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Monitoring and Verification Mechanism for Quartet Roadmap

Introduction

A means of **monitoring and verifying implementation of the elements in the roadmap** is a prerequisite for successfully achieving a permanent status agreement based on the two-state solution as set forth in President Bush's vision as well as the Quartet vision statement and the Arab Summit Resolution.

The key feature of a workable monitoring and verifying mechanism is its capacity to **politically resolve disputes** between the two parties at all levels – grand strategic, strategic, operational, and tactical. While ultimate responsibility for implementation of the roadmap rests with the two parties, the monitoring and verification mechanism intends to guarantee mutual fulfillment of their respective commitments.

A great deal of work in this direction has already begun, particularly vis-à-vis, Palestinian commitments regarding reform. The following model takes **existing structures** already created by the Quartet and utilized by the United Nations and the World Bank and transforms them into a comprehensive system for overall monitoring and verification of the roadmap.

The international community, including the United States, has **consistently endorsed** some form of monitoring and verification since the conclusion of the Mitchell Report. The lack of monitoring has ensured the failure of any political agreement, including the Mitchell Report and the Tenet Workplan. The use of monitoring in the Palestinian reform efforts and at the Jericho prison on the other hand has helped ensure the continuing success of those particular activities.

The monitoring and verification mechanism outlined below **must begin concurrently with acceptance of the roadmap** and must continue until a permanent status agreement is concluded, at which time a new, more robust, third party role will be required. The mechanism, reflecting a broad international consensus, must have a **multinational composition** as well as Palestinian and Israeli representation at all levels.

The mechanism outlined below is not an observer group, a peacekeeping operation, or enforcement mission. It is a **specialized mechanism** that will require on the ground **experts and significant political intervention** in order to create the circumstances that will lead to a successful implementation of the two-state solution. This is the minimum kind of third party role that can be played by the international community to make the roadmap work. Anything less would be so nominal as to be counterproductive. If the political will to utilize such a minimalist monitoring and verification mechanism does not exist, it would indicate that the time is not ripe for presentation of a detailed roadmap.

The **financing** of the Monitoring and Verification Mission should be committed to in advance of the roadmap and be provided by the Quartet members on a timely basis to a Quartet Trust Fund set up specifically for this purpose. The availability of

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financing, personnel, and logistical assets must be an operating assumption of acceptance of the Mechanism.

Mechanism Summary

The proposed monitoring and verification mechanism functions at **four separate levels**. At the grand strategic level, the United Nations Security Council is the source of ultimate authority mandating the roadmap as well as the Monitoring and Verification Mechanism. At the strategic level, the Quartet functions as a Political Steering Body which reports to the Security Council. At the operational level, senior political representatives, under a Director General, in a Monitoring and Verification Commission ensure implementation on a daily basis. This level reports directly to the Quartet Political Steering Body. At the tactical level, specific Monitoring and Verification Committees are responsible for the routine implementation of the individual elements of the roadmap. These Committees are under the authority of and report to the Director General. These Committees will create the necessary Specialized Task Committees for addressing cross-cutting issues that affect more than one of the committees.

Grand Strategic (Multilateral) Level

The United Nations Security Council will provide ultimate oversight of implementation of the roadmap including its monitoring and verification.

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- The Security Council, in a resolution, will endorse the roadmap and explicitly mandate the Monitoring and Verification Mechanism.
- The Council will act under Chapter 6 of the Charter when mandating the mechanism.
- The Council will also receive recommendations from the Quartet Political Steering Committee on steps that need to be taken to facilitate implementation when there are problems. In this regard the Council will act as a supreme dispute resolution mechanism and final arbiter and may take all necessary measures to ensure implementation of the roadmap.
- The Security Council will be responsible for ensuring adherence to the timetable in the roadmap, judging the achievement of benchmarks, and responding to any breakdowns in the process.

Strategic (International) Level

The Quartet Political Steering Body will actively ensure implementation of the roadmap and the establishment and functioning of the Monitoring and Verification Mechanism. It will act as the guarantor of the international political will standing behind the roadmap.

