

Palestinian-Israeli Impasse-Exploring Solutions To The Palestine-Israel Conflict

Background

In 2004, PASSIA initiated a new project entitled Palestinian-Israeli Impasse - Exploring Solutions to the Palestine-Israel Conflict. The impetus for this project was the fact that the conflict in Israel/Palestine has been continuing for more than a hundred years with all initiatives and negotiations to date failing to deliver a solution. Today, Palestinians face a situation where negotiations have stalled and Israel continues unabated its policy of suppression and establishing irreversible facts on the ground, whilst the international community is unable to bring about a settlement consistent with international law and UN Security Council resolutions. An increasing number of voices claim that the two-state solution - pursued in various forms over the last five decades - has been effectively pre-empted by the deliberate strategies of recent Israeli governments.

Against this background and in building on its past activities in related subject matters, this PASSIA project aims to examine whether, or to what degree, the two-state consensus is "dead" and to explore the feasibility of alternative proposals – such as bi-national or federal systems or scenarios involving Jordan and other states – without necessarily promoting them.

The objective of this project is to promote serious dialogue and discussion of the options facing the two communities over the course of the next few years, and to provide a detailed analysis of the prospects for each of the various possibilities for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.



The project consists of a research component (position papers) and dialogue sessions, the proceedings of which will be published in a book in 2005.

Meetings in 2004

23 February 2004, PASSIA, Jerusalem

The Bi-national Idea in Palestine/Israel: Conceptual Background and Contemporary Debate

Speaker: Dr. As'ad Ghanem, Haifa University Participants: Ann Le More, UNSCO, Jerusalem; Walid Assali, Lawyer; Mohammed Nusseibeh, Higher Islamic Council; François Osete and Alban Biaussat, European Commission; Hanan Aruri, UNDP; Raja Eghbaryeh, Abnaa El-Balad Movement, Umm Al- Fahm; Richard Colvin, Canadian Representative Office, Ramallah; Dr. René Klaff, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Jerusalem; José Ferreira da Fonseca, Portuguese Representative Office; Hanlie Booysen, South African Representative



As'ad Ghanem





Gary Sussman

25 March 2004, PASSIA, Jerusalem Is the Two-State-Solution Viable?

Speaker: Dr. Gary Susman, Tel Aviv University Participants: Peter Schäfer, Project Coordinator, Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation (FES); Fadia Daibes, Water Consultant; Diana Buttu, Legal Advisor to the PLO; Niall Holohan, Head, Irish Representative Office; Hanlie Booysen, Deputy, South African Representative Office; Michèle Auga, Director, FES; Andreas Deschler, Consultant, Friedrich-Naumann-Foundation (FNF); Renè Klaff, Director, FNF; Muhammad Jadallah, Physician; Walid Assali, Lawyer; Lana Abu Saud, Student; Azzam Abu Saud, Economist; Muhammad Nusseibeh, Higher Islamic Council; Jamal Al-Aref, Deputy, ANERA; Nasser Abu Farha, Anthropologist; Khaled Z. Husseini, NSU; Khalil Assali, Voice of America; Anthony Richter, Open Society Institute; Abdul Rahman Abu Arafeh, Director, Arab Thought Forum.



I April 2004, PASSIA, Ramallah

The Two-State Solution – Arguments and Political Consequences

<u>Speaker</u>: Dr. Salim Tamari, Director, Institute for Jerusalem Studies, Jerusalem

Participants: Peter Schäfer, FES; Othman Abu Gharbiyyeh, Palestinian Authority – General Security; Shurouq Harb, Teacher; Ahmed Harb, Birzeit University; Ayman Yousef, The Arab American University, Jenin; Hijazi Natsheh, Digital Palestine; Mamdouh Nofal, Writer, Ramallah; Taleb Awad, Muwatin; Sa'ed Abdul Hadi, Nasher; Mouin Rabbani, Researcher; Samer Fares, Birzeit University; Nadia Hajal, Coordinator, Palestine Peace Coalition; Mamdouh Aker, Physician; Hani Al-Masri, General Director, Ministry of Information; Hanan Ashrawi, PLC Member, Director, Miftah; Wafa' Abdul Rahman, Miftah;



