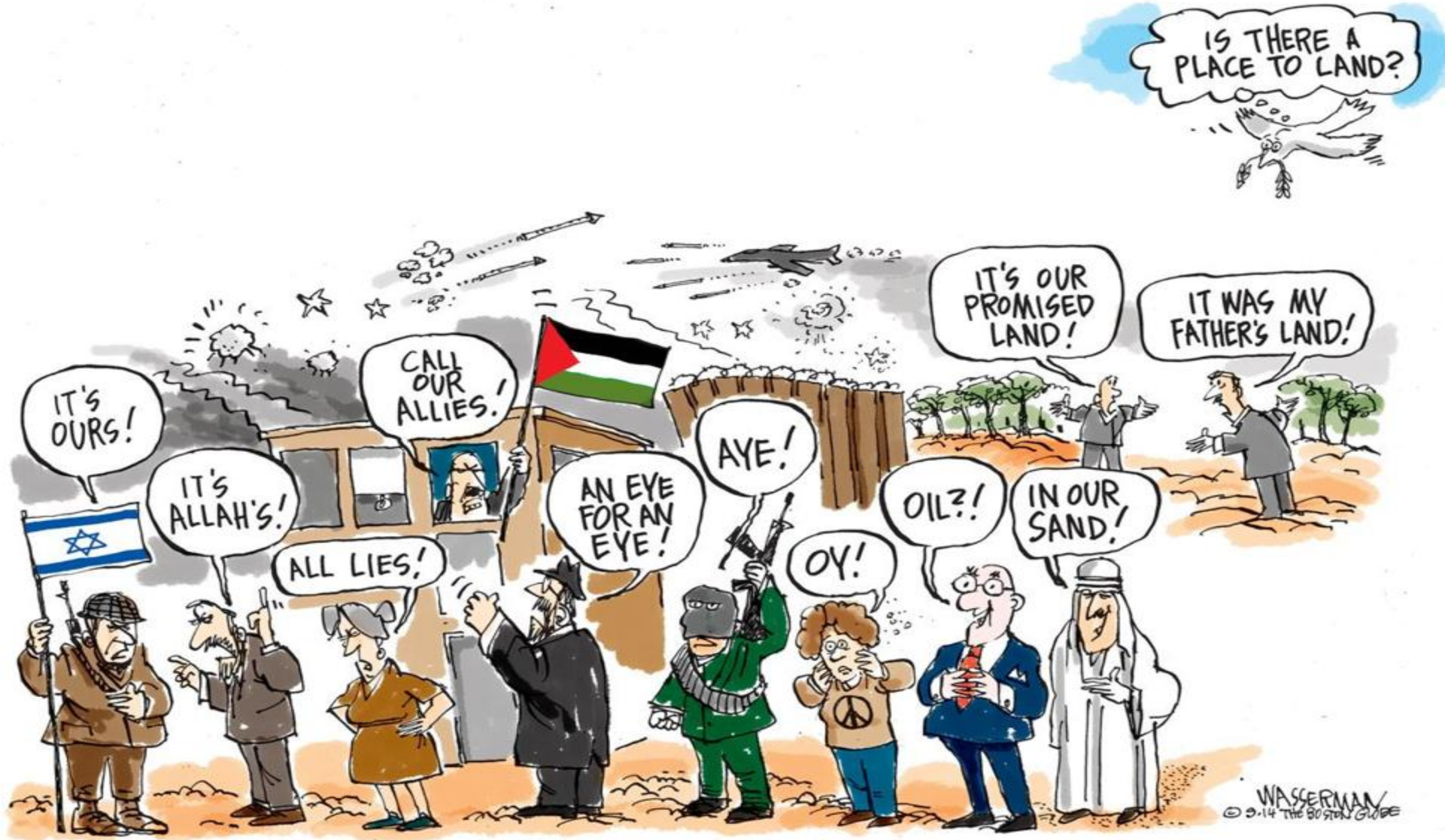


# Negotiating Core Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict



# Historic Background

Zionist settlement in Ottoman  
(Turkish) Empire - 1881

World War I – 1914-1918

Sykes-Picot Agreement 1916

Balfour Declaration 1917

San Remo Conference 1920

(British Mandate confirmed by  
League of Nations 1922)

