



Key Concepts for a Regional Diplomatic Process

01/03/2017

Policy Papers

The following draft document outlines a model for a regional process that shall leverage the new convergence of interests between Israel and the Arab states to generate a comprehensive 'Regional Package Deal' between Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab Quartet (Namely Egypt, Jordan, KSA and UAE).

The proposed regional process shall produce, as the final product, a set of regional agreements, based on a political horizon that has four components:

- A Permanent Status Agreement (PSA) that shall implement a two states solution between Israel and the Palestinians.
- Agreements on regional security mechanisms and cooperation.
- An agreement on regional economic cooperation and development.
- An Agreement on full diplomatic normalization between Israel and the Arab world, as envisioned in the Arab Peace Initiative (API).

HOWEVER, these will not be achieved in one step. The process will outline a set of gradual, transitional and phased coordinated steps, addressing the security needs of the parties and the capacity of the leaders to introduce careful changes in order to create a viable and sustainable outcome.

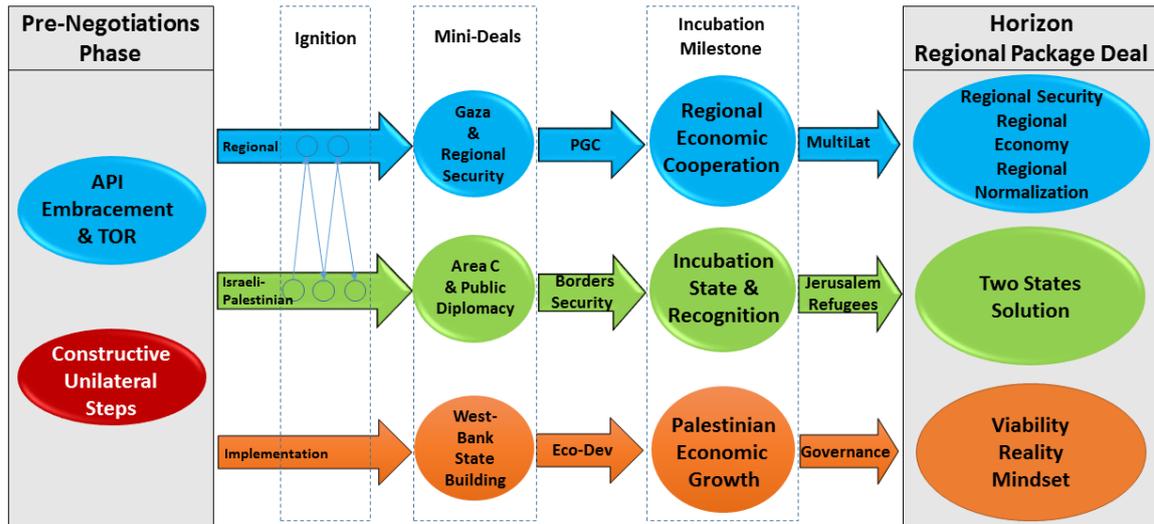
The model was developed in extensive track2 discussions between 2013–2016 between the IRI Group and Palestinian & Arab interlocutors.

Negotiation, Mechanism and Key Phases

The new negotiations mechanism shall consist of the following coinciding tracks:

- a. **Israeli–Palestinian Track** that shall negotiate a two states PSA focusing on all core issues, with the support of Arab states in the relevant cases (Refugees, Security and Jerusalem).
- b. **Israeli–Regional Track** that shall establish agreements on regional security mechanisms, economic cooperation and development and normal relations between Israel and the region.
- c. **Implementation Track** that shall facilitate the gradual implementation of agreements in parallel to ongoing discussions in order to build trust between the parties throughout the process. Thus ensuring that “everything agreed shall be implemented without waiting for all to be agreed”

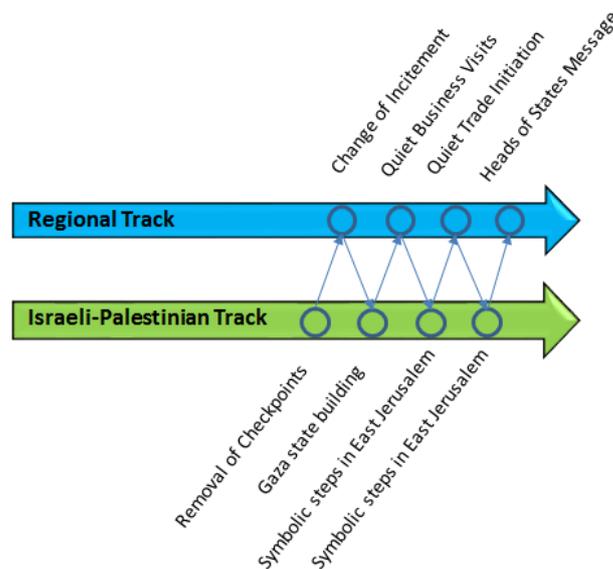
The proposed process is designed to achieve phased and transitional progress through agreed upon phases and milestones, as outlined in the following chart:



Pre-negotiation: Shall include back-channel talks to reach understandings on the following:

- Israeli nuanced embracement of the API as a general framework for negotiations, while presenting Israeli reservations and regional security, economic and normalization interests.
- Agreement on the Terms of Reference, negotiations mechanism and roadmap.
- Implementation of constructive unilateral steps by all sides (Israel on Settlement restraint, Palestinians on cessation of incitement and additional steps by Arab states).

Ignition: Designed to build confidence by achieving actual changes on the ground and demonstrating the potential of linking progress in the Israeli-Palestinian track with progress in the regional track. The parties shall agree upon a choreographed sequence of prioritized steps – an Israeli step towards the Palestinians shall trigger an Arab Quartet step towards Israel that shall trigger the next Israeli step towards the Palestinians and so forth. The following chart illustrates an example for an ignition phase choreography:



Mini-deals: Following the ignition phase, the parties shall produce the first substantial agreements in the form of parallel 'Mini-deals' to ensure 'quick wins' that can be shown as practical outcome of the negotiations. These could include, among others,

- Long-term Gaza development agreement
- Regional security coordination
- Area C transfer of territory
- West Bank economic package

Incubation milestone: Leading to the milestone, the bilateral track will negotiate and agree the core issues of Borders and Security, while the regional track will establish regional economic cooperation,

Upon achieving the milestone, the parties shall jointly approach the UN with an agreement to recognize a Palestinian State that will gradually reach its final borders, as negotiated, based on agreed upon milestones, and subject to feasibility and security needs.

Final Status negotiations: Focusing on the core issues of Jerusalem and Refugees and concluding Israeli-Arab diplomatic agreements with full normal relations, regional economic cooperation, regional security mechanism and regional plan for building culture of peace. Special efforts will be spent on ensuring the viability of the Palestinian state.

Alternative coordinated steps and agreements

While this is not the purpose of the process, given past experience, the parties may decide to negotiate fallback, alternative coordinated agreements or coordinated unilateral steps as legitimate fallback options in the various phases. This is for the purpose of ensuring that the two states solution remains a viable option, even if the parties fail to reach a final status agreement on all points.

These coordinated agreements and steps should at minimum include a gradual separation, transfer of territories, and on-going security and economic coordination which will enable on-going Palestinian state building.