Background

In 2004, PASSIA initiated a 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, which concluded in 2005, aimed 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 was 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 consisted of a research component (position papers) and dialogue sessions, the proceedings of which were published in a book in 2005.

Meetings in 2005

7 February 2005, PASSIA, Ramallah

The Economic Aspects of Palestinian-Israeli-Jordanian Future Relations

Speakers: Sam Bahour, Head, Applied Information Management (AIM), Ramallah Sa’ad O. Khatib, Director of Trade Policy, PALTRADE

Discussant: Samir Huleileh, Chairman of the Board, PALTRADE

Participant(s): Ruba Abu Roqti, Program Manager; Iyad Masrouji, Manager, Masrouji Company; Royce Kuzwayo, Sarep; Phadime Choshane, Sarep; Edward Stephan, Sarep; Lu’ai Shabaneh, ACSP; Sam Bahour, AIM; Samir Hulileh, Chairman; L. Mocc, Austrian Representative Office; Andrea Merli, Bethlehem University; Niall Holohan, Irish Representative Office, Ramallah
24 February 2005, Ambassador Hotel, Jerusalem

**One- or Two-State Sovereignty for Palestine and Israel: Feasibilities, Options, Prospects & Conditions**

**Speaker:** Jan de Jong, Geographer and Land Planning Expert

**Participant(s):** Ishaq Al-Qutub, Sociology Professor; Gul Joya Jafri, CIDA, Ottawa; John Bell, University of Toronto; Barbra Plett, Journalist, BBC; Fadi Al Hidmi, Welfare; Tamer Maliha, Lawyer, PCG; Mouin Rabbani, Researcher; Janet Lahr Louis, Sabeel; Meir Margalit, ICAHD; James Sevitt, Dorot; Hani Ghosheh, Manager, Jerusalem Electric Company; Cathrine Nicholas, Sabeel; Phadime Choshane, Diplomat, South African Representative Office, Ramallah; Niall Holohan, Irish Representative; Timothy Edelnart, US Consulate; Lea Valault, Swiss Representative Office, Peacebuilding Advisor; Barbra Surk, Delo Newspaper; Andy Pring, Volunteer, Sabeel; Birgitta Albons, Journalist, Sweden; Leonard Moll, Austrian Representative, Ramallah; Irene Salenson, Student; Chris Ferguson, WCC, Jerusalem Rep; Jose Ferre de la Pena, Consul General of Spain; Rawan Issa, Networking for Peace; Lamis Alawi, Research Coordinator; Julieta Carrera, Sociologist, Institut Francais de Geopolitics; Albert Aghazarian, Translator; Karene Sanchez, Historic; Michael Tarazi, NAD; Tom Neu, Anera; Diana Buttu, Nad; Maia Hallward, PhD Candidate; Nabil Naomneh, PhD Candidate; Mahmoud Abu Ghazaleh, Jerusalem Electric Company; Raed Yaghmour, Architect Planners, PCG; Azzam Abu Sa’oud, Chamber of Commerce, Valentina De Bernard, UNRWA Research Office; