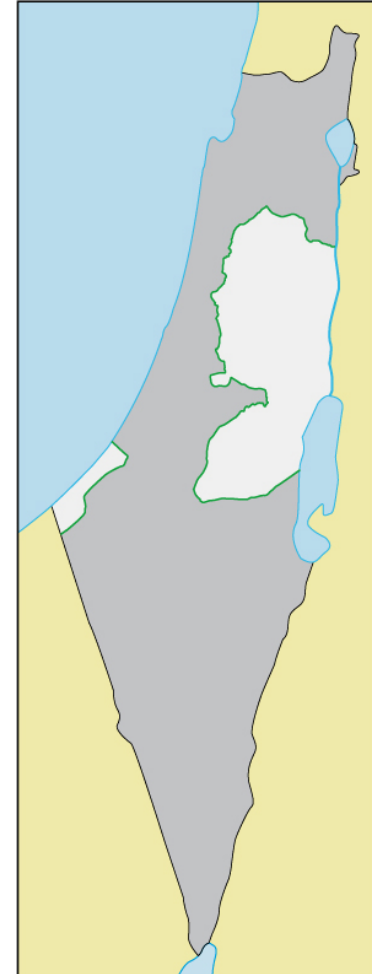


Ending 40 Years of Occupation

The Arab Peace Initiative as the Basis for Peace



PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATION
Negotiations Affairs Department
Negotiations Support Unit

Today's Presentation

- **Re-launch of Arab Peace Initiative offers a real and tangible opportunity to define the end game ('political horizon').**
- **Gaza 'disengagement' and the AMA failed to improve the lives of Palestinians or generate a meaningful political process.**
- **Israeli unilateral measures are imposing an unacceptable final status outcome and increasing insecurity on the ground.**

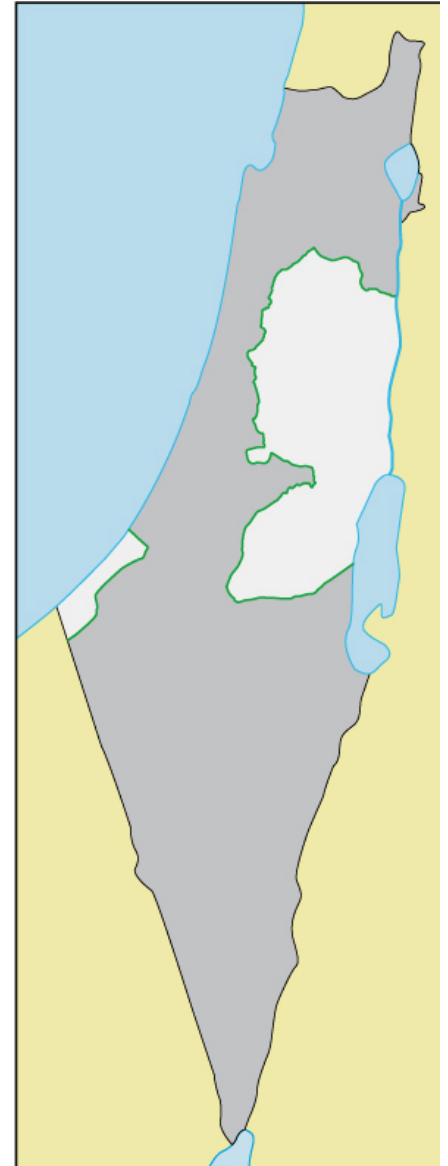
The Way Forward

Arab Peace Initiative (API)

- I. *“Full Israeli withdrawal from all the territories occupied since 1967...”*
- II. *“...a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem to be agreed upon in accordance with UNGA Res. 194.”*
- III. *“...establishment of a sovereign independent Palestinian state...with East Jerusalem as its capital.”*

In return, Arab States will:

“Consider the Arab-Israeli conflict ended, and enter into a peace agreement with Israel... [and] establish normal relations with Israel...”



The Way Forward

Requirements for Peace

- **Statehood (sovereignty, contiguity, viability)**
- **East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine**
- **Refugees: just and agreed upon**

Obstacles to Peace

- **Non-implementation of the AMA and other agreements**
- **Israeli 'facts on the ground' (esp. in and around East Jerusalem)**
- **Refusal to address Refugee issue**



AMA Non-Implementation

The Quartet - withdrawal from Gaza should be:

- *“full and complete”*
- *“undertaken in a manner consistent with the Road Map”*
- *“a step towards an end to the Israeli occupation that began in 1967...”*

– 22 September 2004 Quartet Statement

“Palestinians must feel that the day after disengagement they have hope for increased prosperity and opportunity, not that they are living in a prison.”

– Testimony of James D. Wolfensohn before Senate For. Rel. Com., 30 June 2005

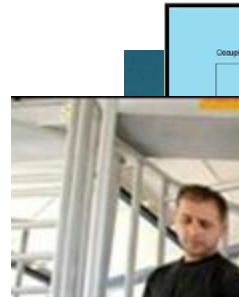
“The disengagement is actually formaldehyde. It supplies the amount of formaldehyde that is necessary so there will not be a political process with the Palestinians.”

– Dov Weisglass, Ha'aretz interview 6 October 2004

AMA Non-Implementation

1. Rafah

- All Palestinian ID holders
- Some foreign ID holders
- Exports
- (Kerem Shalom) Imports from Egypt with Palestinian customs clearance



2. Crossing points

- Continuous operation
- Common management
- Service standards
- Technology
- All agricultural products
- Developing Palestinian side

3. Gaza-West Bank link

4. West Bank internal movement

5. Gaza seaport

6. Airport



Image © 2007 TerraMetrics
Image © 2007 DigitalGlobe

© 2007 Google™

Pointer 31°14'02.13" N 34°16'10.94" E elev 319 ft Streaming 100%

Eye alt 3278 ft

Equipment rusting at a Gazan wharf
OCHA / Gaza, City March 2007

AMA Non-Implementation

1. Rafah

- All Palestinian ID holders
- Some foreign ID holders
- Exports
- (Kerem Shalom) Imports from Egypt with Palestinian customs clearance

2. Crossing points

- Continuous operation
- Common management
- Service standards
- Technology
- All agricultural products
- Developing Palestinian side

3. Gaza-West Bank link

4. West Bank internal movement

5. Gaza seaport

6. Airport

*“... the expected positive economic effects from Israel’s disengagement from Gaza in September 2005 have so far failed to bear out... **On the contrary, the worst-case scenario has unfolded.**”*

– World Bank, WBG CEM (Sep. 2006)

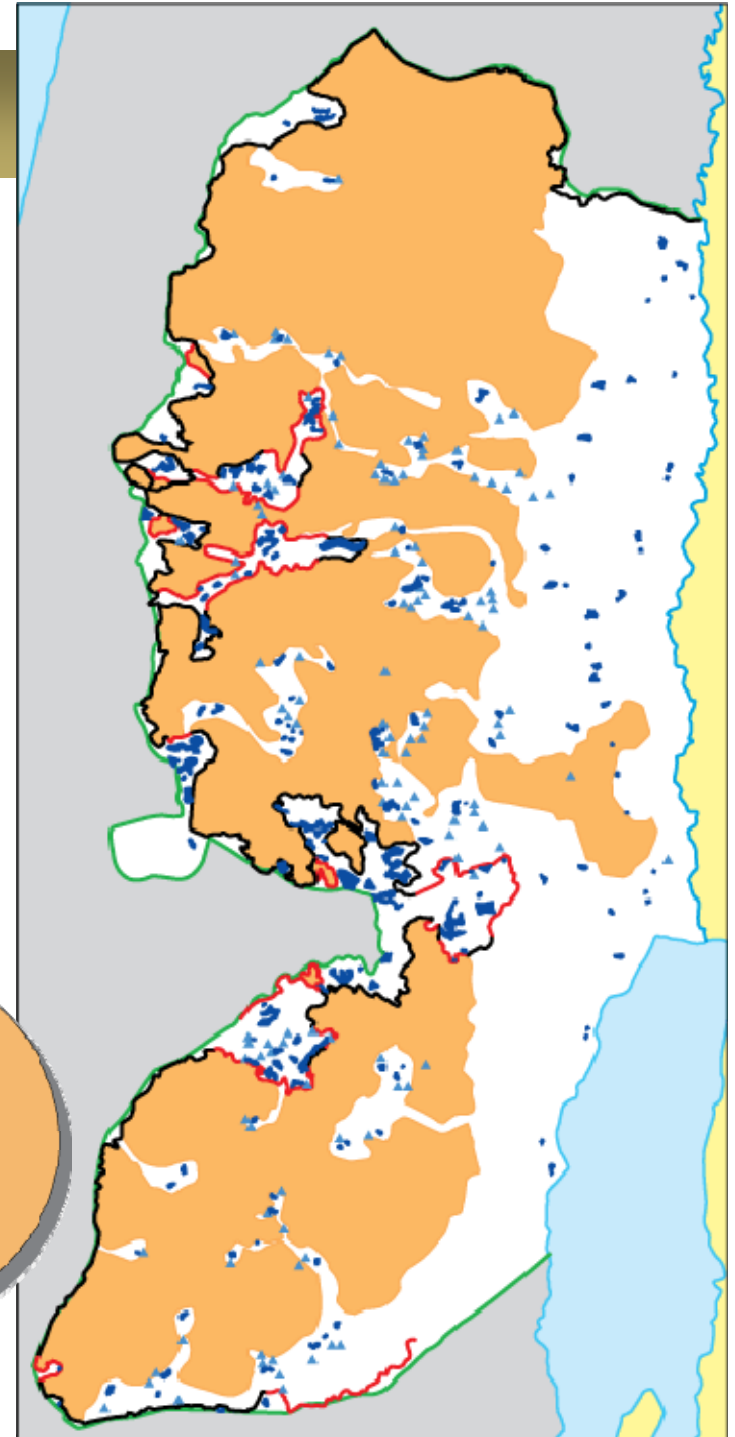
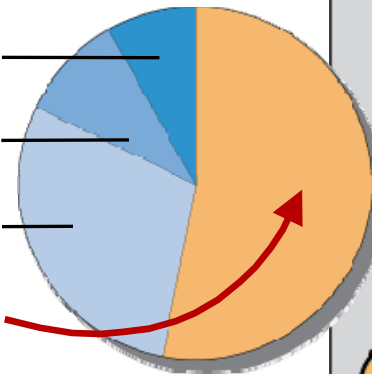
The Settlement Enterprise

