

Lexicon of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

A Geneva Initiative Resource

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UN resolutions

Resolution 181 (1947) – A partition plan proposed by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) called for the division of the Land of Israel west of the Jordan River into two states: Jewish (55% of the territory) and Palestinian (45% of the territory), with Jerusalem to be designated an international city under UN control. The UN General Assembly adopted the plan by majority vote, numbering it Resolution 181. The plan was approved by the Jewish Agency but rejected by the Arab leadership of the Land of Israel. It paved the way for ending the British Mandate and establishing the State of Israel, but also for the 1948 War. *The partition resolution is in fact the ideological and legal basis for the two-state solution, which was partially implemented with the establishment of the State of Israel. The second part is still awaiting implementation.*



Resolution 194 (1948) – A resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly about a year after approval of the partition plan, calling for formation of a reconciliation and

dialogue committee between Israel and the Arab states. Resolution 194 accepted a number of significant agenda items for rounds of negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians: freedom of access for members of all faiths to the holy sites, internationalization of Jerusalem, and Article 11, which deals with the rights of the Palestinian refugees: "... Refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property... under principles of international law..." *For the Palestinians, this article constitutes the legal basis for demanding the right of return. Over the years, peace programs and initiatives, such as the Geneva Initiative and the Arab Peace Initiative, have presented ways to implement Resolution 194 in a **mutually agreed** upon manner.*

Resolution 242 (1967) - A resolution adopted by the UN Security Council after the Six-Day War. Its main points were evacuation of Israeli forces from territories occupied during the war; an end to the state of war; recognition of the sovereignty of the states in the region and their right to exist peacefully within secure and recognized borders; and a just solution for the Palestinian refugees. This decision has been ratified over the years by additional resolutions relating to the Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Arab conflicts. *It formed the ideological basis for the concept of "land for peace", which was implemented in Israel's 1982 withdrawal from Sinai in accordance with its peace agreement with Egypt, but also constituted an obstacle to the handover of territories throughout negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Israel insisted that as long as there is no de facto peace, territories would not be evacuated.*

Resolution 2334 (2016) – A UN Security Council resolution stating that all Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories, the West Bank and East Jerusalem, are illegal. The resolution was supported by 14 of the 15 Security Council members. The United States abstained. It was adopted about a year after the European Parliament approved a resolution on the labeling of settlement products. *The government of Israel strongly protested both decisions, but there has been no significant change since then in the attitude of most countries towards Israel, nor in Israeli policy. Construction and expansion of settlements continues in a manner tantamount to creeping annexation, and international criticism remains the same.*

Conferences and outlines for resolving the conflict

Madrid Conference (1991) – An international peace conference convened in order to advance the peace process between Israel, the Palestinians and Arab states. The conference was summoned by the presidents of the United States and the Soviet Union and attended by representatives from Israel, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt and the European Union. The conference was convened under heavy US pressure and despite dissatisfaction expressed by then Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. The conference called for establishing two main channels for advancing the peace process: a bilateral channel and a multilateral channel. It led to direct talks between Israel and Arab countries and to bilateral talks with Jordan, which culminated with the signing of their 1994 peace agreement. *It should be noted that the Israeli government at the time consisted only of right-wing parties. Alongside Yitzhak Shamir, Benjamin Netanyahu served as deputy foreign minister and spokesman for the Israeli delegation.*

Oslo Accords (1993-1995) – A series of agreements signed between the State of Israel and the PLO, which included mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO and laid the principle and conceptual basis for continued negotiations on a permanent agreement. The Oslo Accords were procedural agreements intended to lead to substantive negotiations within a few years, but the process was halted after Yitzhak Rabin's assassination (1995) and the rise of the Netanyahu government (1996). The first stage of implementation (1993) consisted of signing The Declaration of Principles, which included mutual recognition, interim arrangements for Palestinian self-government in Gaza and Jericho, agreement on the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA), and the withdrawal of Israelis from communities in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. In the second stage (1994), the Cairo Agreement was signed, anchoring Israel's withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho ("Gaza and Jericho first") and the transfer of powers to the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the territories over which it was to receive control. The third stage (1995) included signing of the Interim Agreements (Oslo II, the Taba Accords) granting the Palestinians self-government in hundreds of villages and cities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The 1994 Protocol on Economic Relations, known as the Paris Protocol, formalized a taxation union and mutual economic ties on matters of border controls, customs, agriculture, industry, and tourism.

Under the Oslo II Accords, the West Bank and Gaza Strip were divided into three distinct areas:

Area A – Area under the civil and security control of the PA. Area A covers about 18% of the West Bank and includes Palestinian cities and villages. Since the disengagement from Gaza (2005), the entire Gaza Strip under Hamas control has also been incorporated into Area A.

Area B – Area under control of the PA on civil matters and under Israeli security control, covering about 22% of the West Bank. Together, Areas A and B comprise 40% of the West Bank and are home to about 90% of Palestinians in the West Bank.

Area C - Area under Israel's complete civil and security control, covering about 60% of the West Bank and including all Israeli civilians living there, IDF bases, and major

roads. Israel is responsible for all matters related to land in this area, including allocation, planning, construction, and infrastructure.

