

**Permanent Status Negotiation Session  
King David Hotel, Jerusalem  
17 September 2000**

**Attendees:**

Palestinian

Saeb Ereikat  
Muhammad Dahlan  
Omar Dajani  
Amr Shalakany (present, but not in meeting)

Israeli

Gilad Sher  
Israel Hassoon  
Gidi Gridstein

**Informal Minutes**

[OD called down to join mid-session.]

GS: My opinion is that we have a week to 10 days to work peacefully. I suggest we move on with drafting and try to put on paper at least the agreed sections – the 4 chapters. This should take no more than 2-3 days. Then we can proceed with I's and P's in sub-articles. This is complementary to the American effort – to the political effort.

SE: Do you want the Americans to attend?

GS: Why?

SE: Why not?

GS: Who?

SE: I suggested Rob [Malley], but they need him over there. But Ron Schlicke [spelling?] can do it.

GS: I don't know this person. I'm frankly uncomfortable with a newcomer. You know how it is when someone new comes in – positions harden.

SE: This person is going to be silent. He'll just help coordinate, take notes.

GS: I prefer that we just report to Martin [Indyk] when he returns in 48 hours. My proposal is to move from convergence to divergence. Let's write down what's

agreed. Then move to I's and P's. Then we have a preliminary document for the political decisionmakers.

SE: The Americans have asked if we're willing to go to Bolling or somewhere else in the U.S. OK with you?

GS: Fine. Sure.

SE: 3 on 3?

GS: We need more people: [Shlomo] Yanai, and maybe another lawyer – you bring so many lawyers to these things. So we would bring 6.

[DAHLAN joins the session.]

SE: I think that tomorrow we should discuss security.

MD: Why not today?

GS: I thought we were going to start with territorial issues.

[Some discussion. Group agrees to address security.]

GS: I'll start out by reading our preamble. Then I'll discuss the main principles of the rest of the document. These are our ideas. We'll be interested to hear your ideas, as well. [Reads:]

#### Preamble

1. The parties recognize that the establishment of a stable and mutually beneficial relationship between them will require mutual understanding and cooperation in security and security-related matters. And they take upon themselves to base their security relations on mutual trust and advancement of joint interests and cooperation.
2. Israel and Palestine shall each take all measures necessary in order to prevent acts of belligerency, hostility, and violence directed against the other party, as well as against individuals falling under its authority and their property.
3. Both parties further recognize that effectively combating terrorism in all its aspects will be a crucial element in their joint endeavor to attain stable and peaceful relations.

SE: Sounds good, except for the second part – I'm not sure it makes sense to me.

GS: Well, we can discuss it. Moving on from the preamble, we have some elements in the security section that we have to discuss:

(1) demilitarization – definition of the Pal. security forces; what's the name to be given to them?

(2) definition of an emergency situation, which in rare cases will allow us to deploy on Palestinian ground

(3) international guarantees to Palestinian national security and international participation in monitoring and verifying Pal. national security

(4) Jordan Valley

We can point out 4 basic elements that we can develop afterwards:

(1) Palestine will be a demilitarized state, with a strong police force, including ground and certain maritime elements. A subsection is the name to be given to this police force. We have three proposals: Palestinian Armed Security Forces (Quwat al falistinia al musallaha); Palestinian National Security Force (al qu'a al aminia al watania al falastinia); or Palestinian National Guard [non-military] (Haras al Watani al falastini [ghair al askaria]).

I know that on the question of demilitarization, you will have to look for ways to accommodate what Muhammad has raised, i.e. the usage of the word "demilitarization" – we want something less blunt. I'm willing to discuss where to put it. The Americans suggest putting it in an annex – the one that details the structure, size, and armament. But we don't want it to be a matter of interpretation. There must be a 100% accurate description of what we read, what we agree upon, but the demilitarization could be transferred to an annex in order to preserve the dignity of the security police force (or whatever).

(2) Jordan Valley. The principle should be that there shall be a low-key Israeli military presence in specified military locations in the Jordan Valley, as well as in areas and zones that will be specified. Three early warning sites and agreed arrangements for the usage and control of the airspace and the electromagnetic sphere on the basis of nondiscrimination of Palestinian civil aviation and identical regulations and restrictions for the operation of the Israeli Air Force similar to those applied above Israeli territories.

(3) Provision of international guarantees for Palestinian national security and third party participation in monitoring and verification – i.e., that national security of Pal. state is being protected.