Israeli 'Facts on the Ground'

- (1) Settlements
- (2) The Wall (and its regime)
- (3) Settler / By-pass roads
- (4) Internal Closure Regimes



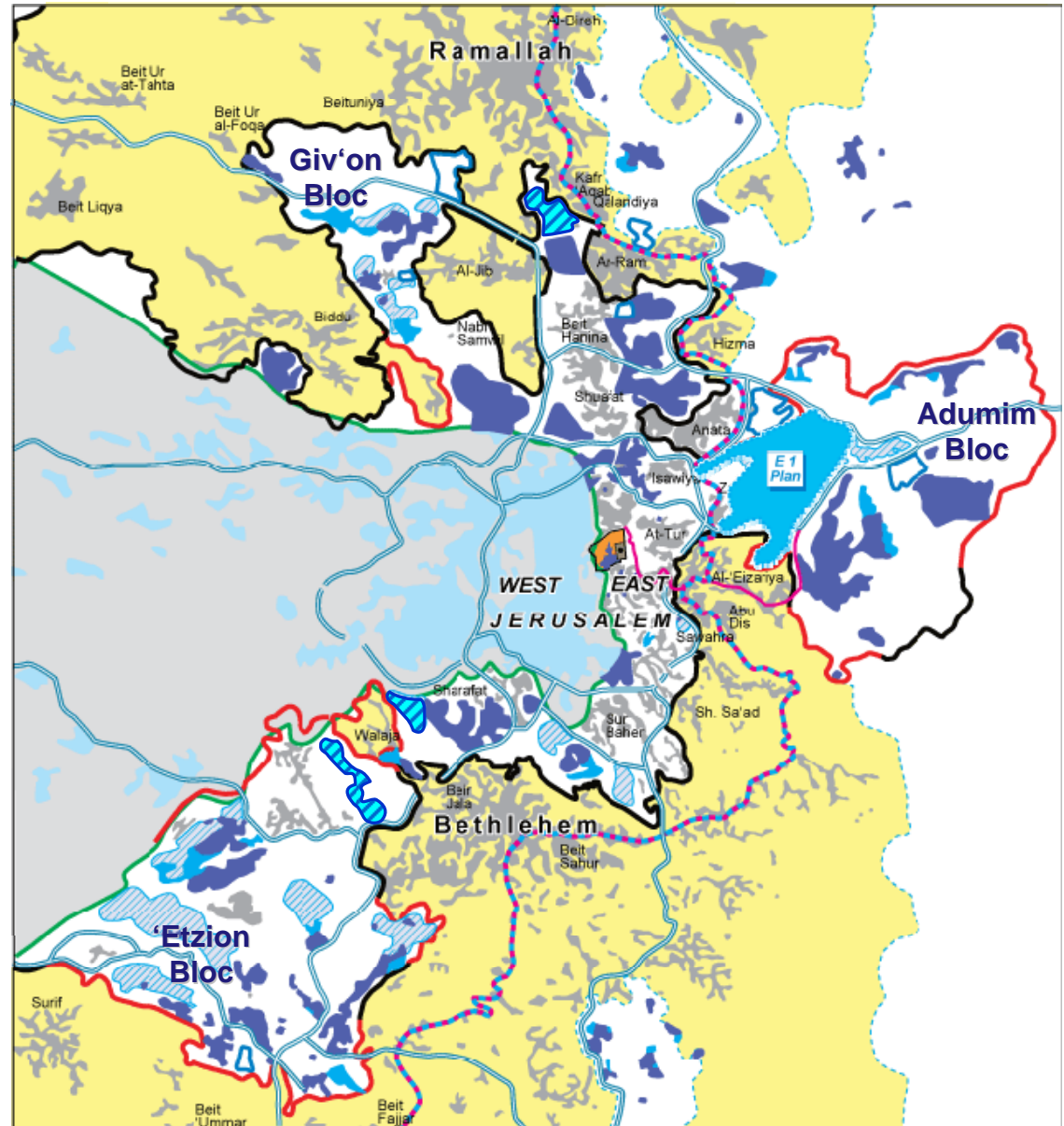
WB land west of Wall:	9.0%
Settlement areas east of Wall:	8.0%
Jordan Valley settlement control:	28.5%
Area remaining for Palestinians:	54.5%




