



The Regional Approach

A Regional Negotiations Model – Feb 2, 2017

Topics

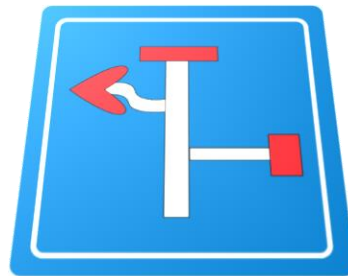
- **The need for a new Middle-East process**
- **New process architecture**
- **Parameters for a diplomatic breakthrough - the Israeli-Palestinian-Regional platform**

The bilateral negotiations model is fundamentally futile

- Bilateral negotiations have repeatedly failed in the past 20 years
- The Palestinian ethos concentrates on victimhood rather than conflict resolution
- The current PA leadership has no capacity to make courageous concessions
- The current Israeli leadership cannot sell a 2-state deal to the Israelis without strategic benefits addressing its real interests
- However, Israel cannot put its future in the hands of the PA, and must prevent a one-state reality
- The only possible alternative is to reach a two state solution as part of a regional deal between Israel, the Palestinians and key Arab states

Challenge and Dilemma

The Arab states want to promote relations with Israel **but only if Israel makes progress with the Palestinians**

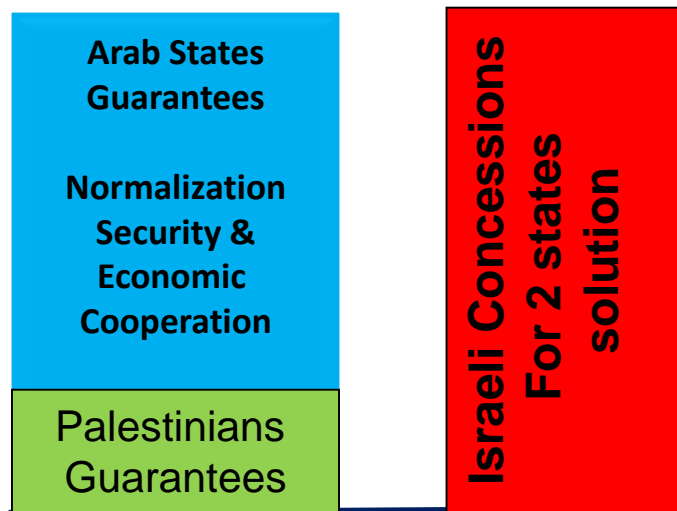


How can we achieve a solution when talks have failed again and again?

What has to change?

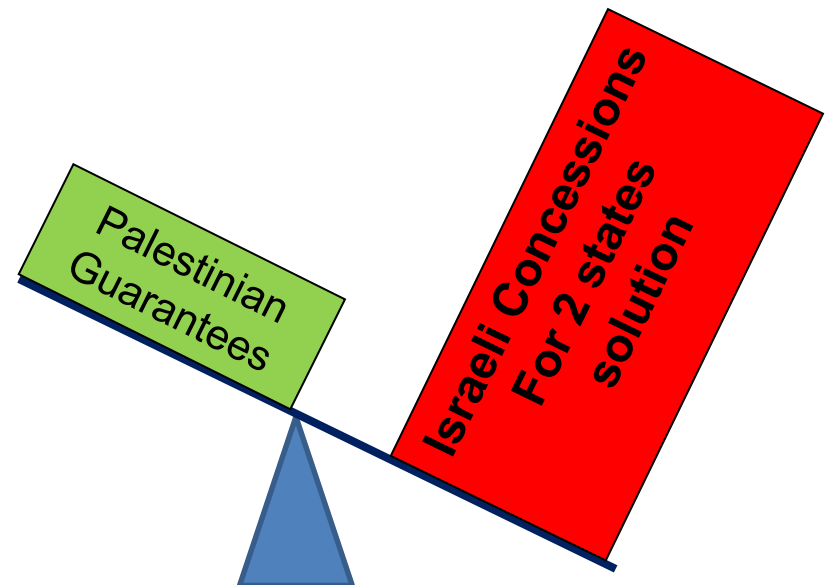
Why bilateral negotiations failed in the past 20 years?

