

# Principles for a Political Peace Agreement between Palestine and Israel

## Introduction

The current problems that the Palestinian-Israeli peace process faces are not surprising. They are outcomes and outposts of the failure of the peace process since its initiation in 1991 to adopt the concepts and principles of: First: Equal rights to all those living between the river and the sea in Palestine and Israel, second: That the rights of one side should not exceed the rights of the other, and third: That the enforcement of the rights of one side should not be done in a way that prejudices against the rights of the other side.

Without minimizing the achievements of that peace process including the establishment of a Palestinian National authority in the Palestinian land, the gap of rights that was not solved during this process, widened over the last 19 years, fed by demonizing and dehumanizing the other, and the non-recognition of the other in practice, leading to the continuation of the settlement expansions, killings, land confiscations, closure, and all the other aspects of collective punishment, and dehumanization.

Upon that we are suggesting to revive the peace process based on the following principles:

## Principles

First: Statehood: Two states based on 1967 borders, that each is for its citizens and residents. In this regard it will be encouraged that President Abu Mazen, and Prime Minister Netanyahu will make the following statements each in parallel:

Abu Mazen: I recognize Israel in 1967 borders as the state of the Jewish People, and its citizens and residents.

Netanyahu: I recognize Palestine in 1967 borders as the state of the Palestinian people, and its citizens and residents.

Such statehood will mean that the Palestinians living in Israel since 1948 will continue to do as full citizens of Israel, without being in any time under the threat of transfer. Also the Palestinian refugees will have as one of the options to be presented to them, the option of going back to Israel and to become Israeli citizens, or Palestinian residents there as 181 UN resolution of 1948 stated.

On the other hand the settlers will have the option of staying in the Palestinian state as citizens, or as residents who will continue to be Israeli Citizens at the same time.

Special arrangements for the movement between the two countries, will be created for those citizens of each country, who will continue to reside in the other country.

Second: Borders: The borders between the two states to be based on 1967 borders, with minor modifications of 1 to 1.5 percent only. The swap resulted from this process will be based on the principle of 1:1 in both quantity and quality.

Further than that, a link to be created via Israel between West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza, without being conditional to any other issues (such as domesticating Hamas first) in order to facilitate freedom of movement to Gaza and vice versa, avoiding in this way the continuation of the collective punishment to Gaza people by preventing their freedom of movement.

Finally, borders between the two capitals for the two states in Jerusalem should be open as much as possible in order to allow as much as possible the peoples flow to all parts of the city, without hampering security in the city, and in both countries. International forces must be deployed in the seam line in order to monitor and to prevent attacks.

Third: Three issues are essential in order to lead to two states solution, which requires special international focus:

One is the development of Gaza in cooperation with the Private sector and the civil society there, inclusive to rebuilding the thousands of demolished homes and factories in the last war in Gaza, and inclusive to linking Gaza to West Bank as mentioned hereinbefore.

The second is: Preserve the Palestinian nature of area C and that consist of 64% of West Bank, mainly by stopping settlement expansions, and settlers attacks against the Palestinians there. The continuation of settlements expansion in area C is playing the role of killing the possibility of having a contiguous Palestinian state, and should be stopped.

The third is Jerusalem which require the recognition of the right of the Palestinian communities in East Jerusalem to have control over their resources, including the lands, which will require stopping land confiscations, and settlements expansion, plus re-opening the closed Palestinian institutions in the city, stop house demolition, and provide with non-humiliating residency rules and procedures for the Palestinian in the city till the two states solution be achieved. Any further steps to regain back of pre-1948 Jewish properties in East Jerusalem, should not also be allowed without a parallel step to regain back the properties of the pre-1948 Palestinians in West Jerusalem. The process should be reciprocal, without discrimination were the rights of one side is practiced in the expense of the rights of the other.

## **Work Strategies**

Eight work strategies are suggested to the international Community and the European Union to focus on:

First: Support the bottom-up process of building the Palestinian statehood that Salam Fayyad government is conducting.

Second: Support and encourage Israel positive unilateral acts in response to Fayyad's plan, through assisting and not hampering his activities, especially in area C, Jerusalem, and Gaza.

Third: Encourage the two sides to get to get back to negotiations in order to get to two state solution agreement in one year, while encouraging them to comply the their commitments based on the previous agreement, while negotiations are taking place.

Fourth: Support non-violence education in both societies starting with human knowledge about the other, towards humanization.

Fifth: Bring international forces to be deployed in the borders between the two states for both monitoring and protection.

Sixth: Provide with international special support to the Palestinian development specifically for Gaza, East Jerusalem, and Area C. Without these three components the Palestinian state will become an impossible project.

Seventh: Make a UN security Council resolution, stating that two states based on 1967 borders should be created in one year, and defining all the steps that each side will take in order to reach this goal, and give the Quartet the responsibility of follow up with sides in order to get to that goal on time.

Eighth: Combine the Israeli Palestinian process with a regional Middle Eastern one aiming for peace on al tracks based on the Arab Peace Initiative. This also to be combined with the process of the containment of Iran using Hamilton Baker report recommendations as guiding principles in this regard.