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Palestinian Vision for the Outcome of Permanent Status Negotiations **Based on the Arab Peace Plan**

At this critical time when the international community is seeking to formulate a comprehensive policy regarding the Middle East, the Palestinian Authority ("PA") believes that it is important to convey the Palestinian vision for ending the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This vision is based on the Arab initiative declared by the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia and adopted unanimously by the Arab summit in Beirut. While many creative and constructive ideas regarding ending the current crisis are being presented, we believe that these ideas will not succeed if they are not accompanied by a clear political horizon that will rekindle hope in a permanent peace based on a negotiated solution.

The Palestinian clarifications described below had been discussed with our Arab friends, in particular Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Jordan, all of whom share our opinion regarding the centrality of a vision of peace to the success of any efforts.

The Arab Peace Initiative of March 2002 forms our basic terms of reference. This initiative along with the vision of President Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell's speech of November 2001, and UN Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, and 1397, are the bases of the Palestinian vision for a permanent status agreement between Palestine and Israel. According to these bases, the following are the main elements of our vision:

- The borders between the state of Palestine and the state of Israel will be the June 4th 1967 Armistice Line, though the two sides may agree to minor, reciprocal, and equal boundary rectifications that do not affect, among other things, territorial contiguity. The Palestinian and Israeli sides shall have no territorial claims beyond the June 4, 1967 borders. These borders will be the permanent boundaries between the two states.
- There will be a permanent territorial corridor established between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip sections of the state of Palestine.
- East Jerusalem will become the capital of the state of Palestine and West Jerusalem will become the capital of the State of Israel.
- Jerusalem, which is venerated by the three monotheistic religions, will remain open to all peoples.
- The Palestinian side will transfer sovereignty over the Jewish Quarter and the Wailing Wall section of the Western Wall in East Jerusalem to Israel, while retaining sovereignty over the remainder of the Old City.
- Palestine and Israel will establish security cooperation arrangements that preserve the integrity and sovereignty of each state. International forces will play a central role in these arrangements. In addition, the two sides will strive to establish a regional security regime.

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- Neither Palestine nor Israel will participate in military alliances against each other, or allow their territory to be used as a military base of operation against each other or against other neighbors. No foreign troops may be stationed in the territory of either state unless otherwise specified in the permanent status agreement or subsequently agreed to by the two parties. Palestine and Israel's respective sovereignty and independence will be guaranteed by formal agreements with members of the international community.
- In accordance with the Arab Peace Initiative of March 2002, there will be a just and *agreed* solution to the Palestinian refugee problem based on UN General Assembly Resolution 194.
- The issue of water will be resolved in a just and equitable manner in accordance with international treaties and norms.
- Palestine and Israel will be democratic states with free market economies.
- The comprehensive permanent status agreement will mark the end of conflict between Palestine and Israel, and its complete implementation will mark the end of claims between them.

Naturally, the realization of this vision requires a parallel process that will create concrete and positive developments on the ground. These will require a policy of de-escalation, de-occupation, ensuring the protection of Palestinian and Israeli peoples in accordance with the rule of law, and the gradual introduction of attributes of sovereignty to buttress and prepare the ground for a permanent status agreement.

There should be a fixed timeline for this process with guaranteed diplomatic involvement in order to ensure that the process does not stall. Part of preparing for eventual Palestinian statehood requires internal Palestinian restructuring, which we have already embarked on in the political, financial, and security fields. In the security realm, the ideas suggested by CIA Director George Tenet will be the basis for our efforts.

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