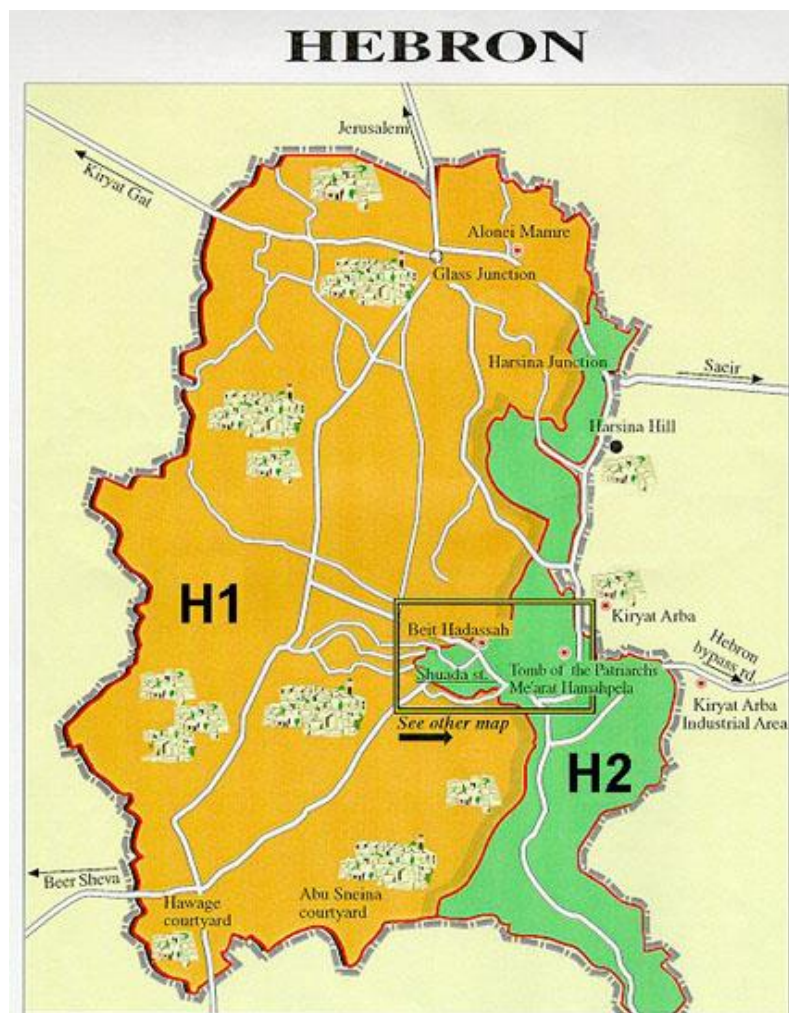
Over the years, both sides have failed to meet a significant portion of their obligations under the Oslo Accords. The Palestinians did not halt terrorist activities and organizations, and Israel continued to expand the settlement enterprise. Thirty years on, the Oslo Accords remain an ideological bone of contention within Israel, and their implementation has never been completed. Nonetheless, neither side has moved to abrogate the officially adopted agreements or the infrastructure established in compliance with the agreements' terms.



Hebron Protocol (1997) – An agreement dealing with the redeployment of the IDF in Hebron, signed in the presence of Benjamin Netanyahu and Yasser Arafat. The agreement divided Hebron into two areas: H1, where the Palestinian status is similar to that in Area A, and H2, the enclave of the Jewish settlement in Hebron over which the IDF has full control. The agreement dealt with both security aspects, such as security authority and joint security measures with the Palestinian police, as well as

with civilian aspects, such as construction planning, infrastructure, transportation, municipal supervision, etc. Under the auspices of the agreement, areas of Hebron that were closed after the massacre of the Cave of the Patriarchs (1994) were reopened to Palestinian traffic, but with the outbreak of the second intifada (2000), the IDF resumed operations in Area H1 and once again closed off central parts, such as the market and Shuhada Street, to Palestinian traffic.

About 200,000 Palestinians currently live in the area designated H1 and about 35,000 Palestinians and 800 Jews in H2. Hundreds of soldiers are permanently stationed in Hebron to protect the Jewish population and prevent friction between the sides. However, the presence of the Jewish community, which consists mostly of radical nationalists living in the heart of the city, and the military forces deployed there, generate daily friction and result in acute, ongoing discrimination against the Palestinian residents.



Wye River Memorandum (1998) – A memorandum of understanding between Israel and the PLO designed to bring the parties back to the negotiating table and advance the peace process. After a round of intensive meetings between the parties, the agreement was signed at an official White House ceremony attended by Benjamin

Netanyahu, Yasser Arafat, US President Bill Clinton, and in the presence of King Hussein of Jordan. The agreement defined a timetable for continued Israeli withdrawals and security measures. It stipulated that Israel would transfer an additional 13% of the West Bank to PA control, in three stages, in return for which the PA would move to stem terrorist activity, collect unlicensed weapons, stop incitement, and delete the clause in the Palestinian Charter calling for the destruction of Israel. Israel only implemented the first of the three phases (transferring 2% from Area C to B and 7.1% from B to A), claiming that the PA was failing to meet its obligations and/or was not meeting new demands, such as recognizing Israel as a Jewish state.

Camp David Summit (2000) –A peace conference hosted by US President Bill Clinton at the Camp David presidential retreat, bringing together Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat. Significant progress was made at the talks, and historic breakthroughs were noted, including Palestinian willingness to allow some Israeli settlements to remain in place after a border is demarcated between Israel and the Palestinian state, and Israel's willingness to discuss dividing Jerusalem into two capitals. *However, the conference ended after two weeks without agreement, with Barak declaring that there was no partner at this time. Barak nonetheless continued talks with the Palestinian leadership (during which the gaps were greatly reduced) until the end of his term (2001), but the "no partner" term that he coined was and is used by opponents on both sides as an excuse to avoid negotiations.*