Transjordan 1922

Riots 1929; 1936-1939



Great Britain's Division of the Mandated Area,  
1921-1923

1947



# United Nation Partition Plan Resolution 181

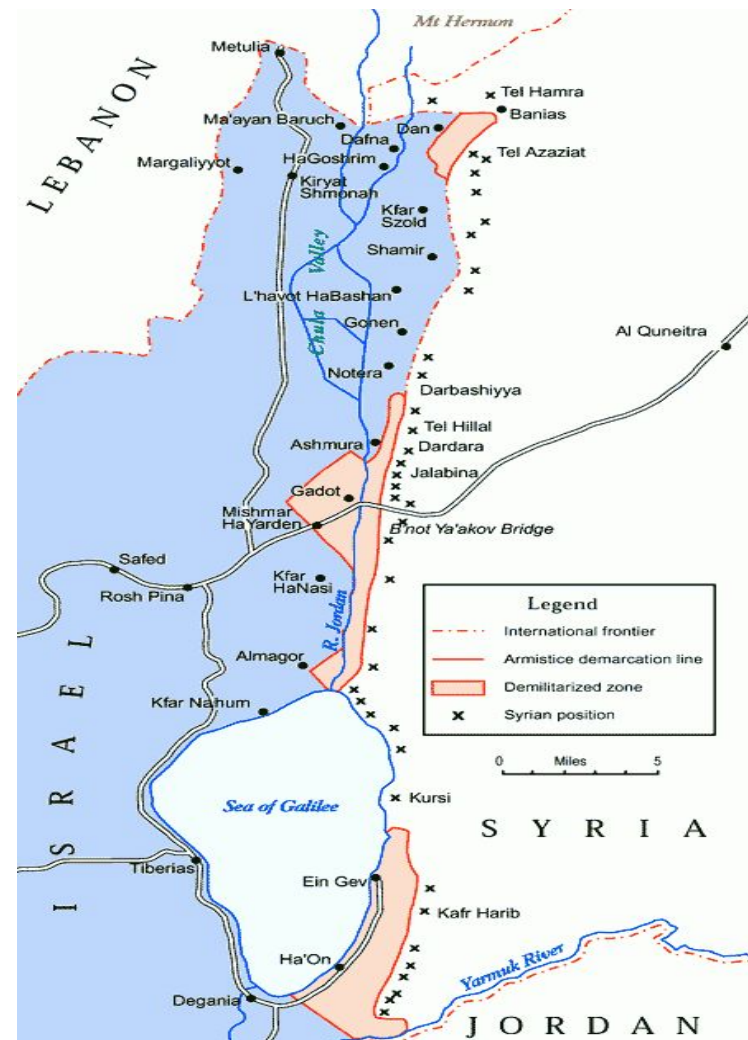
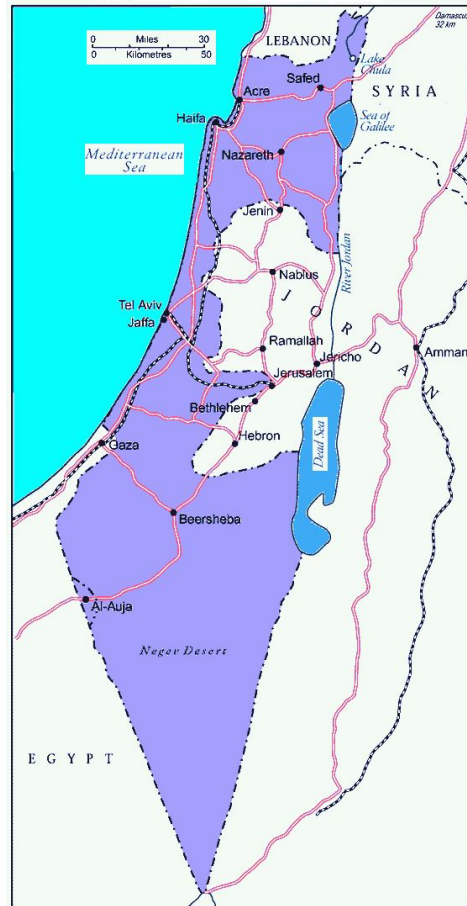
Proposed “Jewish State”

Proposed “Arab  
State”

