

PLAN TO REVIVE THE POLITICAL PROCESS BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS

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The purpose of the peace process as outlined by the relevant UN resolutions, Road Map (RM), and the Arab peace initiative of March 2002 is to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including the occupation that began in 1967, on the basis of the principle of land for peace, respect for human rights, and the establishment of two states in accordance with UN Resolutions 242, 338, 1397 and 1515. Any steps taken by either the Israelis or Palestinians should be an integral part of the RM and should aim at realizing this goal.

Pursuant to the above, now is the time:

- 1) All parties now understand the urgent need to arrive at a comprehensive settlement that addresses the root causes of regional conflict and instability, namely the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.
- 2) Recent events have shown that only negotiated agreements like those achieved with Jordan and Egypt based on Israeli withdrawal from territory acquired by force can provide Israel with the security it seeks, and that unilateralism has failed.
- 3) We must seize the historical opportunity that exists now to address the needs and concerns of the Palestinians and Israelis and the desire of both peoples and the region to live in peace and good neighborliness and to provide future generations with security, stability and prosperity.

Commencing the Process: Agreed Principles for Peace

To launch the process, the Government of Israel and the PLO will agree upon a set of governing principles for an end of the occupation that began in 1967 and a resolution of the core issues of the conflict. The agreement will also identify the “way stations” towards a permanent status agreement as outlined in this plan.

The principles will be formulated according to the terms of reference of the Middle East Peace Process, including the Road Map, UNSC Resolutions 242, 338, 1397 and 1515, and the Arab Peace Initiative. The principles will address all issues in the conflict and thereby set out the “end game” along with the stages, or “way stations,” and the timeline. The core elements of the principles will be:

- The end of the occupation that started in June 1967.
- The establishment of a sovereign Palestinian state within 18 months of the signing of the Principles. The state of Palestine will have full control over its territory, population, borders, airspace, and territorial waters and natural resources. It will enjoy the full attributes of sovereignty according to international law (in particular the Montevideo rules).
- The borders of Palestine will be the 1967 borders with the possibility of minor,

reciprocal and equal modifications to be agreed in the third stage.

- The capital of Palestine will be East Jerusalem. Exact borders will be agreed in the third stage.
- Evacuation of all Israeli presence, including settlements, from the territory of Palestine. Exceptions will be agreed in the third stage.
- The issue of water will be resolved in the third stage on an equitable and reasonable basis in accordance with international law.
- The issue of the refugees will be resolved in the third stage in a just and agreed-upon manner in accordance with UN GA Resolution 194.
- These Principles will be endorsed by the international community through a resolution of the United Nations Security Council.

Quartet members will facilitate launching the process and continue their involvement in supporting the peace process as called for in the Road Map. Arab states will endorse and support the conclusion of the Palestinian-Israeli principles for peace.

Due to the uniqueness of the Palestinian-Israeli track, we envision 3 stages to implement the agreed principles. It is imperative that the Principles should specify that the stages must be implemented within 18 months of commencing the process. This timeline will also be endorsed by a UN Security Council resolution, the Arab states and the Quartet.

STAGE 1:

In the first stage, each side will undertake to fulfill their outstanding obligations under the Road Map and implement existing agreements, with the goal of normalizing Palestinian life and setting the stage for a peaceful transfer of territory.

The Palestinian side will:

- 1) Either form a unity government that accepts the Agreed Principles as part of its platform or conduct early presidential and legislative elections to realize the opportunity created by the Agreed Principles.
- 2) In accordance with the Road Map, begin sustained, targeted and effective operations aimed at restoring the rule of law and one authority (“one gun”). This includes commencing confiscation of illegal weapons and consolidation of security authority.
- 3) Take steps to strengthen and rebuild Palestinian institutions

These actions should have the following results:

- A) Achieve a comprehensive, reciprocal and simultaneous cessation of violence including the cessation of firing Qassam rockets from the Gaza Strip and a total cessation of Israeli military actions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in

accordance with prior agreements.

B) Compliance by the new Palestinian government with all the commitments of the PLO and the Palestinian Authority under existing agreements.

C) Release of the imprisoned Israeli soldier Shalit.