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- The Political Steering Body will determine when conditions have been met to move from one phase of the road map to the next, while remaining cognizant of not allowing the timeline to be delayed.
- The Political Steering Body will decide, in consultation with both parties, the order of settlement evacuation, prior to a permanent status agreement, which makes possible the creation of a Palestinian state with provisional borders. Related to this, the Political Steering Body will determine the contiguous area within the Palestinian state that will be fully sovereign until a permanent status is reached.
- The Political Steering Body will appoint the Director General and the other members of the Monitoring Commission.
- It will resolve disputes that are submitted to it by the Monitoring Commission which the Director General has not managed to settle by providing politically weighty recommendations to the parties that must be implemented immediately. Recommendations of the Political Steering Body not accepted or that have failed to be implemented by the parties will then be submitted to the Security Council.
- The Principals of the Quartet will meet at least once every three months or on an emergency basis and will submit reports to the Security Council on the progress of its activities every three months. These reports will be submitted to the Parties and made public. The Envoys of the Quartet will maintain direct communication with the Director General in the intervening time.
- A critical task for the Political Steering Body is the establishment of a Trust Fund for the Monitoring and Verification Mechanism. The Political Steering Body will have financial oversight of the operations of the Monitoring and Verification Mechanism and will ensure a rapidly deployed and fully functioning financial office on the ground that can ensure quick disbursement of resources.
- The Quartet should immediately begin a planning process so that this financial office as well as all other aspects of the Monitoring and Verification Mechanism can begin functioning as soon as the roadmap is accepted.

Composition –

- The Political Steering Body is composed of both the Principals and Envoys of the Quartet.
- The Quartet may integrate other willing and relevant nations in its activities.
- The Political Steering Body will communicate directly with the Palestinian and Israeli heads of state who will be engaged on a regular basis.

Operational (National) Level

The Monitoring and Verification Commission, headed by a Director General, embodies strategic political will at the operational level. The Quartet Political Steering Body will appoint the Director General and the other members of the Commission. The Commission will have its own full time Secretariat that will include the financial office. The Commission will succeed the current Ad Hoc Liaison Committee.

Mandate –

The Director General

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- The Director General will act as the political commander of the process and will personally oversee all operational aspects of implementation of the roadmap and monitoring and verification of its progress. As the chief executive manager of the monitoring effort on the ground, he/she must be as responsive downwards to the needs of the mission staff as upwards to the Quartet Political Steering Body.
- The Director General will ensure that timetables in the roadmap are met and that benchmarks are achieved and will take proactive steps when necessary to address problems before they arise.
- The Director General will maintain continuous contact with the Quartet Envoys and will attend all Political Steering Body meetings.
- The Director General will maintain continuous contact with the Parties at various levels.
- The Director General will be principally responsible for establishing the Secretariat and, through the Secretariat, will ensure the staffing requirements of the Monitoring and Verification Committees.
- The Director General must personally maintain a permanent presence on the ground.

The Monitoring and Verification Commission

- The Commission has to ensure progress in the implementation of the roadmap on a daily basis through the exercise of its political authority.
- The Commission will receive reports from each of the Monitoring and Verification Committees on a weekly basis.
- The Commission will submit general reports to the Quartet Political Steering Body on a monthly basis. These reports will also be submitted to the Parties and be made public. If specific circumstances require, the Commission can appeal directly and immediately to the Quartet for action.
- The Commission will provide informal dispute resolution for any issue raised by any one of the Committees on a timely basis. If the recommendations of the Commission to the parties are not accepted or implemented, the Commission will immediately submit the issue to the Quartet Political Steering Body.
- The Commission should meet twice a week.
- The Commission must supervise and ensure the effectiveness of all financial arrangements, as well as provide accountability for expenditures.
- The Commission will appoint the members of the Committees, separate from the staffing of monitors for each Committee.
- The Commission will establish a full time headquarters office and Secretariat in the region.

The Commission Secretariat

- The Secretariat is the staff for both the Commission and the Director General in his role as the head of the Commission.
- The Secretariat is responsible for ensuring the organization of all Commission meetings, preparation of reports, collating of data, maintaining lines of communication remain open, and all other logistical and staffing requirements on the ground.

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- The Secretariat needs to include a 24 hour operations room at the Commission headquarters in the region and be able to respond to any issue raised by Committee members, individual monitors, either party, or anyone else – including independent NGOs.
- The Secretariat will include an official spokesperson for the mechanism although the Director General is responsible for crafting any public message or publicity or information campaign designed to promote implementation of the roadmap.
- The Secretariat is responsible for responding in a timely way and fulfilling the requirements and requests of the individual Committees in terms of all aspects of specialized information such as satellite imagery, logistics, finances and staffing.
- The financial office will be included in the Secretariat. This office must ensure rapid disbursements of funds to the tactical level to enable the Committees and their monitors to function at optimum efficiency.

Composition –

- The Director General must be a person of great authority, stature, and experience with strong leadership and management capabilities. He/she must be of a comparable political status to the Quartet Envoys and needs to embody strategic level political will applied to the operational level.
- The Commission must be reflective of the Quartet membership as well as other relevant and interested nations. The Commission liaises directly with the foreign ministers of Palestine and Israel.
- The Secretariat should have as wide a geographic spectrum as reasonable and should be selected based on their professional qualifications.