Clinton Parameters (2000) – Principles for a permanent status agreement presented by President Bill Clinton after the failure of the Camp David talks and the outbreak of the second intifada. The framework included a compromise on the issue of refugees – recognition of the right of refugees to return to the Palestinian state, rehabilitation in their current location, resettlement in third countries - including Israel, in accordance with its laws and absorption policies, and compensation; division of the Temple Mount (upper part for Palestinians and lower part for Israel); division of Jerusalem and the Old City and the establishment of a demilitarized Palestinian state in most of the West Bank, except for large settlement blocs next to the pre-'67 lines. Under the proposal, the State of Palestine was supposed to include 94%-96% of the Judea and Samaria territory, in exchange for land swaps within the Green Line. *Both sides accepted the outline with reservations but did not have time for negotiations because elections were called in Israel and the second Palestinian uprising (intifada) broke out. The Clinton Parameters, with changes and adjustments, remained the basis for future negotiations and The Geneva Initiative.*

Taba Summit (2001) - A US-mediated peace summit between Israel and the PA following the Camp David talks and start of the intifada. According to the language of the sides' joint declaration, the summit ended with a sense of progress and the restoration of trust between the parties. Nonetheless, no detailed agreement was reached due to the impending Israeli elections the following month (February 2001). These were won by Ariel Sharon, who did not wish to continue negotiations. *Due to the proximity to the Israeli elections, the summit was not defined as formal negotiations, but it proved that the gaps exposed at Camp David could be bridged and*

that contrary to the prevailing Israeli claim, the Palestinians were not offered "everything" at Camp David.

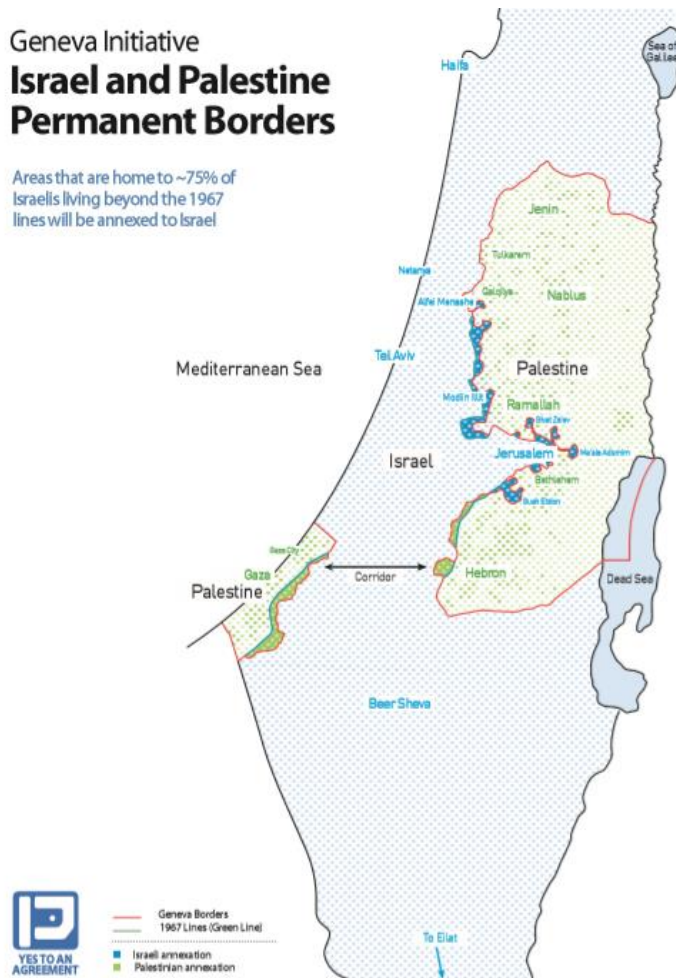
Arab Peace Initiative (2002) – A general outline for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict, stipulating the establishment of normal relations between Arab states and the State of Israel in exchange for an Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 lines, a just and agreed-upon solution to the problem of the Palestinian refugees, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, with Jerusalem as its capital. The framework, also known as the Saudi Initiative, was presented and approved at the March 2002 Arab League summit in Beirut and then ratified again at numerous Arab League conferences. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation also supported the Initiative despite Iran's reservations. *In April 2013, the Arab League announced that it was prepared to adopt the principle of land swaps with Israel, effectively providing the opening to deviate from the 1967 lines. The State of Israel has never officially responded to the Initiative.*

Road Map (2002) – A political plan to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict formulated by the Quartet (UN, EU, US and Russia) and based on a speech by US President George W. Bush (also known as Bush's vision for the Middle East). The framework included three main stages. The first stage foresaw a cessation of Palestinian terrorism and renewal of cooperation with Israel, along with political and security reforms in the PA, a freeze on construction in the settlements and the dismantling all the outposts established after March 2001, and humanitarian aid to the PA. Step two called for general elections in the PA territories, an option for the establishment of a Palestinian state with temporary borders subject to the agreement of the parties, negotiations on a permanent status agreement and the convening of a peace conference. The third stage included signing a permanent Israeli-Palestinian agreement and formalizing full relations with the Arab states within the framework of Arab-Israeli peace. The PA accepted the plan without reservations. Israel accepted it, too, but with 14 reservations, including the determination that the transition between the stages would depend on performance and not on timetables, especially in two areas: genuine thwarting of terrorism, incitement and violence, and the creation of a new Palestinian leadership. *The program was never actually advanced.*

Geneva Initiative (2003) – A model for a permanent Israeli-Palestinian agreement that offers detailed solutions to all the core issues of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The model was formulated by unofficial negotiating teams led by Yossi Beilin on the Israeli side and Yasser Abed Rabbo on the Palestinian side. The negotiating teams held talks for about two years with the participation of professionals, some of whom had been involved in previous rounds of formal negotiations between Israel and the PA, and with the participation of prominent public figures from both sides. To this day, the agreement and its appendices (published in 2009) serve as a model for the most detailed and concrete proposal to end the conflict. The agreed-upon model illustrates the feasibility of reaching a practical compromise space while preserving the vital interests of both sides. The model is promoted by parallel civil society organizations – Israeli and Palestinian – working in education for peace and maintaining an ongoing dialogue between Israeli and Palestinian society.