An Israeli View



Comprehensive Deal

Palestinians and Arab States

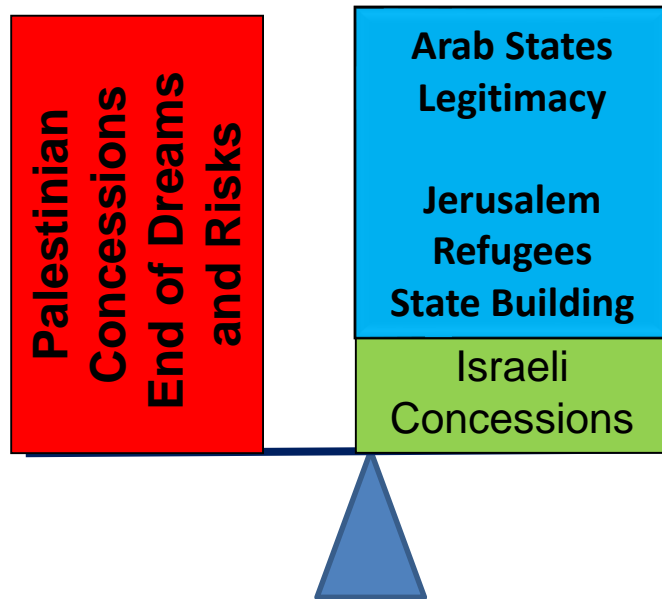


Bilateral Deal

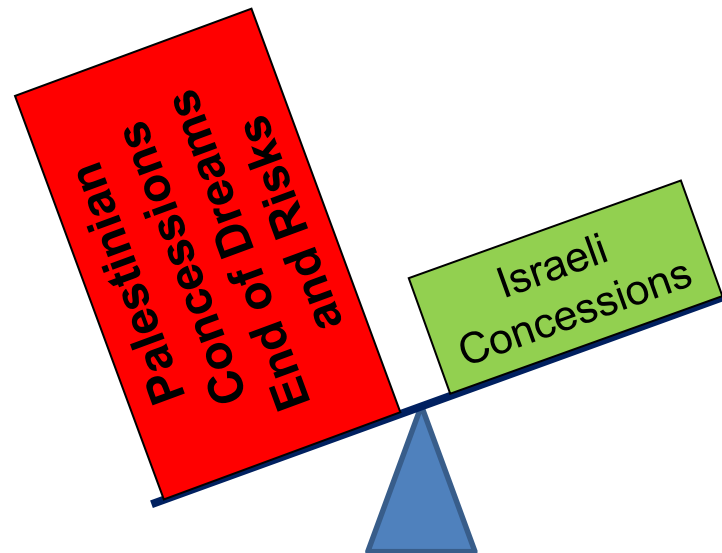
Palestinians Only

Why bilateral negotiations failed in the past 20 years?