Tactical (Local) Level

Monitoring and Verification Committees will be established for each element in the roadmap. The existing Task Force Committees created for the Palestinian reform process will be absorbed to the extent they are relevant to the final roadmap. Each Committee will be appointed by the Commission but will also be staffed by the necessary numbers of monitors required for its purposes. In addition, the Committees will establish Specialized Task Committees to address issues that cut across more than one Committee's mandate. Each Committee will report directly to the Commission and include recommendations for problem solving or dispute resolution. The Committees will be at the forefront of interpreting the roadmap and ensuring its proper implementation. In the event of an irreconcilable dispute concerning interpretation of the roadmap, the Committee will submit the dispute, along with any recommendations, to the Commission for decision.

Mandate –

Reform Committees

- The existing task force committees for Local Government and Elections for Palestinian reform will be absorbed into Monitoring and Verification Reform Committees where relevant under the roadmap.

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- The Reform Committees will be responsible for daily oversight over all reform related elements of the roadmap.

Security Committee

- The existing security sector reform task force committee will be absorbed into a comprehensive Monitoring and Verification Security Committee.
- In addition to Palestinian security sector reform, the Security Committee will be responsible for Israeli withdrawal to pre-September 28 positions, Israeli withdrawal to prepare for Palestinian contiguity, security arrangements at the provisional borders of the Palestinian state (June 4, 1967 line), disarmament, and other security related aspects of the other committees including lifting of closures and settlement evacuation.
- The Security Committee will also be responsible for monitoring the cease-fire and any and all actions taken by either party to prejudice or in violation of the roadmap.

Settlements Committee

- The Settlements Committee will be responsible for overseeing all aspects of the settlement freeze including but not limited to local and international financial subsidies and incentives, infrastructure development, and relevant water issues.
- The Settlements Committee will set up the appropriate capacity and capability for gathering and analyzing information to monitor and ensure compliance with the settlement freeze. This will include obtaining specialized material such as satellite imagery which the Commission Secretariat will support.
- The Settlements Committee will be responsible for overseeing all aspects of settlements evacuation. This includes, but is not limited to, helping to identify those settlements that must be evacuated in order to provide for Palestinian viability and contiguity over a fully sovereign area of the state with provisional borders, as the basis of recommendations to be submitted to the Quartet Political Steering Body for final determination. This also includes, but is not limited to, helping identify settlements that must be evacuated in the lead up to a permanent status agreement, also as part of recommendations to be submitted to the Quartet Political Steering Body for final determination. The Committee will provide its report to the Director General for submission to the Quartet Political Steering Body for inclusion in the roadmap. In this regard, the Committee will also identify the necessary related security requirements.

Economic/Civil Affairs Committee

- The existing Task Force Committees for Economics and Trade and Finances Reform will be absorbed into the Economic/Civil Affairs Committee.
- The Economic/Civil Affairs Committee will oversee all economic measures to be undertaken under the roadmap, including lifting of closures and free movement of goods and labor, opening of border crossings, and return of all Palestinian revenue.

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- The Economic/Civil Affairs Committee will oversee the implementation of all the measures in the Bertini Report to improve humanitarian conditions including lifting curfews and easing movement between Palestinian areas.
- The Economic/Civil Affairs Committee will oversee reconstruction efforts mandated by the roadmap.

Statehood Committee

- The Statehood Committee will be responsible for overseeing all preparations for international recognition of a Palestinian state with provisional borders.

Specialized Task Committees

- Relevant Monitoring and Verification Committees will establish Specialized Task Committees for cross-cutting issues such as those that intersect between security and economics, security and settlements, security and statehood, and local governance and reconstruction.

Composition –

The Committees

- The members and the chairs of the Committees will be appointed by the Monitoring and Verification Commission.
- The Committees must be multinational in composition and must be highly specialized.
- Each Committee will be staffed by a sufficient number of monitors necessary to accomplish its mandate.
- Each Committee will work with the one Palestinian and one Israeli liaison official appointed for the purpose. The Committees will also be in direct and continuous contact with any relevant official on either side with command authority over military or civilian staff who will be required to implement that element of the workplan.
- The Specialized Task Committees should include anyone relevant to the accomplishment of that task including Committee members, monitors, representatives of the two sides, non-governmental organizations, and any other appropriate individual.

The Monitors

- The monitors must be multinational in composition, highly specialized, and must report to the Committees.