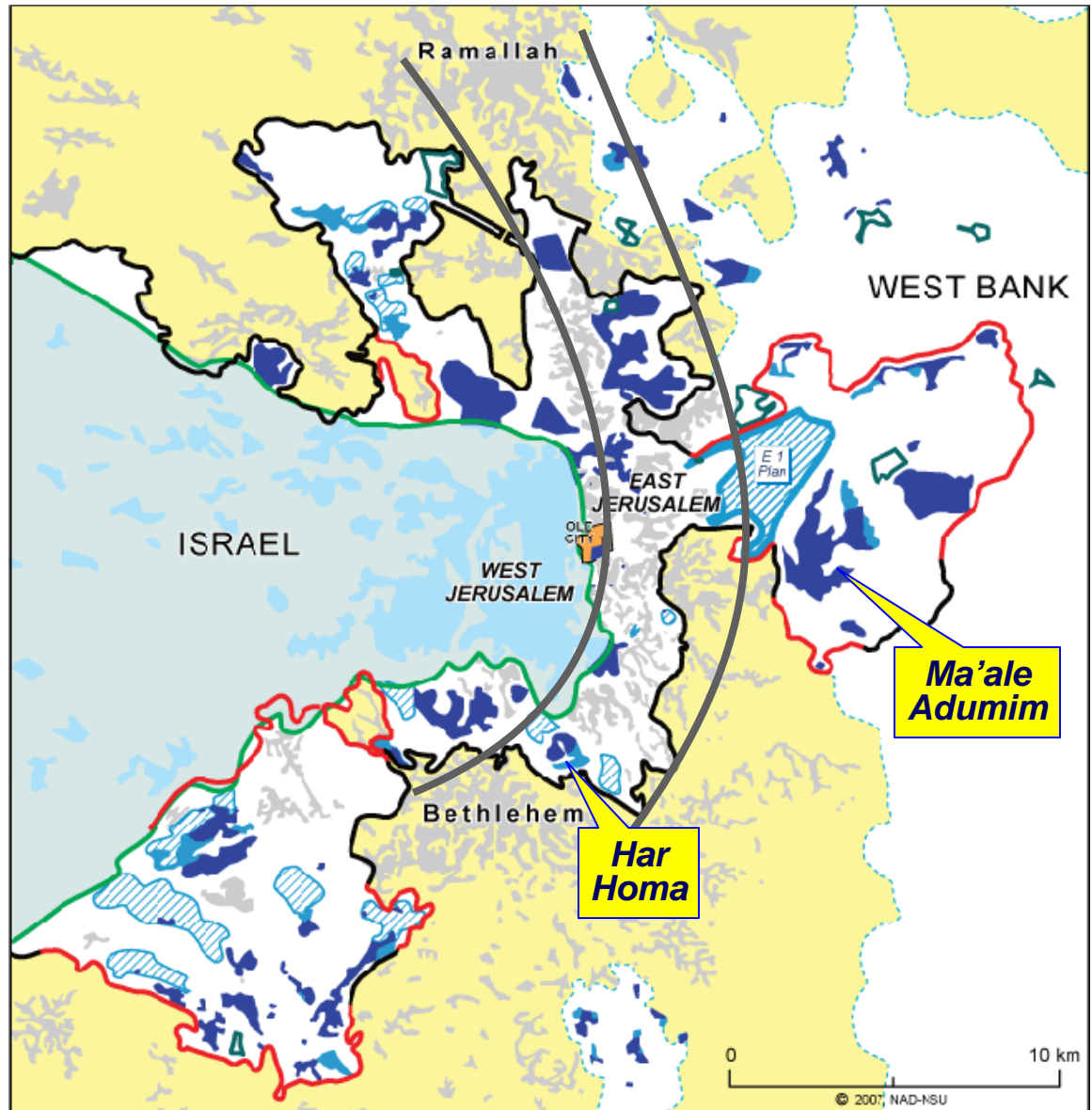


# 'Facts on the Ground'

## East Jerusalem

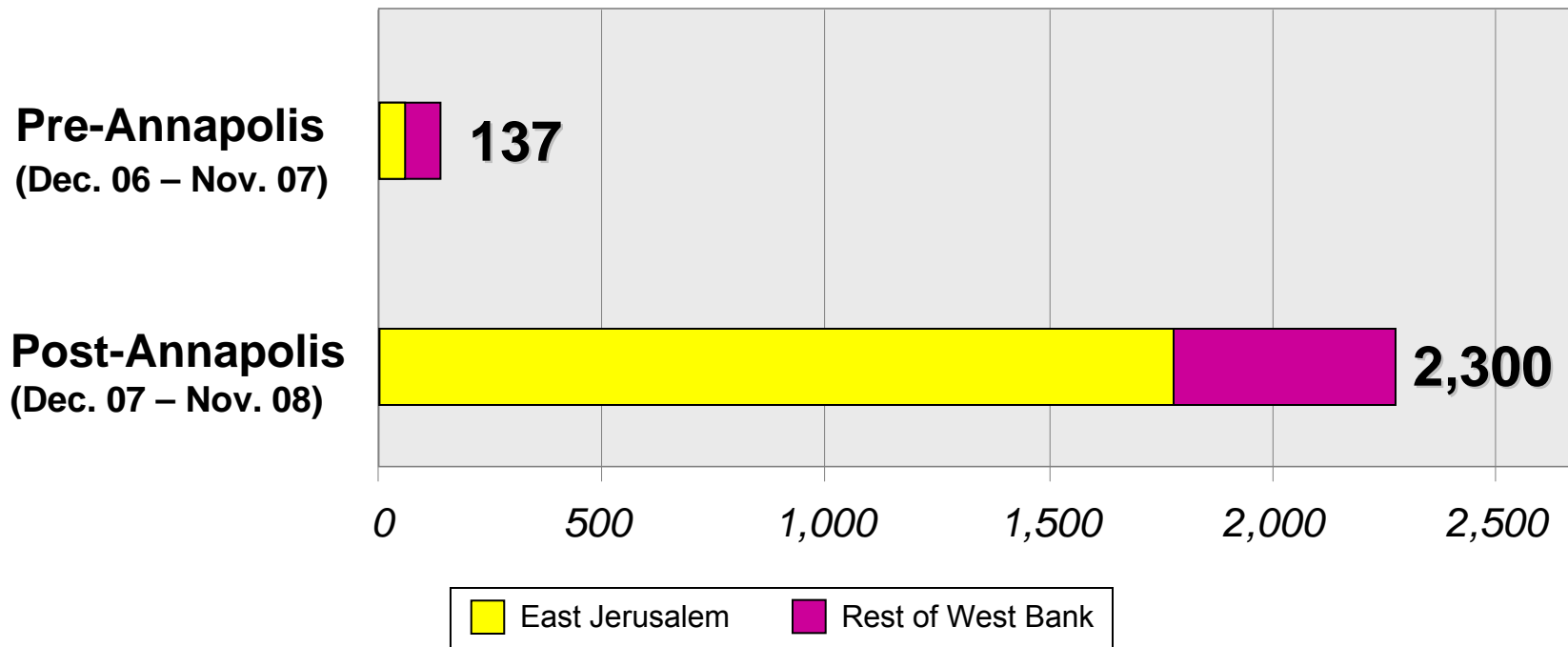
- *Cut off from rest of WB*
- *Internally fragmented*