A Palestinian View

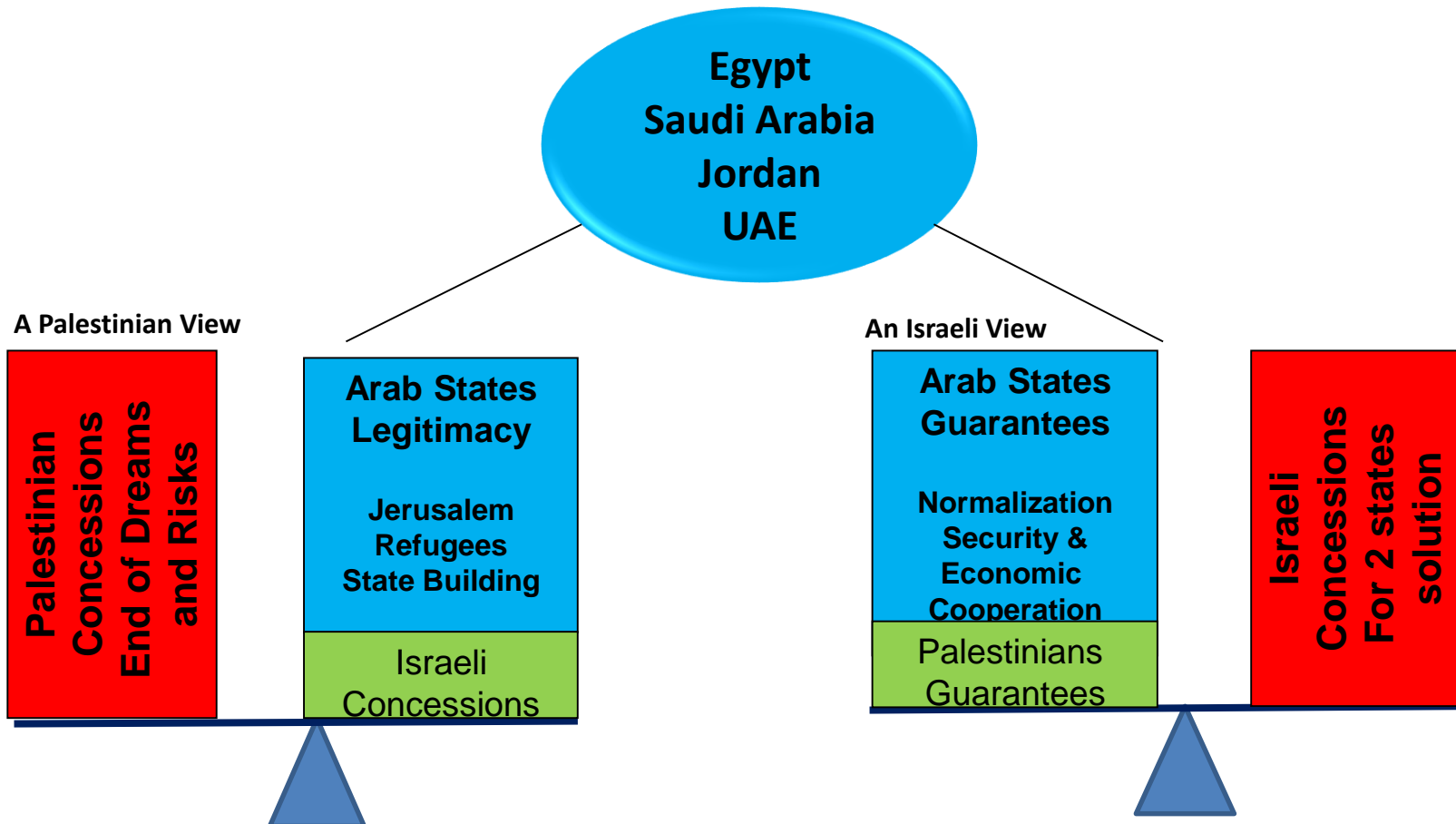


Comprehensive Deal
Israel and Arab States

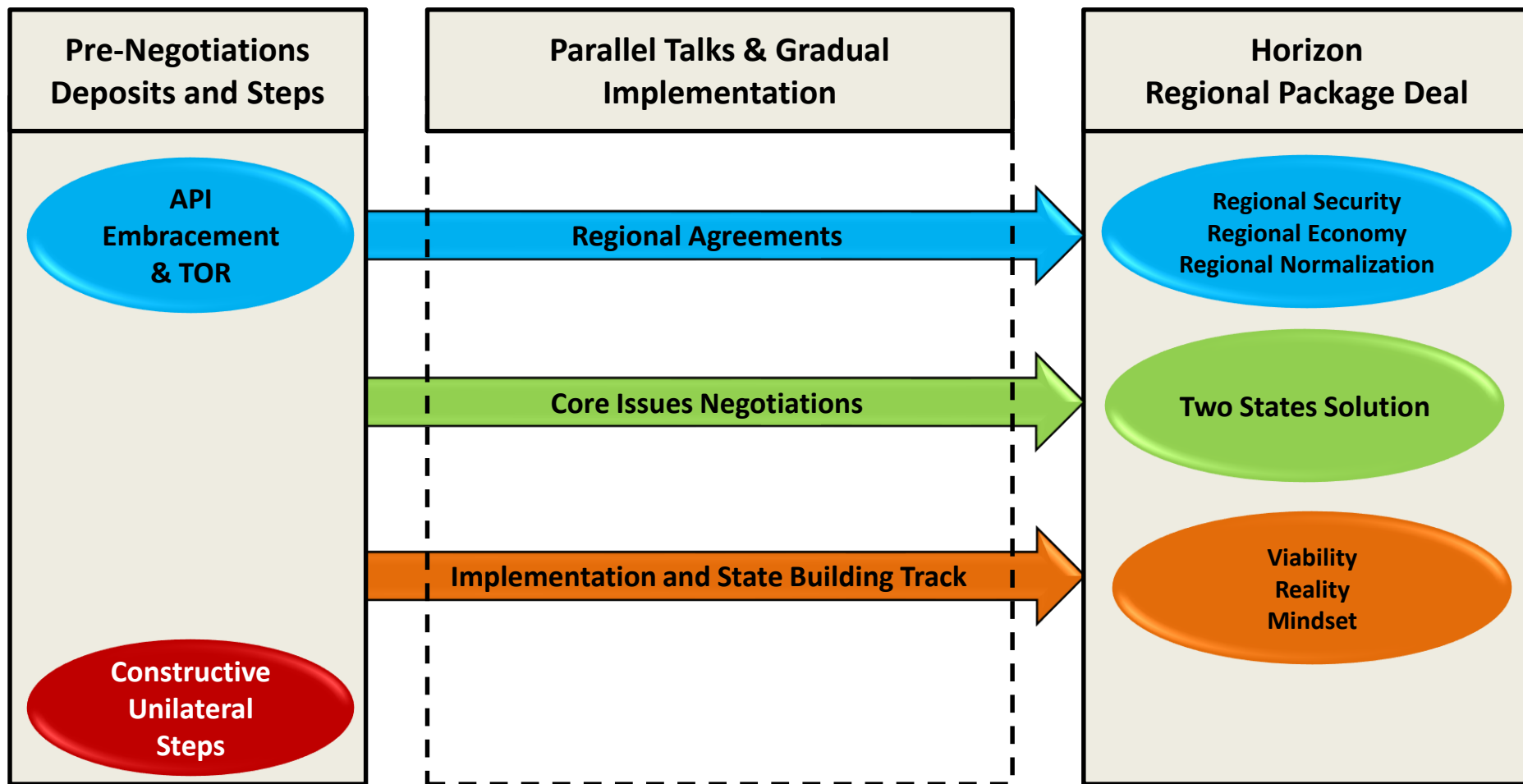


Bilateral Deal
Palestinians Only

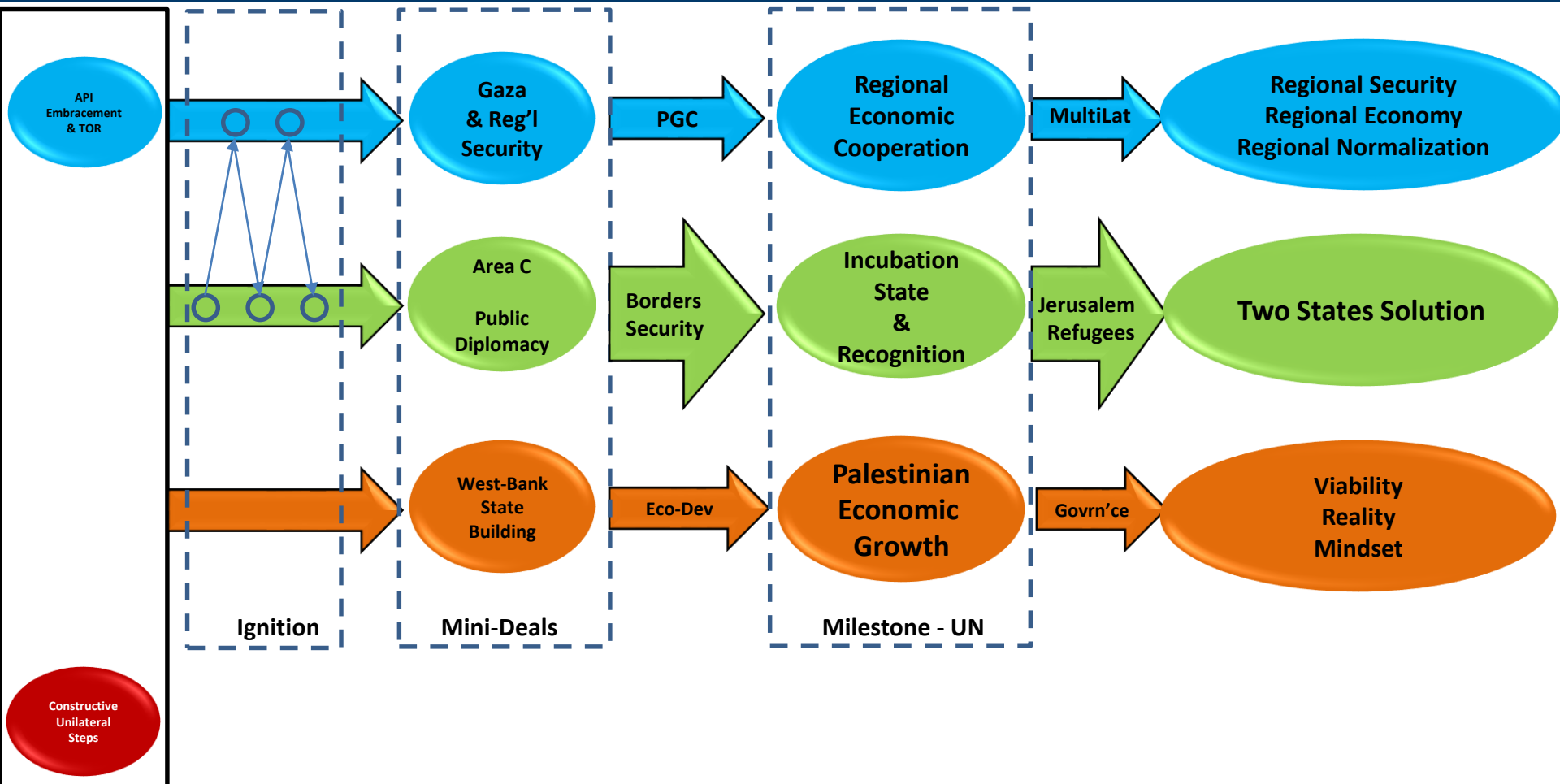
A Regional Package Deal



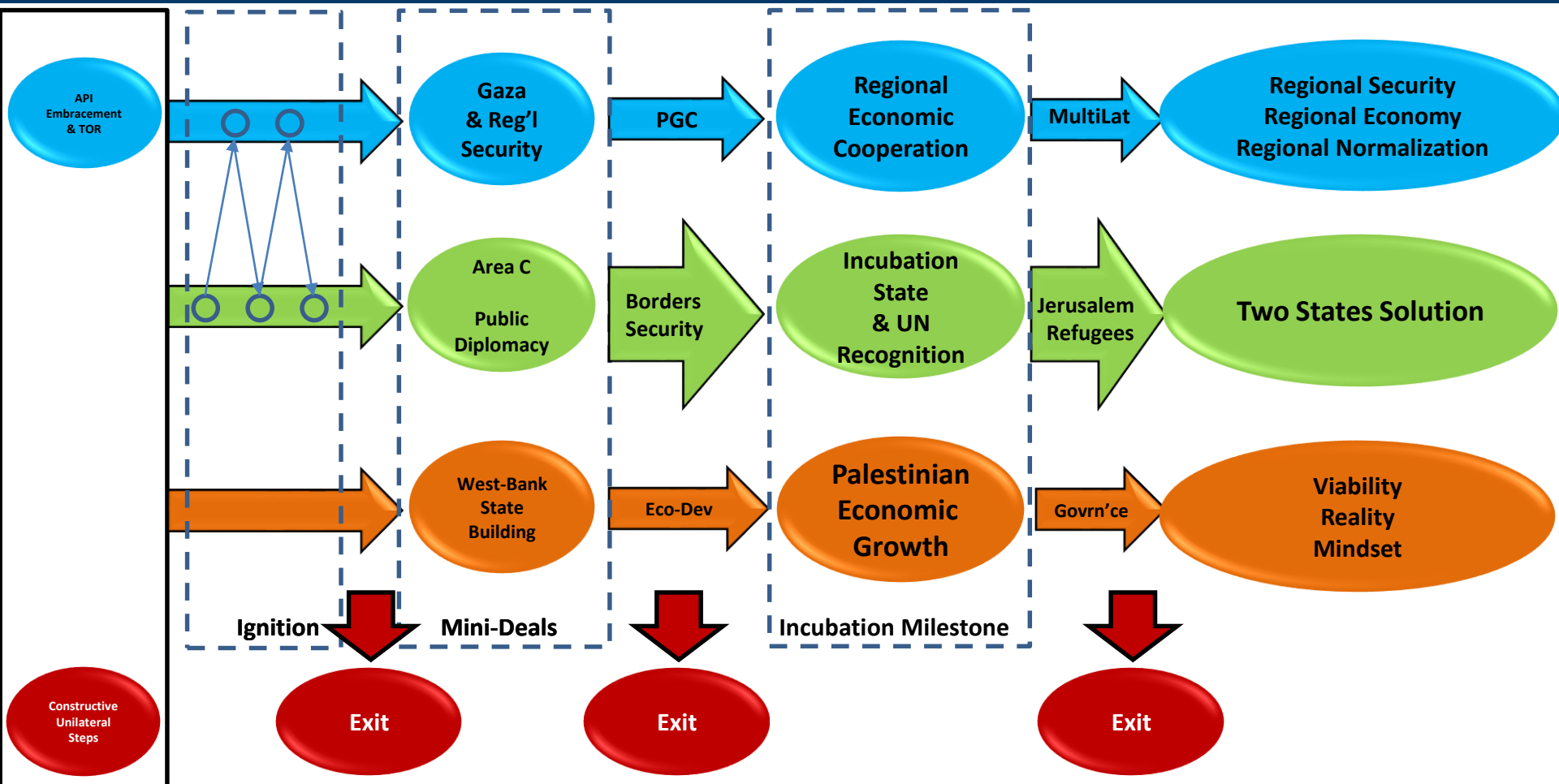
A New Regional Negotiations Paradigm



Parallel, Phased and Transitional Process



Parallel, Phased and Transitional Process



Comparison

	Traditional Bilateral Model	New Israeli-Palestinian-Regional Model
Participants	PA & Israel	PA & Israel Arab Quartet - Egypt, KSA, Jordan and UAE
Trigger	Negotiations	Israeli Nuanced API embracement & TOR
End-Game	2-States Solution Permanent Status Agreement	2-States Solution Regional Security Agreement Regional Economic Development Regional Normalization Agreement
CBM	Asymmetric	IL, PA and AQ symmetry
Tracks	Core Issues	Core Issues, Regional Issues, Implementation
Agreement Type	All-or-none Nothing is agreed until everything is agreed	Phased and Transitional Progress Everything agreed is implemented
Phases	None	Ignition, Mini Deals, Incubation
International Role	Mediators US led, Quartet supported	Conveners Regionally led, US supported, Quartet backed
Incentives	Back-loaded - US & EU (and AW)	Front-loaded – AQ, US & EU
Public Selling	PA/IL leaders	PA+AQ, IL+AQ Leaders