Geneva Initiative Israel and Palestine Permanent Borders

Areas that are home to ~75% of Israelis living beyond the 1967 lines will be annexed to Israel



Disengagement from Gaza (2005) – A unilateral plan carried out by the Israeli government, which evacuated some 8,600 Israeli residents of 21 Gaza Strip settlements and withdrew IDF forces to the 1967 lines. The plan also included evacuation of four isolated settlements in the northern West Bank. *Despite repeated rounds of fighting with Gaza since the pullout, it is worth remembering that the violence in Gaza began long before the disengagement, and that the constant friction between settlers and local Palestinian residents posed a significant security challenge. Rocket and mortar shell launches from the Gaza Strip began in 2001. Between 2001 and 2004 at least five attacks were carried out through underground tunnels, killing Israeli soldiers, and in 2004, the IDF described the tunnel threat as a severe security challenge. In May 2005, two serious attacks were mounted against Israeli troops, killing 13 soldiers. The unilateral disengagement weakened moderate PA elements and strengthened extremists, including Hamas. The move also reinforced the view held by many Palestinians that they cannot achieve anything through negotiations, only through the use of force.*

Annapolis process (2007) – A process that began with a peace conference in Annapolis, Maryland attended by Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas and US President George W. Bush. The aim of the conference was to restart the peace process in order to reach a permanent

agreement within a year. No significant progress was made at the conference, but it triggered a process of talks that lasted from 2007 to 2008 and became the closest point ever to achieving a permanent agreement. *The leaders of both sides at the time, Olmert and Abbas, testified in the years to come that they had been very close to reaching a comprehensive agreement and had already agreed on key issues such as security. They argued that if negotiations had continued, an agreement could have been reached. The process was halted with Olmert's resignation in the wake of corruption allegations.*



The Palestinian Proposal



The Israeli Proposal

Kerry talks (2013-14) – Negotiations led by US Secretary of State John Kerry aimed at reaching agreed terms of reference that will serve as a basis for permanent status negotiations. During the talks Prime Minister Netanyahu agreed in principle that the United States would present a paper serving as the basis for negotiations, defining the goal of a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders, but refused to compromise on the issue of Jerusalem. Mahmoud Abbas did not respond to the question of whether he would accept the paper as a basis for negotiations. As part of the proposal, the US provided Israel with a set of security guarantees. A number of understandings were reached at the outset that enabled the launch of negotiations: Israel pledged to release Palestinian prisoners in four phases as a gesture of goodwill to the PA; the PA pledged to cease unilateral moves against Israel at the UN and to stop its efforts to join international organizations, as well as committing to participation in ongoing negotiations for at least nine months; the United States entrusted both sides with letters of guarantee expressing support and recognition of Israel as the state of the Jewish people and support for a Palestinian state within the 1967 territories with some amendments.

Progress was made during the ensuing negotiations on the refugee issue, but the two sides did not reach agreement, even in principle, on the issue of Jerusalem. Israel carried out three stages of the four-phased prisoner release, but upon announcing that it would not implement the fourth stage, PA Chairman Abbas applied to join 15

international institutions and organizations. In other words, both sides violated their initial understandings and the process ground to a halt. The Israeli security cabinet issued a formal decision on ending the talks. The US never published the paper that was supposed to serve as the basis for negotiations.

Trump plan (2020) – The plan, also known as the "Deal of the Century," is an outline for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict presented by US President Donald Trump. As well as emphasizing economic issues with potential benefit for both sides, the plan's main focus is implementation of the two-state solution while clearly adopting the Israeli narrative, which gives top priority to Israeli positions on issues of security, Jerusalem, settlements, and refugees. According to the plan, the State of Israel will annex about 30% of the West Bank and will not evacuate any settlements. In return, Israel will give the PA 16% of its sovereign territory in the Negev region and will consider possible land swaps in the Arab populated areas within Israel. According to the plan, Jerusalem will not be divided and will remain under Israeli sovereignty, with the Palestinian capital to be established in Abu Dis, east of the separation barrier. *While the Israeli prime minister declared his willingness to hold negotiations on the basis of the initiative, the Palestinians refused, claiming that the principles of the plan contravene international law and previous agreements. The plan, including unilateral annexation of the settlements by Israel, was dropped with the signing of normalization agreements (Abraham Accords) between Israel and the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain, and President Trump's election defeat.*



Abraham Accords (2020-2021) – A series of agreements between the State of Israel and a number of Arab and Muslim countries. The first agreement was signed between Israel, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain, mediated by the United States. A year later, Sudan joined, while a separate agreement was signed with Morocco on renewing relations between the countries. Israel had maintained clandestine and, in some cases, public ties with all four countries in the years prior to formalizing ties. However, the transition to formal, warm relationships disproved the long-standing paradigm according to which Arab countries would only formalize relations with Israel once progress was made on the Palestinian issue. The Arab partners conditioned signature of the Abraham Accords on Israel abandoning the annexation plan presented by the Netanyahu government. *To a certain extent, the Abraham Accords and normalization implementation undermine the Arab Peace Initiative proposed 20 years earlier, but on the other hand, they emphasize the essential need for progress in the Israeli-Palestinian channel as a condition for expanded normalization with the Arab world, especially with Saudi Arabia.*

Basic concepts

Green Line (1967 Lines) – The line demarcated in accordance with the 1949 Armistice Agreements between Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, which constituted Israel's borders until the Six-Day War in June 1967. International law defines all civilian Israeli communities beyond the Green Line as illegal settlements and the issue remains a major bone of contention in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.



