

*Belmont-
Meeting
draft
written
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GUIDELINES FOR AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE

An Agreed Statement of the Problem

Eretz Israel/Palestine west of the Jordan River are a common homeland of both the Israeli and Palestinian peoples. The issue is whether the two peoples can reach an historic compromise that will enable them to live as equals at peace in this homeland.

The establishment of a peaceful relationship between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples requires that each people express its identity through an act of self-determination in this homeland within internationally recognized and final borders. Neither can achieve full satisfaction of its claims, and each must exercise its right of self-determination in ways that respect the rights and legitimate interests of the other.

The source of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the reason that peace has not been achieved lies in the fact that the Israeli people exercised their right of self-determination by establishing the State of Israel, but the Palestinian people have not yet exercised their right of self-determination. Only a settlement which includes a Palestinian act of self-determination can establish peace between the two peoples.

Neither people can achieve peace by force or violence. A peace settlement between them and resolution of all disputes arising under that settlement will be achieved only through negotiation among authorized representatives of the two peoples.

Mutual Assurances

In laying the foundation for negotiation, Israelis and Palestinians must demonstrate sensitivity to fundamental assurances that each people seeks from the other before it can commit itself to a negotiated peace:

--The Israeli people seek acceptance as a state by the Palestinian people and by Arab states and assurance that a negotiated peace agreement will constitute the final resolution of their conflicts. Israelis also seek arrangements by which their security will be assured.

--The Palestinian people seek recognition of their identity as a people and of their equal right to political sovereignty in a homeland of their own west of the Jordan River. They seek a peace settlement that will permit them to preserve their unity as a people and will create conditions that will permit resolution of the human problems of the Palestinian people, including the refugees.

A Process Leading to Negotiation

A political process leading toward negotiation of a peace settlement may include mutually reinforcing actions along two tracks. First is to begin building understanding on the outlines of a final settlement. Second is a variety of steps designed to change the political environment so that negotiation may begin. In each body politic, the relationship between the two will reflect a different balance of political needs. Each people must show sensitivity to the politics of the other and, where possible, take steps that will be interpreted on the other side as strengthening arguments for negotiation.

First: In order to allay mutual suspicions and to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence in anticipation of negotiations, an understanding might be sought on the following points:

1. The Israeli and Palestinian peoples will make clear to each other mutual recognition as equal partners in negotiating an historic

compromise which reflects each party's right to self-determination in its own homeland within secure and internationally recognized boundaries west of the Jordan River. Neither party will dictate the leaders and representatives of the other.

2. In order to create a positive environment for negotiation, no provocative propaganda campaign will be waged by either side and all parties will agree not to condone violence in any form. They will agree in the final settlement to resolve differences only by negotiation. There will be a Joint Consultative Committee to consider any issues arising under the agreement.
3. The agreement reached in negotiation, ratified according to each party's practices, will be the final resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
4. The Palestinians will exercise their right of self-determination in the West Bank and Gaza (within lines that existed on June 4, 1967) with free passage between the two regions. A Palestinian state in their homeland may result from that exercise of self-determination.
5. There will be a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation with each party an equal partner.
6. The Palestinian homeland in the West Bank and Gaza will be an area of limited armaments. Neither Israel nor the Jordanian-Palestinian confederation will join military alliances aimed at the other. The security of all three parties will be guaranteed by international arrangements including the United States and the Soviet Union.

7. There will be no new Israeli settlements and no expansion of existing settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Israeli citizens who elect to stay under Palestinian jurisdiction will have equal civil rights in accordance with Palestinian laws.
8. (A qualified Palestinian right of return and the resolution of the refugee problem will be confined to the Palestinian confederation. Those who can not return will be eligible for compensation.)
(The problem of the Palestinian refugees will be settled in the context of UN resolutions pertaining to the matter, and in accordance with mutually acceptable arrangements.)
9. Common ventures, including the water regime, will be mutually agreed.
10. The status of Jerusalem will be resolved in a mutually acceptable arrangement (on the basis of continued unification, shared sovereignty, and a one city/two capitals status).

Second: To prepare the political environment for negotiation of an agreement built on these points, a number of confidence-building measures and interim steps may be taken such as the following:

1. Israeli permission for increased investment in the West Bank and Gaza. Formal increase in assistance from western and Arab sources.
2. Gradual and undramatic transfer of responsibility in the administration of the West Bank and Gaza to Palestinian officials. Quiet understanding between West Bank/Gaza officials and PLO with tacit Israeli permission.

3. Increased administrative authority to the municipalities (e.g., construction permits, planning, travel) without major publicity.
4. End of deportations and house-razings.
5. Recognition of authority of Palestinian civil courts.
6. Reunification of Palestinian families.
7. Increased freedom for Palestinian political expression and organization.
8. PLO recognition of the obligation of a Palestinian state to preserve law and order and to prevent any acts of violence against its neighbors.
9. Municipal elections in the West Bank and Gaza.
10. Allow elected Palestinian officials to form a council to deal with Israelis and consult on negotiations.
11. Continuation of preparatory consultations among Israelis, Palestinians, concerned Arab states, Europeans, Soviets, and U.S. on a negotiating process to reach a final peace agreement.
12. Lift restrictions on Palestinian officials' consultation with PLO. Tacit acceptance of those officials as a channel for consulting with the PLO.

These Guidelines

The foregoing are intended to suggest overall policy guidelines for bringing about a negotiated peace. They are distilled from conversation only as points for further discussion. Their purpose is only to suggest a comprehensive range of actions that might be part of an effort to improve the political environment for a settlement.

These guidelines are discussed in the conviction that continuation of the present situation endangers the unity of the Israeli and Palestinian peoples, leads with accelerating speed to civil strife, and threatens to foreclose the opportunity for a peaceful settlement.