Walk-through

A New Regional Negotiations Paradigm

**Pre-Negotiations
Deposits and Steps**

**API
Embrace
& TOR**

**Constructive
Unilateral
Steps**

Israeli Nuanced Acceptance of the API

API
Embrace
& TOR

1. Accepting the API as a platform to be negotiated
2. Presenting Israeli Interests in the “regional package deal”
3. Add Regional Security and Regional Economic Development
4. Articulating a phased process towards normal relations
5. Delaying Syria/Lebanon issues
6. Working with Egypt, KSA, UAE & Jordan on parallel talks model
7. Agreeing TOR through quiet back-channels

Pre-Negotiation Constructive Unilateral Steps

Constructive
Unilateral
Steps

Israel

1. Settlement Freeze beyond the blocks
2. Commitments under the roadmap
3. “Pinuy Pitsuy”
4. Security Measures (CIS “Security First” ideas and others)
5. Economic Support
6. Steps towards Gaza

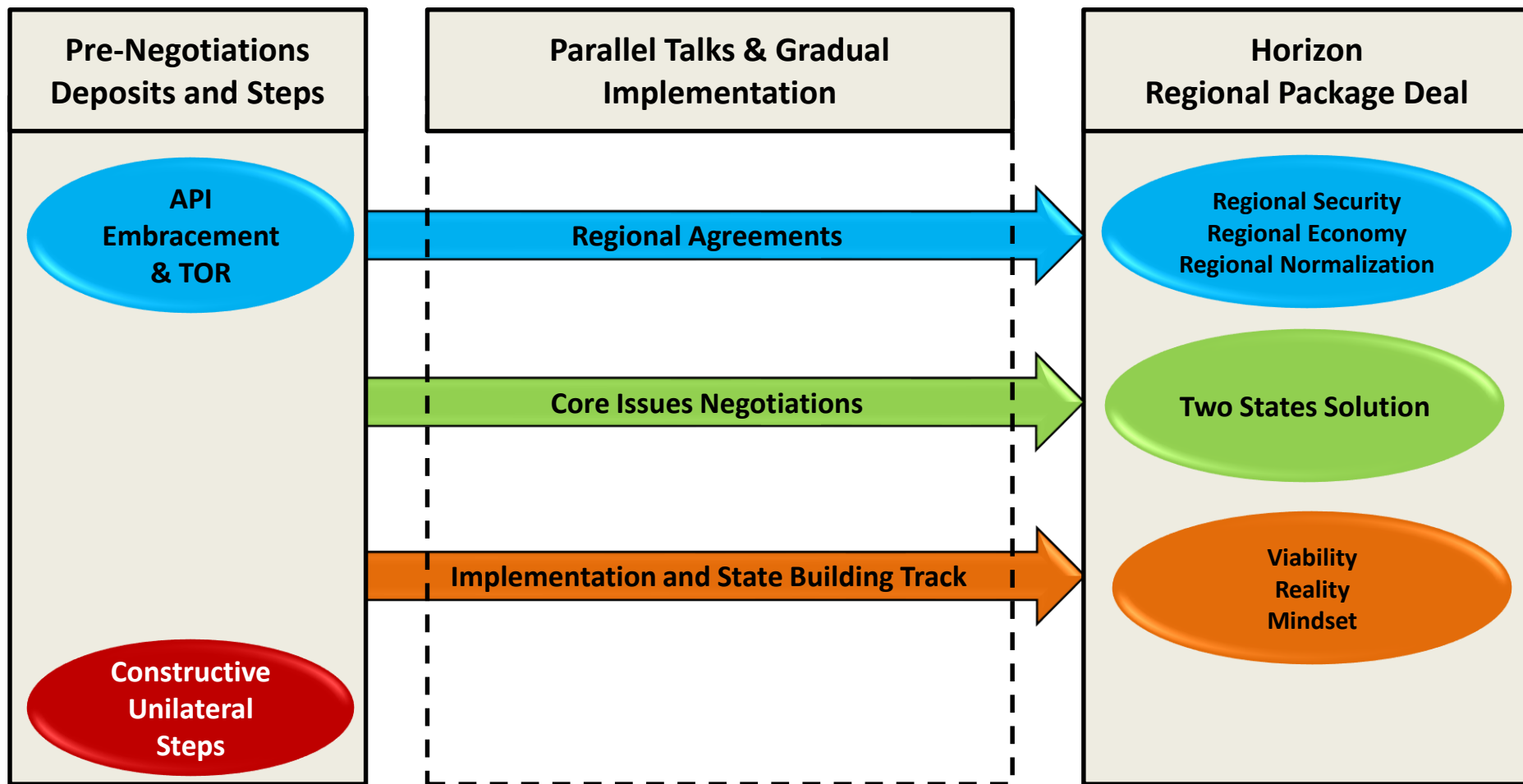
Pre-Negotiation Constructive Unilateral Steps

Constructive
Unilateral
Steps

PA

1. Cessation of incitement
2. Cessation of Internationalization (Haag, UN, etc.)
3. Stopping payments to Martyrs
4. Stronger security cooperation
5. Blocking “Anti-Normalization” steps
6. Encouraging People-to-People