West Bank – An area that is 5,860 km², bordered by the Green Line to its west, the Jordan River to its east and the Dead Sea to its south. The territory, formerly under Jordanian control, has been held by Israel since 1967. The international community considers the West Bank occupied territory. Under the Oslo Accords, the West Bank has been divided into three areas: **Area A** – under the civil and security control of the Palestinian Authority. Area A includes about 18% of the West Bank and Palestinian cities and villages. Since the disengagement (2005) it also includes the Gaza Strip, which is under Hamas control. **Area B** – under PA civilian control and Israeli security control, covering about 22% of the West Bank. **Area C** – under Israel's civilian and security control, covering about 60% of the West Bank and includes all Israeli civilians, IDF bases, and major roads. Some 3.5 million people live in the West Bank, 85% of whom are Palestinians.

Gaza Strip – A 40-kilometer-long enclave covering 365 km² that borders Israel to the south, east and north, Egypt to the southwest, and the Mediterranean Sea to the west. According to the agreements, the Gaza strip was supposed to be part of the areas controlled by the Palestinian Authority, but since 2007, it has been control by Hamas. More than two million people live in the Gaza Strip, about one million of whom are defined as refugees and about half a million who live in refugee camps. In 1967, Israel occupied the Gaza Strip from Egypt and established Israeli settlements there. In 2005, the State of Israel carried out a unilateral disengagement - evacuating all 21 settlements in the Gaza Strip, withdrawing its military forces and declaring the end of its military rule. Despite the disengagement, the Gaza Strip remains dependent on the State of Israel in many aspects: Israeli-supplied water, electricity, gas, and fuel, full Israeli control of the maritime and air space, and border crossing control. Following the 2007 Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip, a general closure was imposed on the enclave, limited fishing areas, and severely restricted the movement of goods and people. After the disengagement, rocket and missile fire into Israeli territory intensified, leading to rounds of fighting of varying magnitudes. The blockade on Gaza, along with the many rounds of fighting, have led to economic collapse and the collapse of public infrastructure and systems. Unemployment and poverty rates in Gaza have increased, as has dependence on humanitarian organizations and the international community.

Core issues – The key issues underlying the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that were defined during the Oslo process and discussed in the final-status negotiations are: the status of Jerusalem, borders, settlements, refugees (the right of return), and security arrangements. Water supply was also a key issue that arose in Oslo and in ensuing negotiations – but due to technological and innovative solutions, this no longer poses a significant challenge.

Jerusalem – A sensitive and volatile issue stemming from the religious and symbolic importance of the city for both sides. For many years, Israel held the position that Jerusalem would remain united under its sovereignty, but at Camp David the principle of dividing the city into two capitals for the two peoples was accepted. The Annapolis process yielded agreement in principle on a geographic-demographic division in accordance with the Clinton parameters: Jewish neighborhoods for Israel and Arab neighborhoods for the Palestinian state. However, no agreement was reached on the Holy Basin and on sovereignty over the Temple Mount. *Under the Geneva Initiative, all Israeli neighborhoods in East Jerusalem will become an integral part of the State of Israel. The Israeli communities adjacent to Jerusalem that are located beyond the Green Line (Ma'ale Adumim, Givat Ze'ev and most of the Etzion Bloc) will also be annexed to Israel. Within these new borders, Jerusalem will have an absolute and solid Jewish majority. More than 370,000 current East Jerusalem residents will become citizens of the Palestinian state and lose the permanent Israeli resident status they enjoy today. The Western Wall and the Jewish Quarter will be under full Israeli sovereignty, while the rest of the Old City, including the Temple Mount, will be under Palestinian sovereignty but provide full freedom of movement for members of all faiths.*

Borders - While both sides recognize that the 1967 lines with amendments and land swaps in certain areas constitute the basis for negotiations, no compromise has yet been reached on the extent of the territory and the future border lines. For the

Palestinians, the 1967 borders (demarcating 22% of “historic Palestine”) are a compromise in itself vis-à-vis the territory designated for the Palestinian state in the 1947 Partition Plan, and over the years they have adhered to a rigid position on this issue. For the Palestinians, reasonable territorial contiguity is of great importance, while the State of Israel places great importance on annexing settlement blocs and avoiding, as much as possible, the evacuation of Israelis. Both sides have recognized a land-swap option, but while the Palestinians demand equal exchanges in terms of size and quality, all of Israel’s proposals call for significant Palestinian concessions in its favor.

Settlements – All civilian communities beyond the Green Line are defined under international law as illegal settlements, based on Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits an occupying state from transferring civilian populations to occupied territory. The State of Israel is engaged in a longstanding dispute with the international community over the validity of international law regarding the settlements, and promotes extensive construction in the West Bank. The first settlement in the West Bank, Kfar Etzion, was established in September 1967, and in 1968 rebuilding began of the Jewish settlement in Hebron. The 1974 founding of the Gush Emunim movement provided impetus to the pace of settlement construction. By 2023, the State of Israel had established 132 official settlements in the West Bank and another 150 illegal outposts established since the 1990s without an official government decision. As of 2023, about 500,000 settlers live in the West Bank and another 250,000 in neighborhoods and villages annexed to Jerusalem. Most live in so-called “settlement blocs” in relative proximity to the sovereign territory of the State of Israel. *Israel evacuated settlements from the Sinai Peninsula in accordance with the 1979 peace agreement with Egypt and more than 25 years later as part of its disengagement from Gaza (all settlements in the Gaza Strip and four in northern Samaria), but the feasibility of additional large-scale evacuation measures becomes more difficult over the years – given the expansion and proliferation of settlements and an increasing public perception of them as an integral part of the State of Israel.*