Salim Tamari

Lubna Hammad, Lawyer; Faisal Awartani, Director, Alpha; Rawan Issa, Raed Malki, Canadian Representative Office, Ramallah; Areej Al-Yousef, Mahdi Abdul Hadi, PASSIA



26 April 2004, PASSIA, Jerusalem **Two States in a Federal Union** Speaker: Nasser Abu Farha, University of

<u>Speaker</u>: Nasser Abu Farna, University of Wisconsin

Participants: Catherine Nichols, Sabeel; Xavier Pelletier, French Consulate; Layla Kaiksow, Palestine Fair Trade Association, Manuel Schubert, Konrad-Adenauer Foundation (KAF), Ramallah; Elisabeth Petersen, Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung (FES); Katharina Friedrich, FES; Peter Schäfer, FES; Michèle Auga, Director, FES; Mohammed Nusseibeh, Engineer; Samer Nusseibeh, Engineer; Walid Assali, Lawyer; Adnan Abdul Razeq; Hana Hasan, ECHO; Alban Biaussat, European Commission Office; Amit Leshem, Van Leer Institute;



Nasser Abu Farha

Abdul Rahman Abu Arafeh, Director, Arab Thought Forum; Mohammed Shadid, Welfare Association; Ibrahim Daibes, Journalist; Caroline Vanquaethem, Volunteer, Youth Development Department (YDD), Arab Studies Society; Albert Aghazerian, Lecturer and Consultant, Jerusalem; Zaki Abu Halaweh, Journalist; Ishaq Al-Qutub, Al-Quds University; Nick Kardahji, Deniz Altayli, Mahdi Abdul Hadi, PASSIA.





Sari Hanafi

12 May 2004, PASSIA, Ramallah The Extraterritorial Nation-State and the Question of Refugees

<u>Speaker</u>: Dr. Sari Hanafi, Director, Shaml – Palestinian Diaspora and Refugee Center, Ramallah

Participants: Luay Shabaneh, ACSP- Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS); Taysir Zabri, Hurriyyat; Salim Tamari, Sociology Researcher; Raed Malki, Canadian International Development Agency (Cida); Gabi Baramki, Ministry of Education and Higher Education; Khalil Nijem, General Director, Spatial Planning, Ministry of Planning; Faisal Awartani, General Manager, Alpha International For Polling, Research and Informatics; Ayman Yousef, Lecturer, The Arab American University, Jenin; Adeeb Ziadeh, Teacher; Nisreen Awad, Student; Nadia Hajal, Geneva Initiative, Civil Society Coordinator; Michèle Auga, Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung (FES); Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Nick Kardahji, PASSIA.



9 June 2004, PASSIA, Ramallah Economic Issues in the One- and Two-State Scenarios

<u>Speaker</u>: Dr. Hisham Awartani, Director, Center for Private Sector Development, Ramallah

Participants: Gabi Baramki, Consultant; Abdullah Abu Shaweesh, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Sam Bahour, Consultant; Hazem Kawasmi, GTZ Consultant; Ziad Karableih, Ministry of Economy; Haifa' Baramki, Director, Education in Life; Chris August, General Manager, Palestine Development Fund; Amer Nour, Researcher, Economist; Maher Awartani, Student; Mahmoud Takruri, General Manager, Palestine Mortgage and Housing Corporation; Othman Nabhan, Ministry of Finance; Faisal Awartani, Director, Alpha International, Ramallah; Ghada Abdul Hadi, Hawa Center, Nablus; Delia Salemi, Student; Majid Rabi, Researcher; Hatem Amin, Researcher; Mahdi Abdul Hadi, PASSIA.