A New Regional Negotiations Paradigm



The End Game - Regional Package Deal

Two States Solution

“Traditional” 2 states Parameters

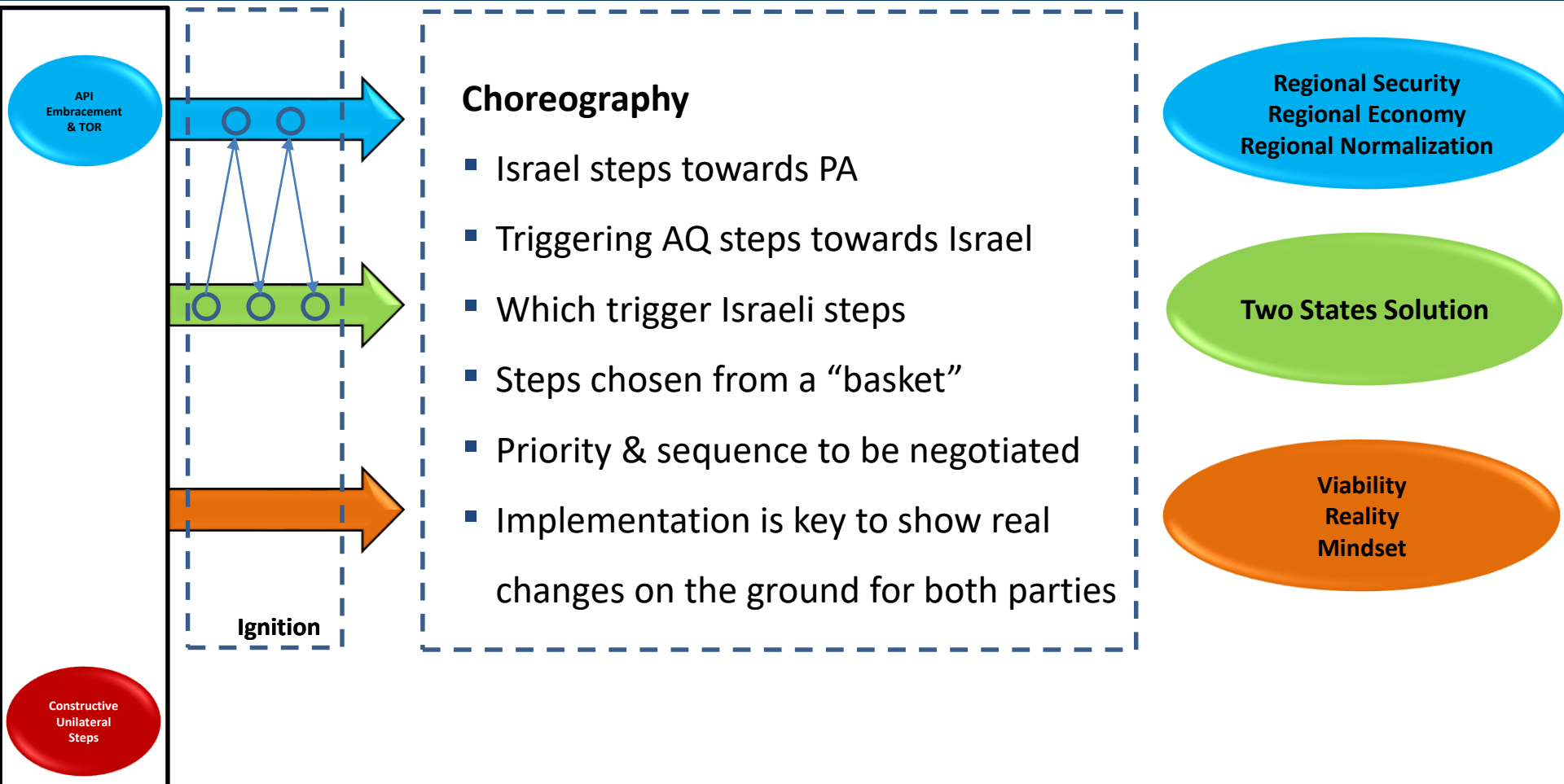
- Demilitarized Palestine
- 67 +/- 4%
- 2 capitals – Alquds and Jerusalem
- No sovereignty on Temple Mount
- Refugees return to Palestine only
- End of Incitement
- Israeli-Palestinian Security arrangements
- Economic cooperation

Regional Security Regional Economy Regional Normalization

Regional Components

- End of conflict & Normal relations
- Endorsing borders
- Recognition of Jerusalem
- Shared management of Holy Basin
- Funding solutions for the refugees
- Regional Security Mechanisms
- Regional economic development
- Regional Normalization