Security – On the surface, this is a technical issue and therefore easier to resolve than substantive and fundamental issues, but there are gaps between the parties on this issue as well. For the State of Israel, the very existence of a Palestinian state poses a threat and therefore places security as a threshold condition for any future agreement. Israel makes many demands based on the security needs defined by its governments. These include preventing the deployment of any additional army west of the Jordan River, preserving control over that air space for operational purposes and continued monitoring of all those entering the territory west of the Jordan River. The Palestinians, for their part, demand an international or foreign protection force and withdrawal of all Israeli soldiers from their state. Olmert and Abbas reached technical agreements on this issue, including agreements with Jordan and Egypt about security arrangements that would be implemented in their territory bordering the future Palestinian state. *According to the Geneva Initiative, the Palestinian state will be demilitarized and de-weaponized and only include a police force to maintain law and order and prevent terrorism. The Palestinians have expressed willingness to accept the demilitarization condition, but have found it difficult to accept Israel’s demand for a military presence in the Jordan Valley or other areas of the future Palestinian state.*

Refugees – Palestinian refugees are defined as those who were residents of Palestine between June 1946 and May 1948 and who lost their homes and livelihoods as a result of the 1948 war. This definition was formulated by UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, established in 1949. According to the UN and UNRWA definitions, Palestinian refugee status applies both to descendants of the original refugees (on the father's side) and to refugees who obtained citizenship in other countries. In 1950, UNRWA served 750,000 Palestinian refugees; in 2023, approximately 5 million Palestinians are eligible for the agency's services. In 1949, as part of the Lausanne Conference, and under heavy American pressure, the State of Israel expressed willingness to accept some 100,000 Palestinians under a peace treaty with Arab countries, but the proposal was rejected and the conference ended without agreements. *Israel has traditionally expressed willingness to take part in solving the problem, but not to assume responsibility for its genesis, while the Palestinians demand moral and historical attention to the origins of the problem.*

East Jerusalem - An area covering about 70 km² in Jerusalem and its outskirts, located beyond the Green Line and annexed to the State of Israel in 1967. The UN Partition Plan defined Jerusalem as a separate area – Corpus Separatum, but the plan was not accepted nor implemented. After the War of Independence, Jerusalem remained divided, with the State of Israel controlling its western part and Jordan its eastern part, including the Old City. In 1949, Israel declared Jerusalem its capital, and in 1950 Jordan annexed the West Bank and East Jerusalem. In 1967, Israel occupied East Jerusalem and annexed it to its territory, redefining the city's boundaries to include over 20 Palestinian villages and two refugee camps. Following the annexation and application of Israeli law there, Palestinian residents were granted permanent resident status, which entitles them to most civil rights and obligations, but does not allow them to vote in the general elections for the Knesset nor to hold an Israeli passport. As of 2023, they number about 370,000. Their permanent residency in Israel may be revoked if they remain outside the city for an extended period of time, as has been the case with some 15,000 Palestinians. *Although East Jerusalem is annexed to the State of Israel, the social-economic gaps between East and West Jerusalem are considerable and reflected in many areas, including health, education, welfare, and infrastructure. Agreements in the past were in principle about how to divide the city on the basis of demography – Jewish neighborhoods for Israel and Arab neighborhoods for the Palestinian state, while defining an agreed-upon solution for the Historic Basin. However, changing demographics and more religious and nationalistic discourse make any compromise and agreement more challenging to reach on the issue of Jerusalem.*

Temple Mount – A compound in the Old City of Jerusalem sacred to both Jews and Muslims. The Temple Mount compound is home to the Al-Aqsa Mosque, which is holy to Muslims, while Jews revere it as the site of their historic Temple and its future reconstruction. The Temple Mount is at the heart of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the nexus of the dispute over Jerusalem, both religiously and nationally. In 1967, after the occupation of Jerusalem and the annexation of East Jerusalem, the State of Israel decided on an outline for maintaining the status quo in the compound. According to the outline, the Muslim Waqf funded by Jordan would continue to manage the site (as

was the case since 1948), Jews will not pray on the Temple Mount but will be allowed to visit the compound, Israeli law will apply to the Mount, and the Israeli government will be responsible for security at the site. As part of the peace treaty with Jordan (1994), Israel officially recognized Jordan's special status and historic role in Jerusalem's holy sites. Beyond its religious aspects, the compound has great national significance for both sides. Over the years, violence between the sides was often sparked by riots on the Temple Mount. In 2000, for example, after Prime Minister Sharon's ascension to the Temple Mount, riots broke out at the site, marking the start of the second intifada. Riots also broke out between 2014 and 2017, usually spilling over into other territories and leading to increased terrorist attacks. In 2021, the riots that broke out on the Mount also spilled over into the mixed Jewish-Arab cities in Israel and created a severe crisis of trust between the Jewish and Arab populations in Israel.