Internationally administrated  
“Corpus Seperatum” of Jerusalem



# Armistice Lines 1949





# Israeli "Borders"

## 1949-1967

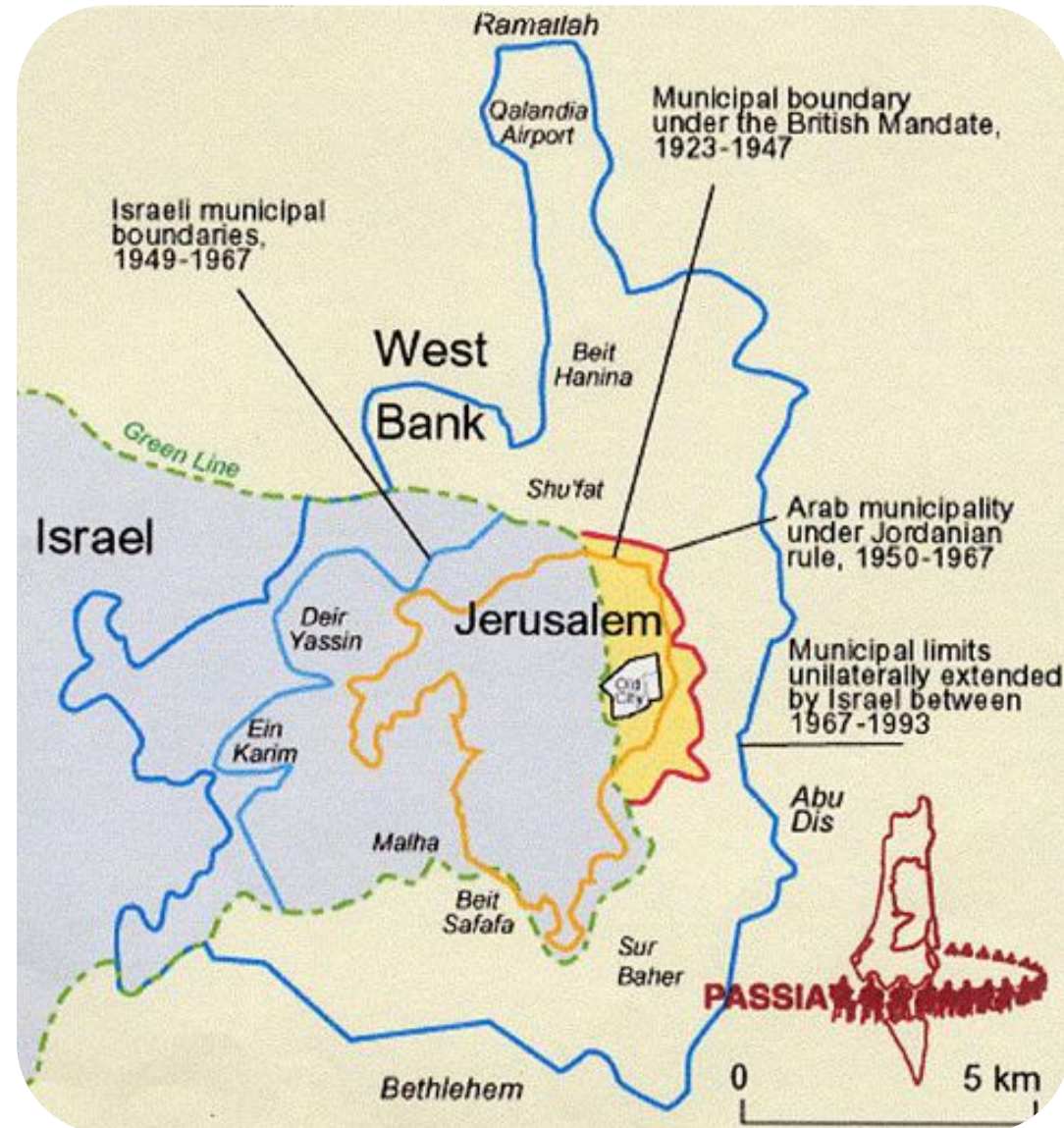
the green line

(West bank annexed by  
Jordan)

# Israel after the Six Day War

**Territories won by Israel  
as of 10 June 1967**





## **Meeting of Palestine National Council, Algiers, 1988**

**[Arafat UNGA speech, November 1988 and Press Conference  
December 1988]**

- **PLO acceptance of 1947 UNGA Resolution 181 (that called for a Jewish state and an Arab state in Palestine), and declaration of Palestinian State based on that resolution.**
- **Acceptance of UNSC Resolution 242 – two-state solution and Israel’s “right to exist within secure and recognized borders”**
- **Renunciation of the use of terror.**