Ignition Phase



Bilateral Ignition Steps - Basket

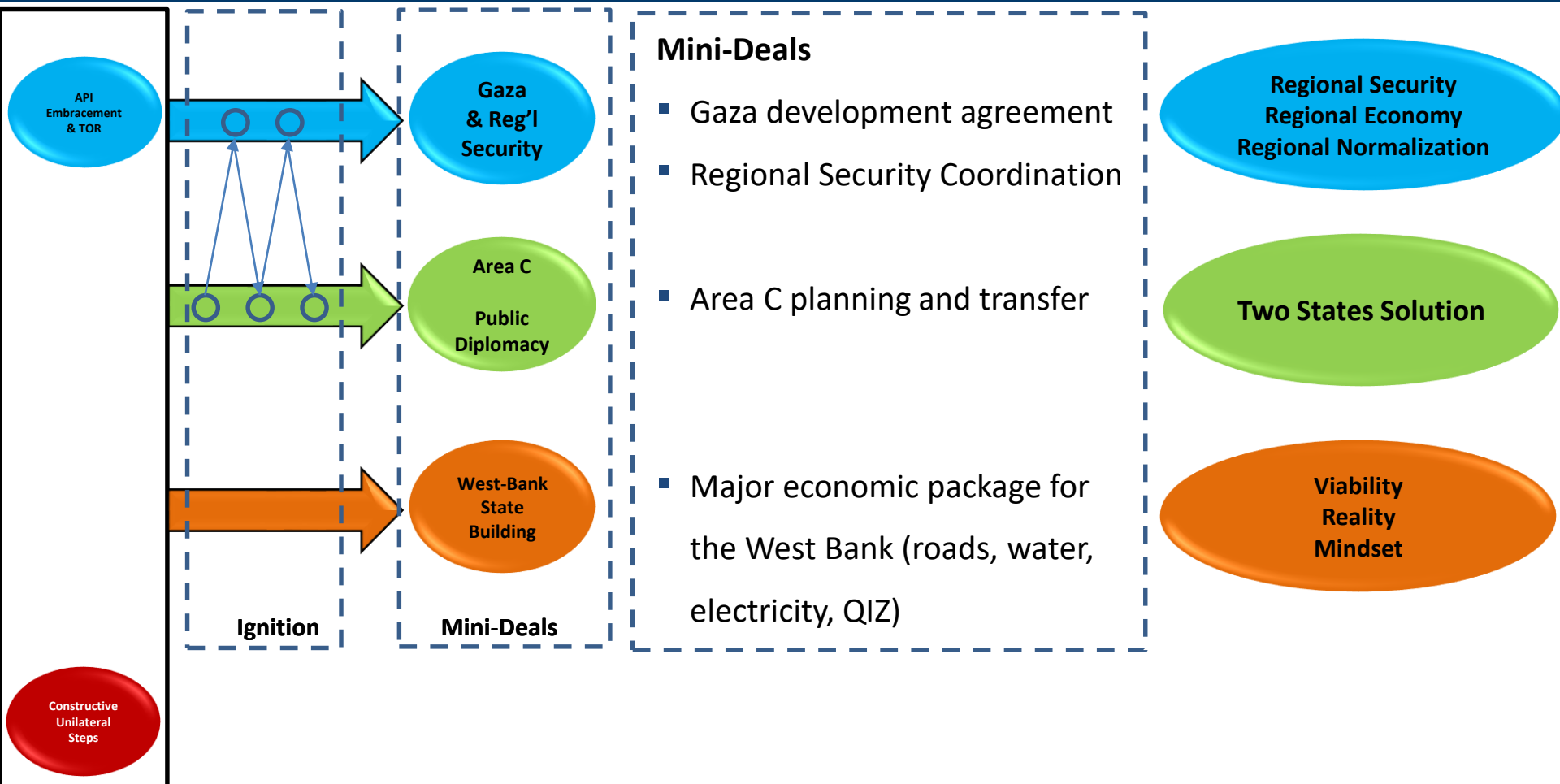
Steps taken by Israel which trigger steps from the Arab states

1. Declaring transitional status of “territories to be returned”
2. Enhanced Israeli-Palestinian Security mechanisms
3. Removal of Checkpoints
4. West Bank – state building – coordinated with Donors/GCC
5. Gaza – state building – coordinated with Donors/Egypt
6. Certain C area territories transferred to Palestinian Sovereignty
7. Symbolic presence in Jerusalem