Hisham Awartani



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Ian Lustick

16 June 2004, PASSIA, Jerusalem

The Future of Settlements and Settlers in a Two-State or One-State Solution

Speaker: Prof. Ian Lustick, University of Pennsylvania Participants: Peter Schäfer, Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung (FES); José Fonseca, Head, Portuguese Representative Office; Ronnie Chatah, UNRWA; Naim Ateek, Priest, Sabeel; Mais Zuhaika, Faisal Husseini Foundation; Walid Assali, Lawyer; Jordan Stanciv, United States Consulate; Eric Sherman, School of Public Policy (JFK); Mustafa Abu Sway, Al-Quds University; Ibrahim Sha'ban, Lecturer; Jean Jacques Joris, Swiss Representative Office, Ramallah; Amit Leshem, Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem; Manal Musallam, Student; Hubert De Senarclens, Tourist; Emmanuelle de Foy, Belgian Consulate; Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Nick Kardahji, Fadi Kiblawi, PASSIA



21 June 2004, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Islamic Views on the Notion of a Binational State Speaker: Ahmed Abu Lafi, Lecturer, Al-Quds University, Jerusalem

Participants: Mohammed 'Ali, Lecturer at the Faculty of Quranic and Islamic Studies, Al-Quds University; Sa'el 'Ali, Al-Furqan School; Mais Zuheikeh, Faisal Husseini Foundation, Jerusalem; Sandy Hilal, Engineer; Peter Shafer, Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung (FES); 'Ikrima Sabri, Mufti of Jerusalem and Palestine; Abdul Azeem Salhab, Head, Council for Waqf and Islamic Affairs; Mohammed Hussein, Director, Al-Aqsa Mosque; Ibrahim Sabri, Member, Shari'a Appeal Court; Mustafa Abu Sway, Al-Quds University; Almu'iz LadinAllah Nashashiby, Engineer; Mohammed Nusseibeh; Islamic Waqf, Samer Nusseibeh, Engineer; Adnan Husseini, Islamic Waqf; Musa Dweik, Dean, School of Law, Al-Quds University; Salah Abu 'Arafeh, Advertising; Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Sana' Shannak, PASSIA.



Ahmed Abu Lafi



14 July 2004, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Territorial Exchange between Israel, Egypt and the Future Palestinian State

Speaker: Prof. Yehoshua Ben-Arie, Geographer, Harry S. Truman Institute, Hebrew University, Jerusalem Participants: Fadia Daibes, Consultant; Yitzhak Reiter, Truman Institute, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Albert Aghazarian, Researcher; Lisa Perlman, Truman Institute, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Suzanne Rutland, Assoc Prof, University of Sydney, Austria; Safa Abu Asab, Program Manager, Diakonia; Fadi Al-Hidmi, Welfare Association; Mustafa Abu Sway, Professor, Al Quds University; Hanlie Booysen, Diplomat, South African Representative Office; Marian Houk; Niall Holohan, Diplomat, Ireland Representative Office, Ramallah; Steve Hibbard, Canadian Representative Office, Ramallah; Mohammed Nuseibeh, Member HigherIslamic Council; Orayb Najjar, Associate Professor-JOUR; Rima Merriman, Tokten Communications; Khalil Assali, Radio Sawa; Jean Jaques Joris, Diplomat, Switzerland, Ramallah; Samia Khoury, Volunteer; Catherine Nicolas, Al Sabeel; Jumana AZ Jaouni, British Consulate.



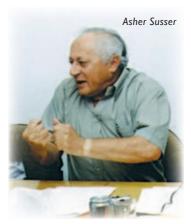
Yehoshua Ben-Arie





28 July 2004, PASSIA, Jerusalem Confederation Options in the Palestine-Israel Conflict

<u>Speaker:</u> Prof. Asher Susser, Director and Senior Researcher, Moshe Dayan Center, Tel Aviv University <u>Participants:</u> Amit Leshem, Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem; Steve Goldman, Professor, Philosopher; Shulamit Laron, Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem; Munther Dajani, Professor, Al-Quds University; Nabil Al-Jabari, Dentist; Roland Friedrich, Political Scientist; Steve Hibbard, Canadian Representative Office, Ramallah; Mahmoud Jadallah, Physician; Hanlie Booysen, South African Representative Office, Ramallah; Abed Abu Diab.