# Background to the Oslo Accords

Impact of changes in international, regional and local environments

on Palestinians ((1988): Lebanon War, Gorbachev, intifada

on Israelis: new world order, Iraq War/PLO, Islamism, Iran, intifada, war fatigue

September 9, 1993

Yitzhak Rabin

Prime Minister of Israel

Mr. Prime Minister,

The signing of the Declaration of Principles marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. In firm conviction thereof, I would like to confirm the following PLO commitments: **The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security. The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.**

The PLO considers that the signing of the Declaration of Principles constitutes a historic event, inaugurating a new epoch of peaceful coexistence, free from violence and all other acts which endanger peace and stability. **Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators.**

In view of the promise of a new era and the signing of the Declaration of Principles and based on Palestinian acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the PLO affirms that those articles of the Palestinian Covenant which deny Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments of this letter are now inoperative and no longer valid. Consequently, the PLO undertakes to submit to the Palestinian National Council for formal approval the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant.

Sincerely,

Yasser Arafat - Chairman, The Palestine Liberation Organization

**Stage 1** – withdraw from Gaza and Jericho

(complete by 6 months) – this begins the 5 year period.

**Stage 2** – immediately, transfer civil authority to the Palestinians in all of West Bank (health, education, welfare, etc.).

**Stage 3** – reach interim agreement on Palestinian Authority (jurisdiction, powers, etc.) plus elections to Palestinian Legislative Council – accomplish no later than 9 months from beginning of process.

**Stage 4** – agreement on Permanent Status of West Bank and Gaza – negotiations to begin no later than 3 years from beginning of process and end no later than 5 years from the beginning of the process.