The Israeli side will:

- 1) Commit to take no action undermining trust, including expulsions, attacks on civilians, confiscation and/or demolition of Palestinian homes and property, including in East Jerusalem.
- 2) Release a significant number of Palestinian prisoners including those who spent more than 20 years in jail, women, children and sick prisoners, and jailed political leaders as well as the PLC and cabinet members. The issue of wanted activists of the Intifada and deportees should also be settled.
- 3) Take measures to improve the humanitarian and economic situation on the ground, notably by taking the following actions:
 - A) Israel's full withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the implementation of the Access and Movement agreement (AMA) leading to the opening of the crossing points at Rafah, Al Mintar (Karni), Sufa, Erez (Beit Hanoun), and Karm Abu Salem (Kerem Shalom) for imports from Egypt, and the establishment of a link allowing free movement of people, goods and vehicles between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.
 - B) Ending the Israeli internal closure within the West Bank and the removal of check points and other physical barriers, allowing for freedom of movement within the West Bank, including East Jerusalem and from and to the Gaza Strip, and access to the Holy Sites in Jerusalem, restoring the situation in the West Bank to that which existed prior to September 28, 2000.
 - C) Allow the reconstruction of the Gaza Port and the re-opening of Gaza Airport by providing the necessary guarantees.
- 4) Resume security coordination between Israelis and Palestinians with US assistance. Also, allowing the Palestinian side to obtain weapons, ammunition, and equipment and vehicles and to rebuild the training and communication centers of the Palestinian security apparatuses, with the objective of strengthening and consolidating the Palestinian security forces.
- 5) Reopen Palestinian Chamber of Commerce, Orient House and other closed Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem as stipulated in the RM.
- 6) As required by the RM, freeze all settlement activity including "natural growth" of settlements.

7) Dismantle settlement outposts erected since March 2001, as called for in the RM.

The two sides will activate bi-lateral committees (finance, economic, infrastructure, civil affairs, security, people-to-people, anti-incitement and others) under the umbrella of the bi-lateral Steering and Monitoring Committee.

Third parties will participate to support the implementation of these steps and with a view to achieving the agreed-upon principles. In particular, The EU will expand its role with respect to monitoring and capacity building at the border crossings. The existing agreements and forums will be expanded beyond the Rafah Crossing to include EU presence at all border crossings, including the airport and seaport crossings.

Donor governments:

In parallel with the first stage, a conference for the donor countries under the umbrella of the AHLC headed by Norway will be held to announce the resumption of donor funding to the Palestinian Authority to the same levels of the end of 2005, the delivery of the \$3 billion in assistance pledged to the Palestinians at the G8 summit in Scotland in July 2005, and the termination of the Temporarily International Mechanism (TIM) created after the Palestinian elections in January 2006. This will enable the Palestinian Authority to restore the rule of law and public order, improve the economic and social conditions of the Palestinian people, and to rebuild the infrastructure.

The Quartet will provide monitoring mechanisms to ensure the implementation of mutual obligations in this stage.

The elements of this stage will be completed or put in place within 4 months.

STAGE 2:

This stage will focus on:

- A) Israeli forces will withdraw from additional territory: from all Areas A & B of the West Bank and additional territory.
- B) The parties will coordinate on security to gradually transfer evacuated areas to full Palestinian control. Area B will be eliminated and turned into Area A status. Palestinian Authority will assume full security and civil jurisdiction over defined areas.
- C) Israel will evacuate certain settlements, including all settlements within the territory from which it redeployed, leading to maximum territorial contiguity as agreed upon. Areas of military withdrawals and further settlement evacuation will be phased and determined by joint agreement (see Maps in Annex I).
- D) Israel will continue to freeze all settlement activities including “natural growth”.

- E) Wall construction will be suspended.
- F) Safe passage arrangements between West Bank and Gaza are reinstated as stipulated by previous agreements.
- G) Israel will revoke all movement restrictions, including permit requirements, isolating East Jerusalem, areas west of the Wall, and the Jordan Valley, and refrain from undertaking any actions that may preempt or prejudice the issues reserved for Permanent Status negotiations.
- H) Area C in the Jordan Valley will be re-designated as an Agro-Industrial zone for the implementation of regional projects as determined by joint agreement.

Both sides commit to continue to perform the obligations from stage 1.

Israel will release additional Palestinian prisoners.

Third Party Role:

The Quartet will provide monitoring mechanisms to ensure the implementation of mutual obligations in this stage.

European monitors will continue to expand presence at border crossings in Gaza Strip and West Bank, including airport and seaport crossings.

Japan will commit to developing the “corridor for peace” in the Jordan Valley in coordination with relevant parties.

Norway will be responsible for restoring the AHLC process to that which existed before the end of December 2005.

STAGE 3:

Parallel with stages 1 and 2, and under the auspices of the US, the two sides will commence talks on comprehensive a comprehensive permanent status agreement based upon the Agreed Principles. The talks will aim to realize President Bush’s vision of a two state solution: the creation of a sovereign Palestinian state living side by side with Israel in peace and security and a resolution of the core issues of Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, borders, water, and security. The goal will be to conclude a comprehensive historic peace treaty between the two sides under the auspices of the Quartet.

Upon the signing of the Permanent Status agreement, all remaining Palestinian prisoners will be released.

This stage is to be completed within the 18 month period specified for the achievement of this plan.