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Elements of a Performance-Based Road Map to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict under the supervision of the Quartet

DRAFT 10/15/02

The following are elements of a performance-based plan, under the supervision of the Quartet, with clear phases and benchmarks leading to a final and comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by 2005, as presented in President Bush's speech of 24 June, and welcomed by the EU, Russia and the Un in the 16 July and 17 September Quartet Ministerial Statements. Such a settlement, negotiated between the parties, will result in the emergence of an independent, democratic Palestinian state living side by side in peace and security with Israel and its other neighbors. The settlement will end the occupation that began in 1967, based on the Madrid Conference terms of reference and the principle of land for peace, UNSCRs 242, 338 and 1397, agreements previously reached by the parties and the Arab initiative proposed by Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah and endorsed by the Arab Summit in Beirut.

Phase I: October 2002 – May 2003 (Transformation/Elections)

First Stage: October-December, 2002

- Quartet develops detailed roadmap, in consultation with the parties, to be adopted at December Quartet/AHLC meeting.
- Appointment of new Palestinian cabinet, establishment of empowered Prime Minister, including any necessary Palestinian legal reforms for this purpose.
- PLC appoints commission charged with drafting of Palestinian constitution for Palestinian statehood.
- PA establishment independent Election Commission. PLC reviews and revises election law.
- AHLC Ministerial launches major donor assistance effort.
- Palestinian leadership issues unequivocal statement reiterating Israel's right to exist in peace and security and calling for an immediate end to the armed Intifada and all acts of violence against Israelis anywhere. All Palestinian institutions end incitement against Israel.
- In coordination with Quartet, implementation of U.S. rebuilding, training and resumed security cooperation plan in collaboration with outside oversight board (U.S. Egypt-Jordan).

--Palestinian security organization are consolidated into three services reporting to an empowered Interior Minister.

--Restructured/retrained Palestinian security forces and IDF counterparts begin phased resumption of security cooperation and other undertakings as agreed in the Tenet work plan, including regular senior-level meetings, with the participation of U.S. security officials.

- GOI facilitates travel of Palestinian officials for PLC sessions, internationally supervised security retraining, and other PA business without restriction.
- GOI implements recommendations of the Bertini report to improve humanitarian conditions, including lifting curfews and easing movement between Palestinian areas.
- GOI ends actions undermining trust, including attacks in civilian areas, and confiscation/demolition of Palestinian homes/property, deportations, as a punitive measure or to facilitate Israeli construction.
- GOI immediately resumes monthly revenue clearance process in accordance with agreed transparency monitoring mechanism. GOI transfers all arrears of withheld revenues to Palestinian Ministry of Finance by end of December 2002, according to specific timeline.
- Arab states move decisively to cut off public/private funding of extremist groups, channel financial support for Palestinians through Palestinian Ministry of finance.
- GOI dismantles settlement outposts erected since establishment of the present Israeli government in contravention of current Israeli government guidelines.

Second Stage: January – May 2003

Continued Palestinian political reform to ensure powers of PLC, Prime Minister, and Cabinet.

- Independent Commission circulates draft Palestinian constitution, based on strong parliamentary democracy, for public comment/debate.
- Devolution of power to local authorities through revised Municipalities law.
- Quartet monitoring mechanism established.
- Palestinian performance on agreed judicial administrative, and economic benchmarks, as determined by Task Force.
- As comprehensive security performance moves forward, IDF withdraws progressively from areas occupied since September 28, 2000. Withdrawal to be completed before holding of Palestinian elections. Palestinian security forces redeploy to areas vacated by IDF.
- GOI facilitates Task Force election assistance, registration of voters, movement of candidates and voting officials.
- GOI reopens East Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce and other closed Palestinian economic institutions in East Jerusalem.
- Constitution drafting commission proposes draft document for submission after elections to new PLC for approval.
- Palestinians and Israelis conclude a new security agreement building upon Tenet work plan, including an effective security mechanism and an end to violence, terrorism, and incitement implemented through a restructured and effective Palestinian security service.
- GOI freezes all settlement activity consistent with the Mitchell report, including natural growth of settlements.
- Palestinians hold free, open, and fair elections for PLC.
- Regional support: Upon completion of security steps and IDF withdrawal to September 28, 2000 positions, Egypt and Jordan return ambassadors to Israel.

Phase II: June 2003 – December 2003 (Transition)

Progress into Phase II will be based upon the judgment of the Quartet, facilitated by establishment of a permanent monitoring mechanisms on the ground, whether conditions are appropriate to move on – taking into account performance of all parties and Quartet monitoring. Phase II starts after Palestinian elections and ends with possible creation of a Palestinian state with provisional borders by end of 2003.

- **International Conference:** Convened by the Quartet, in agreement with the parties, immediately after the successful conclusion of Palestinian elections to support Palestinian economic recovery and launch negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians on the possibility of a state with provisional borders.

-- Such a meeting would be inclusive, based on the goal of a comprehensive Middle East Peace (including between Israel and Syria, and Israel and Lebanon), and, based on the principles described in the preamble to this document.

-- Other pre-Intifada Arab links to Israel restored (trade offices, etc.).

-- Revival of "multilateral talks" (regional water, environmental, economic development, refugee, arms control issues).

- Newly elected PLC finalizes and approves new constitution for democratic, independent Palestinian state.
- Continued implementation of security cooperation, complete collection of illegal weapons, disarm militant groups, according to Phase I security agreement.
- Israeli-Palestinian negotiations aimed at creation of a state with provisional borders. Implementation of prior agreements, to enhance territorial contiguity.
- Conclusion of transitional understanding and creation of state with provisional borders by end of 2003.

Enhanced international role in monitoring transition.

- Further action on settlements simultaneous with establishment of Palestinian state with provisional borders.

Phase III: 2004 – 2005 (Statehood)

Progress into phase III, based on judgment of Quartet taking into account actions of all parties and Quartet monitoring.

- **Second International Conference:** Convened by the Quartet, with the agreement of the parties, at beginning of 2004 to endorse agreement reached on state with provisional borders and to launch negotiations between Israel and Palestine toward a final, permanent, status resolution in 2005, including on borders, Jerusalem, refugees and settlements; and, to support progress toward a comprehensive Middle East settlement between Israel and Lebanon and Syria, to be achieved as soon as possible.
- Continued comprehensive, effective progress on the reform laid out the Task Force in preparation for final status agreement.

- Continued sustained, effective security cooperation based on security agreements reached by end of phase I and other prior agreements.

Arab state acceptance of normal relations with Israel and security for all the states of the region, consistent with Beirut Arab Summit initiative.



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