5 August 2004, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Land, Borders and Constitutional Features for Alternative Solutions

<u>Speaker:</u> Fadi Kiblawi, Law School, George Washington University, Washington DC

Participant(s): Jamal El Aref, Deputy Middle East Representative, ANERA; Tanory Ateek, Student; Sari Ateek, Student; Daniel Gonzalez, Computer Programmer; Sonia Gonzalez, Economist; Ines Mazarrasa, Economist; Albert Ucelay, Consulate General, Spain; Safa Abu Asab, Program Manager, Diakonia; Ron Dvdoi, Researcher; Karl O'Connor, Student; Bayan Hamid, Student; Fadia Daibes, Water Law, Policy Consultant; Sarah Hamid, Student; Anna Sanders, Teacher; Joshua Storck, Software Engineer.



Fadi Kiblawi



I September 2004, PASSIA, Jerusalem Negotiating "The Holy Land" – Beyond the Two-State Solution

<u>Speaker:</u> Diana Buttu, Lawyer, Negotiations Support Unit, Ramallah

Participants: Peter Schaefer, Program Coordinator, FES; Rene Ulaff, Project Director; Karim Naffa', Lawyer; Ibrahim Sha'ban, Lecturer; Hanna Siniora, Journalist; Thomas Nue, Economist; ANERA, Rana Bishara, Consultant, Welfare Association; Muhammad Halayka, Consultant, Welfare Association; Emmanuelle De Foy, Belgian Consulate; Iyad Masrouji, Business Man; Juliana Johan, International Relations Analyst; Zahra Khalidi, Information Coordinator.





John Coakley

12 October 2004, PASSIA, Ramallah

Binationalism & Federalism - Comparative Experiences: Ireland and Others

<u>Speaker:</u> Prof. John Coakley, Department of Politics, National University of Ireland, Dublin

Participants: John Logan, History Professor; T.J.LEE, History Professor; Shuruq Harb; Dalal Erakat, Amal Dajani, Consultant; Hamed Tamimi, Advisor, Palestinian Center for Dialogue; Omar Faqih, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mohammed Yaghi, PCMC; Tareq Hardan, Al Amin Adv.; Khalid Bandak, Grand Hotel, Bethlehem; Dina Asfour, Irish Representative Office, Ramallah; Colm O' Conaill, Irish Representative Office, Ramallah; Salam Hamdan, Ministry of Women Affairs (MOWA); Samir Awad, BirZeit; Dina Farouni, Prime Minister's Office; Abdul Afu Aker, Department of National and International Relations, Nablus; Abdullah Khalifeh, Alex Maskey, Ireland.

18 November 2004, PASSIA, Jerusalem

"Isfalur" (Israel, Falastin, and Urdon) - A Benelux Scheme

<u>Speaker:</u> Lova Eliav, Former Secretary-General of the Israeli Labor Party

Participants: Hermina Damons, EAPPI; Hannah Rought-Brooks, EAPPI; Ibrahim Daibes, Journalist; Dr. Arafat Hidmi, Chairman, Board of Directors, Makassed Society; Eva Halling, EAPPI; Christine Cannon, EAPPI; Yossi Alpher; Musa Budeiri, Teacher, BirZeit University; Amit Lechem, Van-Leer Institute, Jerusalem; Niall Holohan, Head, Irish Representative, Ramallah; Emmanuelle de Foy, Consul, Political Affairs, Belgium Consulate; Elise Aghazarian; Hayat Alami, PASSIA.



Lova Eliav