Separation Barrier – A physical barrier built along the Green Line as a concrete wall in certain areas and in others as a security fence with electronic monitoring devices, intended to prevent terrorist attacks, the infiltration of terrorists and the illegal entry of Palestinians and others. The route of the barrier runs partly within the West Bank and deviates from the Green Line in order to accommodate settlements located near the line and large settlement blocs. The barrier was built between 2002 and 2006. The second intifada (2000-2005) was a significant catalyst for its progress. Settlers, backed by their umbrella Yesha Council organization, initially opposed the barrier for fear of harming the settlement enterprise and creating a de facto border, but withdrew their objections given the large number of terrorist attacks during the intifada. The planned route of the barrier is 712 kilometers long, more than twice the length of the 320-kilometer Green Line. Once it is completed, about 8% of the West Bank area will be cut off from the West Bank. According to the Ministry of Defense, the route was determined based on strategic security considerations and will change if a permanent agreement is signed with the PA delineating borders. The International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague has ruled that the barrier violates international law, and expressing grave concern that it would unilaterally pre-determine Israel's borders and result in de facto annexation of territories. *The Barrier harms Palestinian quality of life along some of its route because it separates farmers from their land, creates "trapped" enclaves with exits and entrances controlled and restricted by the IDF, and impairs access to the city's center for East Jerusalem residents living on the other side of the fence. Since the construction of the barrier, the number of terrorist attacks inside Israel has declined significantly, but it is important to note that it is not hermetically sealed and that thousands of Palestinians cross through breaches in the fence on a daily basis, mostly to seek work in Israel.*



Cave of the Patriarchs/Ibrahimi Mosque – A historic site in Hebron and one of the holiest sites in Judaism and Islam. According to Jewish tradition, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah are buried there. The site is divided into a Jewish prayer area and a Muslim one. For 10 days a year the site is open to Jews only and for 10 days a year to Muslims only. In February 1994, Baruch Goldstein, a Jewish resident of the Kiryat Arba urban settlement adjacent to Hebron, massacred 29 Muslim worshippers in the Cave. It was the first mass attack of the Oslo Accords process, but it was preceded by terrorist attacks and violence by Palestinian extremists who opposed the peace process. After the massacre, riots broke out throughout the Occupied Territories and a prolonged closure was imposed on the Palestinian neighborhoods of Hebron. At the end of the 40-day mourning period after the massacre, Hamas launched a series of retaliatory suicide bombings in Israel. The Cave of the Patriarchs is a very active tourist attraction for Jews, Muslims and Christians, with the number of visitors constantly on the rise.

Quartet conditions – The Quartet, which was established in 2002 and includes the US, Russia, the EU, and the UN, defined (in 2008) three conditions for recognition of a Palestinian government: recognition of Israel, recognition of previous agreements between the sides, and an end to terrorism. Under these conditions, the State of Israel demanded that the international community refuse to recognize the Palestinian unity government established in 2014 because it was supported by Hamas. Dialogue with

the Hamas government was also prevented because of the organization's non-compliance with the Quartet's conditions.

Hamas – The Palestinian Islamic resistance movement established in 1987 was inspired and affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood. The movement consists of three branches: a political wing, a military wing, and a civilian wing. The movement has been designated as a terrorist organization by many Western countries, including Israel, the United States, and the European Union, and as a legitimate political movement by countries such as Iran, Russia, Turkey, China, and Arab states. Since its inception, Hamas has taken an active and leading role in violence and terrorism against Israel. In 1988, Hamas issued its charter based on Islamic sources, calling for the establishment of a Palestinian state on the entire territory of the State of Israel. The Hamas movement, which represents the Islamic movement among the Palestinian public, maintains tense and sometimes even hostile relations with Fatah, which represents the nationalist faction in Palestinian society. Over the years, attempts at reconciliation have been made, but the rift between the movements and the organizations has remained acute and peaked with the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007. Over the past two decades, the Hamas movement has undergone a process of political institutionalization, aspiring to a fundamental political-diplomatic role in both the internal Palestinian and international arenas. To that end, it presents more pragmatic and moderate positions than in the past and intensifies efforts to develop foreign relations and promote political ties with international entities in order to gain broad legitimacy. The 2006 Prisoners' Document calling for the establishment of a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders attests to this more pragmatic and moderate shift.

Administrative detainees – Administrative detention is the detention of a person without trial and without a defined charge, usually for security reasons and on the grounds that the detainee will harm public security or the security of the area. Administrative detention orders are signed for a period of three to six months and can then be extended indefinitely. Administrative detention is based on secret evidence that is not disclosed to the detainee and does not allow for proper legal process. Their numbers at any given time are in the hundreds, and sometimes even reach around a thousand. Jewish Israelis suspected of anti-Palestinian terrorist activities are also sometimes placed in administrative detention. *The use of administrative detention, although enshrined in law, is a serious violation of human rights and has drawn criticism from the international community and local and international human rights organizations.*

Security prisoners – Palestinian prisoners or detainees incarcerated in Israeli jails for offenses against state security. Security prisoners are held separately from those jailed for criminal offenses and subject to restrictions on leaves, telephone calls, and conjugal visits. Since 1967, Israel has jailed tens of thousands of Palestinians as security prisoners, and there is hardly a household in the Occupied Territories where at least one family member has not spent time in an Israeli prison. As of 2023, Israel was holding about 5,000 security prisoners, including several hundred minors. The issue of security prisoners highlights the clash between the Israeli and Palestinian narratives. For the Palestinians, security prisoners are political prisoners and fighters

sent to fight the occupation and taken prisoner. The PA pays salaries, allowances and benefits to prisoners, terrorists and their families as enshrined in the Released Prisoners Law, which states that anyone jailed for participation in the war against Israel is entitled to a salary. Israel, for its part, views the PA's significant budgetary support of security prisoners as incentives that encourage terrorism. Israelis also regard Palestinian treatment of security prisoners as heroes as proof of support for violence rather than peace. *While the Israeli public tends to view security prisoners as a single entity of terrorists and supporters of terrorism, it should be emphasized that many senior PA figures have served time in Israeli jails and become legitimate political players following their release. Many have integrated into the Palestinian peace camp and are working to end the conflict.*

Prisoners' document – A document of national consensus drafted and signed in 2006 in Israel's maximum security prison, Hadarim, by five senior Palestinian security prisoners representing the various Palestinian factions: Fatah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The document calls for the establishment of a Palestinian state along the 1967 borders with Jerusalem as its capital, focusing resistance activities in the occupied territories rather than Israel, and realizing the right of return according to Resolution 194.