## Problems:

Interim agreement

Islamic terror attacks

Delays

No monitoring

External security

Settlements

No end-game

## Positive effects:

optimism on both sides

peace with Jordan

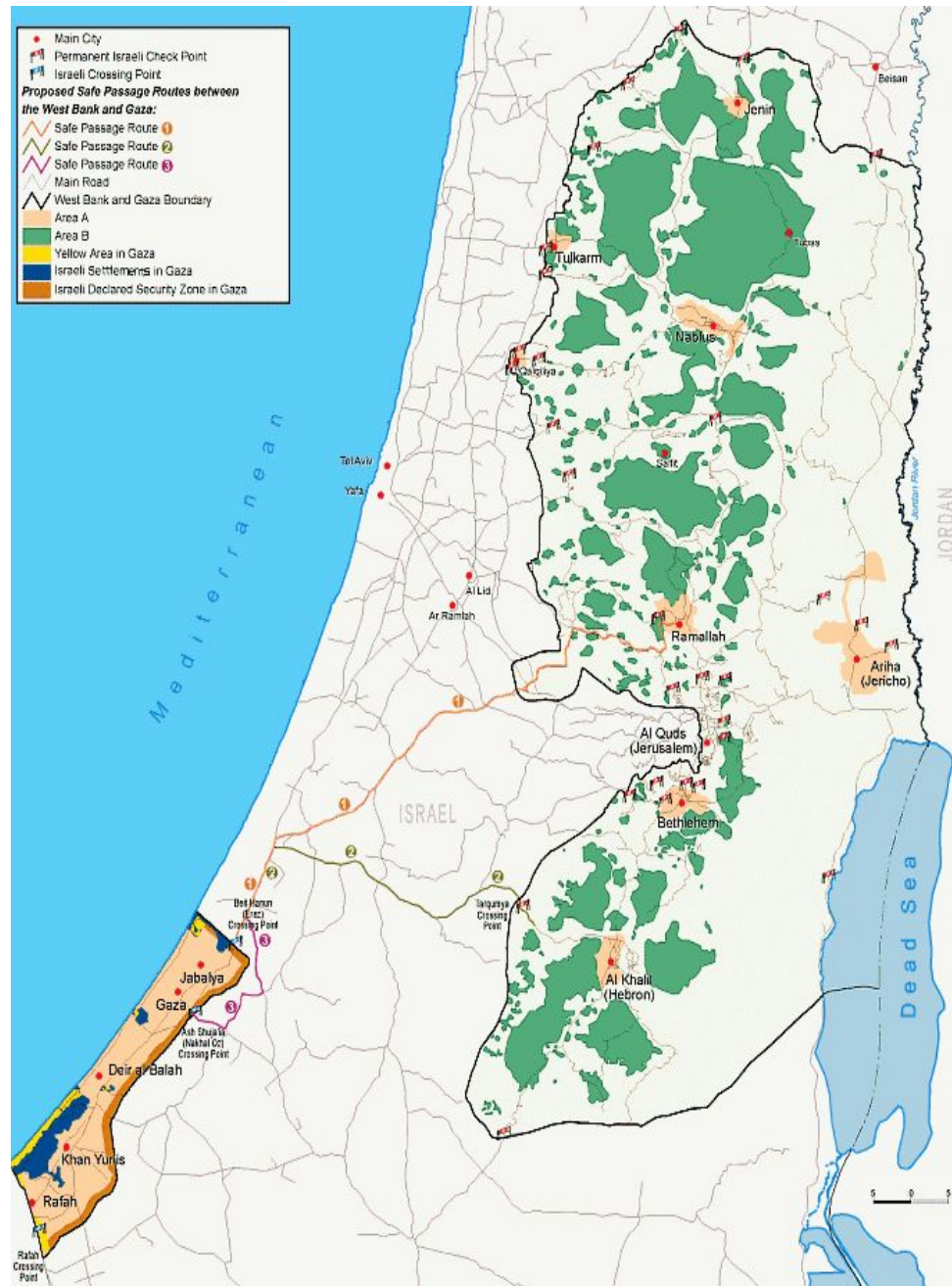
diplomatic relations doubled

economic windfall

people to people activities



# Oslo II – Further Redeployment





### LEGEND

- Area A - Full Palestinian Control
- Area B - Palestinian Administration, Israeli Security
- Area C - Still to be Negotiated
- Jerusalem - Still to be Negotiated

### Legend

1967 Lines

The municipal boundaries of Jerusalem

Jewish locality

Palestinian locality

### Israeli Proposal

Israeli annexation - 13%

Long term lease - 6%

**“A territory of at least 11%, which 80% of the settlers live in, will be annexed to Israel. We will not transfer land which is under Israeli sovereignty (land swap) to the Palestinians. Palestinian refugees will not have the right of return to Israel. The Palestinian state will be demilitarized and security arrangements will be set accordingly. Israel will control a quarter of the Jordan Valley for a few years in order to guarantee its control in the Jordan-Palestine crossings”.**



0 5 10 20 30 40 km

© Shaul Arieli

Egypt

Mediterranean Sea

Gaza Strip

Israel

West Bank

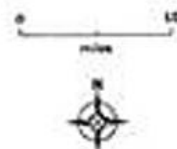
Dead Sea



# Map Reflecting Clinton Ideas

- Proposed Palestinian State
- Israeli Settlement Blocs Annexed to Israel

MEDITERRANEAN  
SEA



Tel Aviv

ISRAEL

GAZA  
STRIP

EGYPT



Sea of  
Galilee

Jordan River

Dead Sea

JORDAN

No formal map was presented to the Israeli and Palestinians in December 2000 by President Clinton, but this map illustrates the Clinton ideas—a Palestinian state in 99% of the West Bank and 100% of Gaza. This map actually undermines the Clinton ideas by not showing an additional 1 to 3% of territorial swaps to the Palestinian state from areas within Israel.



**Legend**

-  1967 Lines
-  The Historic Basin
-  Area annexed to Israel 6.5%
-  Area annexed to Palestine 5.8%
-  Jewish locality annexed to Israel
-  Jewish locality beyond the Israeli border
-  Palestinian locality