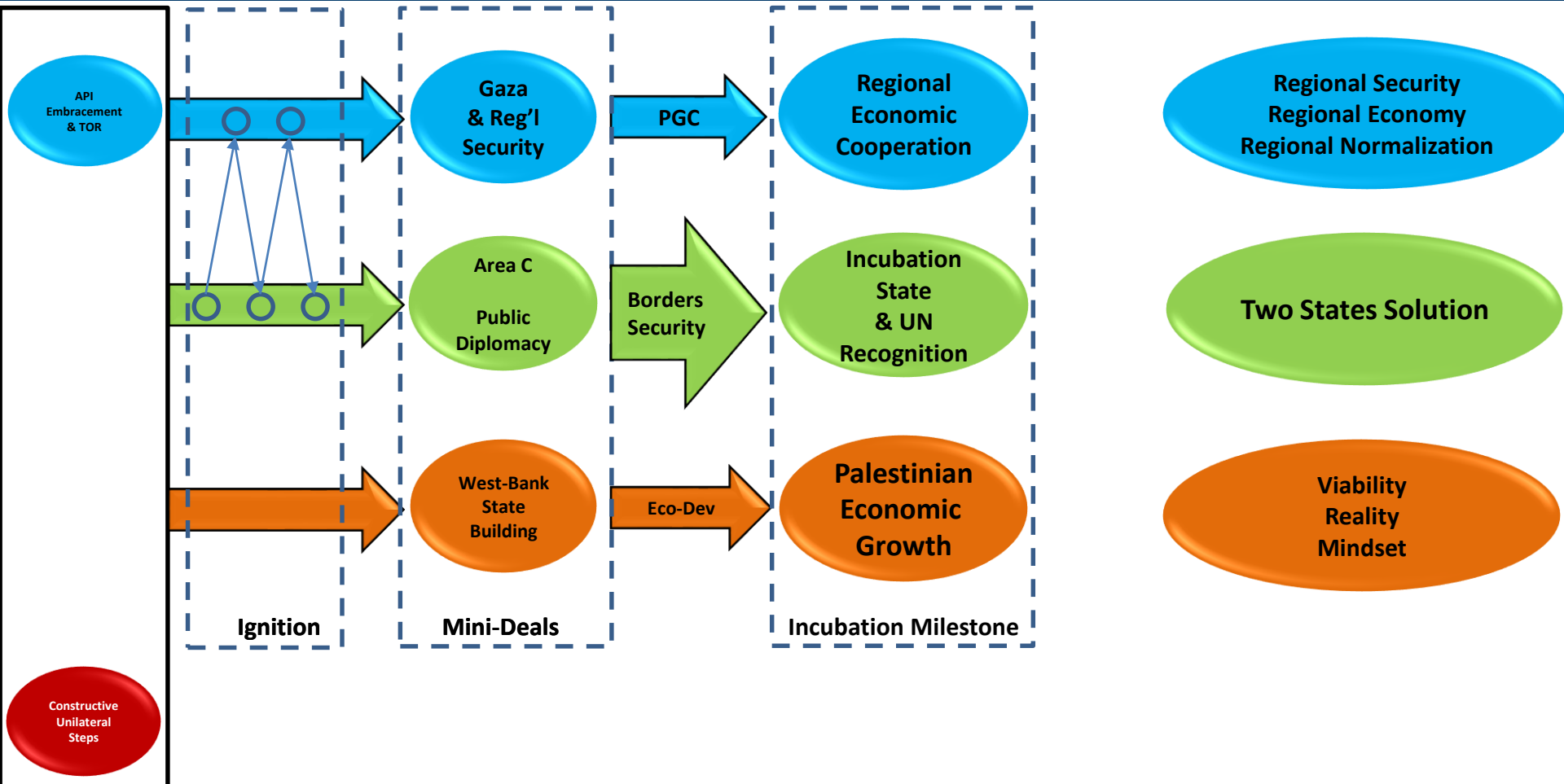
Regional Ignition Steps - Basket

1. Education, Incitement Freeze and Change of Tone in the Region
2. Gaza Stabilization & Development
3. UN vote with Israel
4. Economic Delegations
5. Deeper Security Cooperation
6. Trade Initiation with KSA and UAE
7. Sports Diplomacy
8. Heads of States Visits

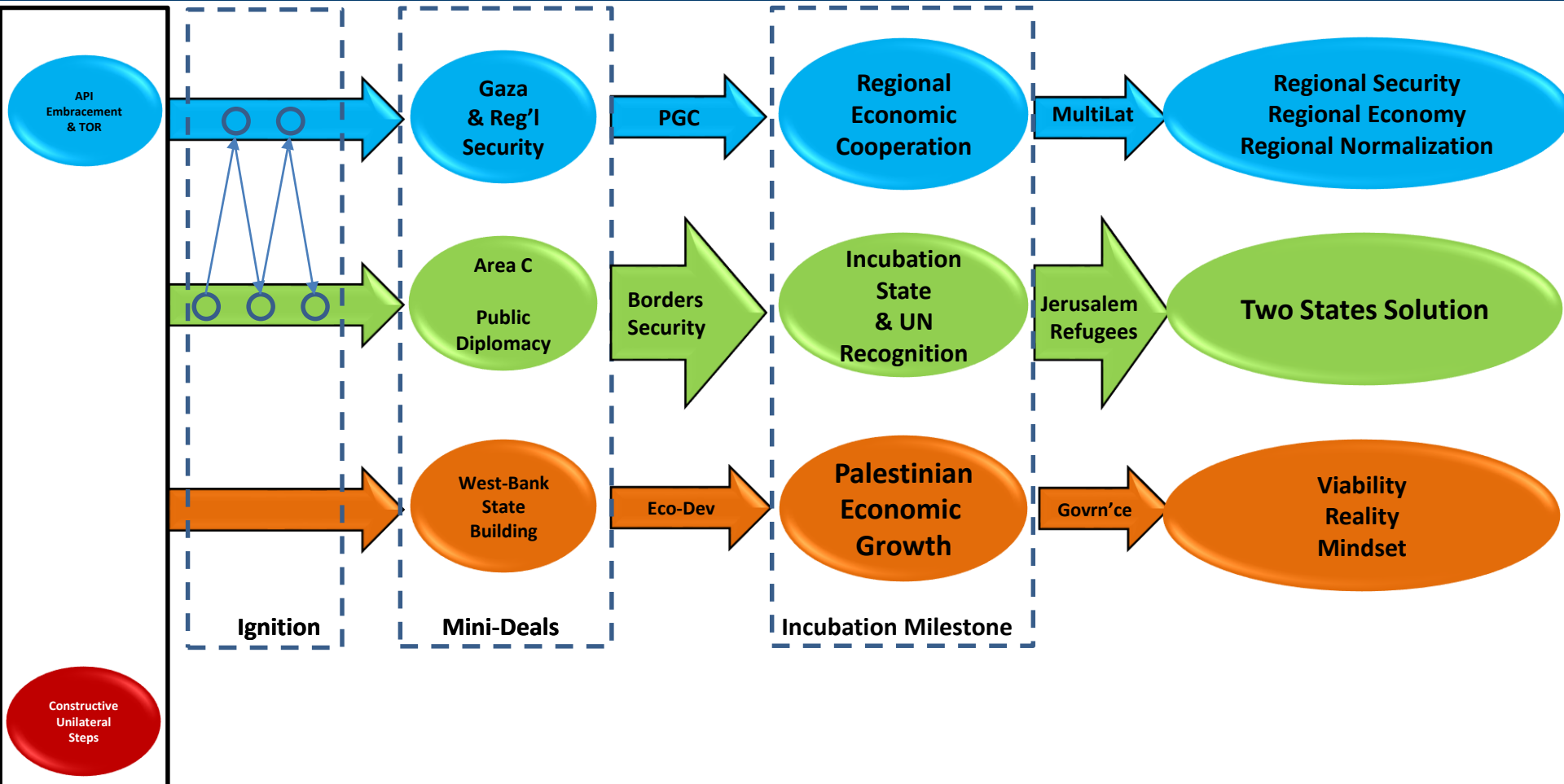
Mini-Deals


















Incubation Milestone



Milestone UN State



Comparison of unilateral and interim agreement alternatives

	Unilateral withdrawal without negotiations	Unilateral withdrawal as fallback from bilateral negotiations	Interim agreement as an agreed upon milestone within a regional process
Regional support			
International support			
Public support			
Time for implementation			
Security			
Pathway to a permanent status agreement	