Annexation – The act of officially (de jure) attaching occupied territory to that of an occupying power and imposing sovereignty over it. In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, annexation means applying Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank territory occupied in 1967. These territories are held by Israel, but with the exception of East Jerusalem, have never been formally annexed to Israel. The international community has never recognized the unilateral 1967 annexation of East Jerusalem. Annexation can be carried out unilaterally – or within the framework of negotiations, exchange of territories and handover of territories. Israel has refrained for decades from carrying out de jure annexation measures in the West Bank, but has expanded and deepened de facto annexation in a manner described as "creeping annexation" by expanding construction in settlements, building infrastructure, and promoting legislation of an "annexation nature." Whereas discourse on full or partial annexation of the West Bank was once marginal and advocated only by a handful of settlers and the Messianic right, in recent years it has been gaining momentum and is consolidating into formal proposals of annexation and legislative proposals promoting annexation elements and paving the ground for the application of official sovereignty. In January 2020, US President Trump presented the "Deal of the Century" for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which proposed the annexation of some 30% of the West Bank to Israel in order to prevent the evacuation of settlements. *Netanyahu's ensuing declaration of annexation intent provoked harsh reactions and objections both within the State of Israel and among the international community and the Arab world. The annexation plan was halted under the auspices of the Abraham Accords, although some claim that Netanyahu never intended to implement it because, in addition to the international and regional costs, Israel after annexation would lose its Jewish majority and no longer be a Jewish and democratic state.*

Civil society - Dozens of Israeli and Palestinian non-profit organizations dedicate themselves to promoting peace, reconciliation, democracy and human rights, some of them working in cooperation. Opponents on both sides reject any type of dialogue and political discourse, either because these clash with the ideology of the Israeli right, or undermines the Palestinian anti-normalization movement, which opposes any dialogue with Israelis. In the 1990s and 2000s, the organizations were buoyed by a sense of hope for an end to the conflict. *Today, in light of the ongoing political deadlock, civil society activity and Israeli-Palestinian meetings are even more important, being the sole channel for dialogue between the sides. The backing and support that these organizations receive from both sides have become even more significant than in the past given the need to maintain hope of a solution and keep discourse and dialogue between the sides on the agenda, particularly in the absence of official political activity.*

Terminology

Demography – As of 2023, 7.1 million Jews live in Israel and the territories under its control, and approximately 2.6 million non-Jews live in the State of Israel. About 3 million Palestinians live in the West Bank and another 2.1 million in the Gaza Strip. Among this total, Jews constitute less than half the population as of 2023 (7.1 out of 14.8 million – 48%) in the entire area under direct or indirect control by Israel. Without the Gaza Strip, Jews make up 56% of the population under Israeli control. Either way, this constitutes a bi-national state, which illustrates the demographic significance of continued Israeli control of the territories. In Jerusalem, according to its Israeli borders, more than 39% of residents are Palestinians. Demographic trends indicate a declining Jewish grip on the land unless an eastern border is established that would leave most Palestinians out of Israel.

“There’s no partner” – A statement coined at the end of the Camp David Summit by then-Prime Minister Ehud Barak, which has since been used by opponents of the peace process as an excuse to avoid negotiations. It is important to note that despite making the statement about Yasser Arafat (“There is no partner at this time”), Barak continued talks with the Palestinians and attempts to advance negotiations throughout his term. In fact, in the months following Camp David, the gaps between the parties narrowed greatly. Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) has demonstrated his opposition to terrorism throughout his years as head of the Palestinian Authority and has been willing to discuss a peace agreement with Israeli leaders at any time.

Two-state solution – A formula for solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through division and separation. It foresees two states for two peoples - a Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel, based on the 1967 lines with land swaps that allow the annexation of territories where most Israelis live beyond the Green Line, with Jewish Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and Al-Quds as capital of the State of Palestine. The solution is based on the assumption that the two peoples cannot live together peacefully as equals in one state in the foreseeable future, and therefore, the land must be divided between them. This has been and remains the most popular solution on both sides.

One-state solution – A sovereign bi-national state between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River espoused by those advocating a state in which Israelis and Palestinians live together under democratic and egalitarian rule. However, some Israelis see it as a state in which only some of the population enjoys equal rights – that is, a state with two different sets of laws, for Jews and Palestinians, with only some of its residents having the right to choose the leadership that shapes their lives.

Confederation – A model of two sovereign states with separate authorities, open borders and freedom of movement for both peoples. Jerusalem in the confederative model will be jointly shared by both countries, and joint institutions will be established to deal with security, the environment, the economy, and immigration. This model would enable annexation of the settlements close to the Green Line in exchange for equivalent land in the State of Israel for the Palestinian state. The rest of the settlements will remain in place under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian state but the

settlers living there will be defined as citizens of the State of Israel and permanent residents of the State of Palestine. An equal number of Palestinian refugees will be allowed to live in the State of Israel under a corresponding status arrangement.

Shrinking the conflict – An approach that calls for measures to reduce the points of friction and disagreement with the Palestinians, while preserving Israel's security interests. Among the proposed measures are the removal of military checkpoints and construction of roads bypassing settlements and connecting the various parts of the Palestinian Authority; expansion of areas under Palestinian autonomy; expanded permission for Palestinians to travel abroad; additional permits for Palestinians wishing to work in Israel; allocation of land for Palestinian development and industrial activity; land and sea connections for import and export of goods to Palestinian-controlled areas, and more. This is an Israeli proposal intended to bridge disputes between the political right and left, but it fails to deal with the core issues of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.