- *WB severed in two*

**No Palestinian state is viable without its capital, East Jerusalem.**



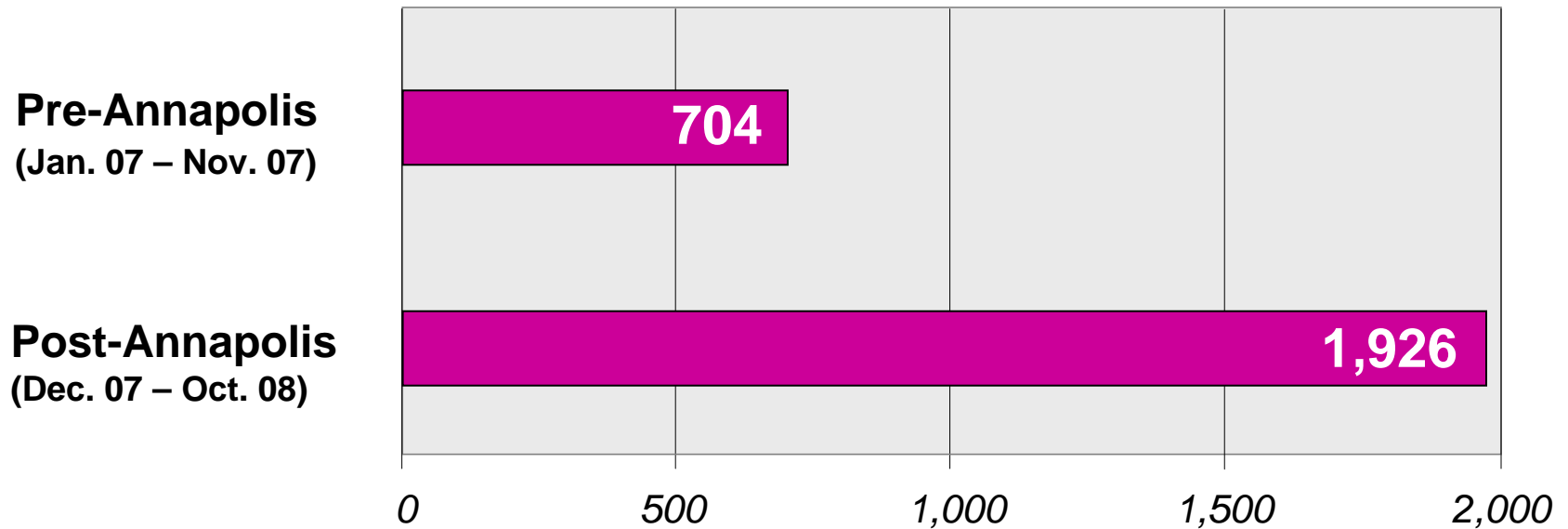
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