(4) Special arrangements in case of an armed attack or threat to Israel's national security, including 3 passageways for Israeli forces to deployment areas and

zones. The Israeli definition of emergency situations requiring such deployment should be agreed by both parties. (I have four or five proposals that all make sense and are very reasonable.) A general comment: Israel will undertake not to abuse the provisions of the agreement relating to reinforcement or deployment of its forces in times of emergency. I mean that it will be strictly limited to situations in which the definition covers undoubtedly a case of emergency.

[Proposals submitted in writing:]

What is emergency?

An imminent threat of an external attack by military forces.

OR

The emergence of a military threat against which the existing arrangements on the ground do not provide an adequate response.

OR

A significant change in the military/security status quo in neighboring countries posing a threat to Israel's national security. [Examples given include the fall of the current Jordanian regime or hostile forces entering Jordan.]

OR

An external attack to national security requiring Israel to declare a national state of emergency, or a cabinet decision concerning the sending of troops outside Israel's borders.

OR

A significant negative change in the military/security status quo in neighboring countries posing a threat to Israeli national security, and requiring Israel to declare a national emergency or a cabinet decision concerning the sending of troops outside Israel's borders.

SE: Is Palestine a "neighboring country"?

GS: No. It wouldn't make any sense. You're not going to give us permission to access your territory if you're the hostile one. Anyway, these are the principles; the details are stronger.

GG: The issue of the border regime is addressed in the bilateral relations article.

GS: What I'm going to do now is not read the proposed text, but refer to the issues covered in it:

- (1) Palestinian security force – its missions, targets, responsibilities.
- (2) very short article referring to annex discussing size, deployment, activities, etc.
- (3) Dismantling all other armed elements in the territory of Palestine.
- (4) The prohibition of entry into or deployment in or stationing on Pal. grounds of any third party military or security forces other than the ones detailed in this article.
- (5) Palestine (incl. the PLO) shall not maintain any military forces or capacities outside its borders and shall not join any alliance of a military or paramilitary or security character unless otherwise agreed. [SE: Alliances directed against Israel, or any alliance? GS: Any alliance, unless otherwise agreed.]
- (6) Arrangements that relate to importation or production of equipment to make sure that some items that can be used as civilian arms or military arms. I suggest that this appear in the CAPS, not in the FAPS, but the principle should appear in the FAPS.
- (7) Status of Israeli security personnel that will be part of the low-key presence, both in the early warning facilities and in specified zones or locations (e.g., the Jordan Valley or other places).
- (8) Airspace.
- (9) Electromagnetic sphere, which -- I'm telling you now -- we're not interested in any commercial use of the sphere. And whatever needs you may have in it, we shall do our best to accommodate -- before signing the agreement.
- (10) Large section on border security regime aimed at regulating cross-border movement and law enforcement. [MD: Between us and them, or us and the world? GS: Between Israel and Palestine.]
- (11) In order to minimize friction, we should implement agreed planning and zoning limitations in specified areas. For example, let's assume that we have an early warning station somewhere near habitations or villages, we have to agree on what kind of limitations we put on planning and zoning in these regions. [MD: I want remind you that Clinton said that the erection of these sites would not affect our planning and zoning. GS: Let's say its surrounded by a village -- I'm not saying we need a lot, maybe zero.]

(12) Transitional period during which we still have Israeli settlements surrounded by Palestinian territory, and it should reflect all the aspects of life – movement, security, access, whatever.

(13) Monitoring and verification of the entire security agreement. We need an annex for that. A lot of detailed articles that break down the principle.

(14) Joint security cooperation committee. Its establishment, duties, dispute resolution, mandate, structure, etc.

(15) Other issues that require resolution. E.g., we should note that, before CAPS, we'll have an agreed civil aviation treaty.

GS: These are not requirements. These are my suggestions to you as to how to construct an article on security. I'm telling you right away that I do understand your concerns regarding security. If the issues here should be transferred to other parts of the agreement, I don't have a problem with it. I suggested some annexes: security force, border regime, the arrangements regarding the EM sphere, airspace, and monitoring and verification. We're willing to discuss everything. These are not positions – some are positions – they're simply items I think we should include in the security.

MD: [Israel Hassoon translating.] Maybe I'll answer you tomorrow.

IH: All of this is really the introduction.

[Discussion continues.]

Agreement to meet on Monday, September 18, 2000, from 1-5pm at the King David.