Palestinian East Jerusalem

- *Isolation from rest of WB*
- *Severing WB in half*
- *Economic suffocation*
- *Denial of religious freedom, access to holy sites*

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



Palestinian Refugees



“I will not agree to accept any kind of Israeli responsibility for the refugees. Full stop... I don't think that we should accept any kind of responsibility for the creation of this problem. Full stop.”

– PM Olmert, Jerusalem Post interview, 29 Mar. 2007

Defining the 'Political Horizon'

Bush Vision & The Roadmap (2002-03)

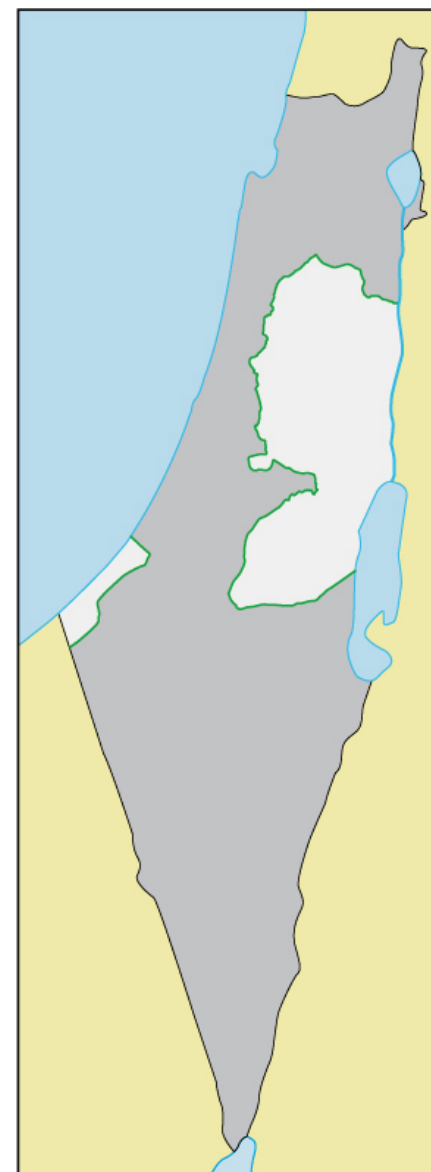
- *"viable Palestinian state living side by side in peace and security"*
- *"...end the occupation that began in 1967"*
- *"must also resolve questions concerning Jerusalem... [and] refugees"*

Bush 'Assurances' (May 2005)

- *"...changes to the 1949 Armistice lines must be mutually agreed"*
- *"...two-state solution must ensure contiguity of the West Bank"*
- *"Israel should not undertake any activity that... prejudice final status negotiations with regard to Gaza, the West Bank and Jerusalem."*

Arab Peace Initiative (April 2007)

- *"Full Israeli withdrawal from all the territories occupied since 1967"*
- *"...a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem to be agreed upon in accordance with UNGA Res. 194."*
- *"...establishment of a sovereign independent Palestinian state... with East Jerusalem as its capital."*



Defining the 'Political Horizon'

(1) Statehood

- *Border: June 4th 1967 line*
- *Possible minor, reciprocal and equal modifications (1:1 swap)*

(2) Jerusalem

- *Two capitals for two states*

(3) Refugees

- *Acknowledgement of refugee rights*
- *Implementation through direct negotiations (menu of options)*

Conclusions

- **The U.S. & Quartet should work with key Arab states to help the parties define a clear ‘political horizon’.**
- **The international community should encourage Israel not to miss the historic opportunity represented by the API.**
- **The U.S., Quartet and other 3rd parties should continue, in parallel, efforts to improve conditions on the ground, including a settlement freeze.**