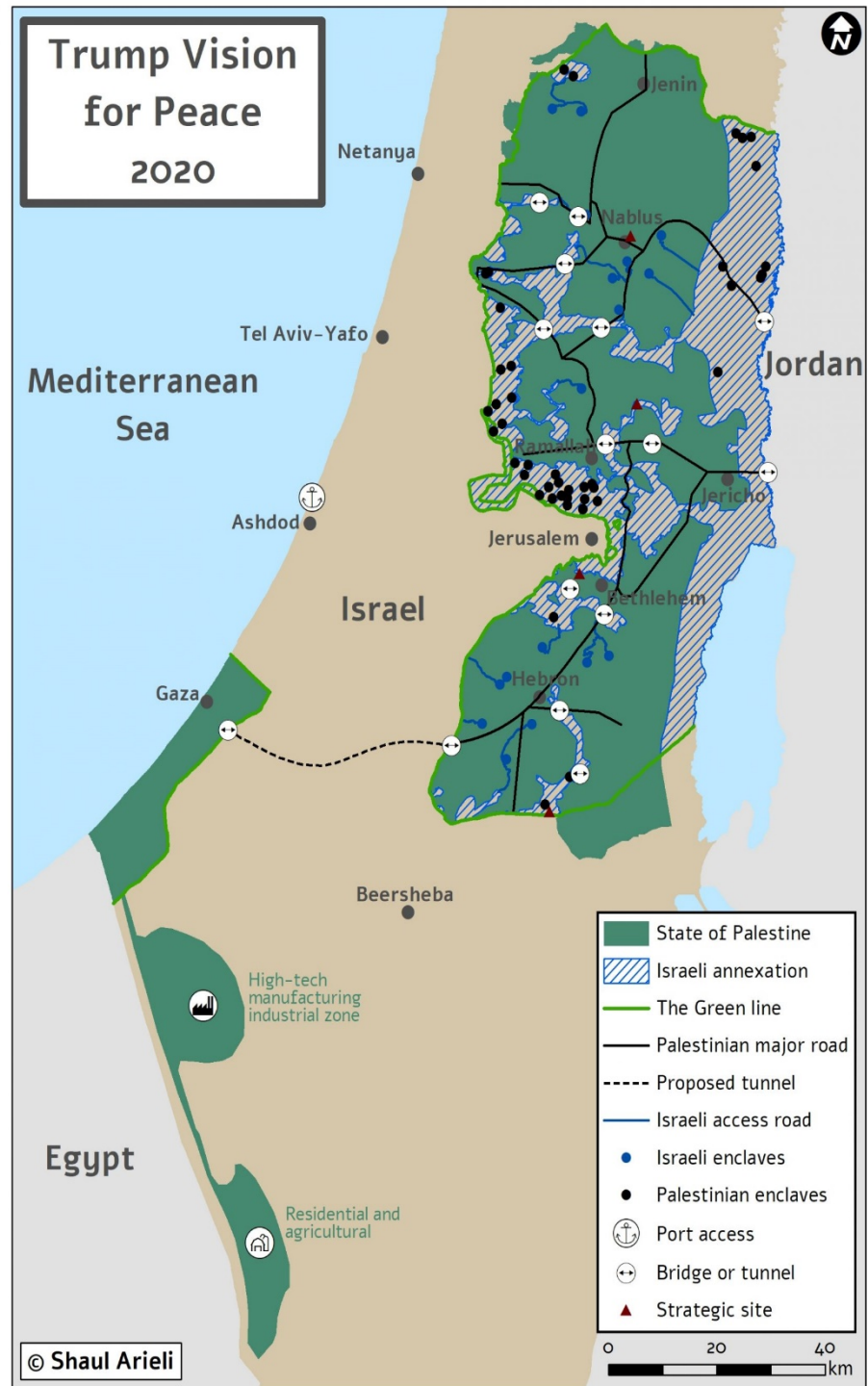


# Land for Palestinian State

(percentages of West Bank)

- Camp David II (Barak) 2000:  
93% (92%) then 88-90% (87%)  
1:9 swap
- Clinton Parameters 2000:  
94-96% later said 97%  
1:1 swap
- Olmert 2008:  
94%  
5.8% swaps (3% in swaps and 1.5% safe passage, port access, no-man's land?)
- Abu Mazen 2008:  
1.9%

# Trump Vision for Peace 2020



# lessons

- Key issue for Israel = Security (and minimum dislocation of settlers)
- Key issue for Palestinians = Borders (where the contiguous, sovereign state will be)
- Jordan Rift Valley = border of Palestine with Jordan, completes total land border of Palestine with Israel
- Refugees and Jerusalem issues – unofficial solutions in Olmert-Abu Mazen and API (even Arafat-Barak discussions, i.e. focus on numbers re refugees; Clinton Parameters for Jerusalem)
- Avoid “all is ours” approach – focus on interests and needs of each side
- Avoid symmetry of “tit for tat” approach (reciprocity) – Palestinians already conceded 78% (1988 “historic compromise” for mini-state in the WB and Gaza)

## Regional Approach:

- Opportunity today for regional approach (Israeli-Arab States’ anti-Iran cooperation)
- Provides backing for Palestinian concessions on Jerusalem
- Provides legitimacy (acceptance) in region long sought by Israel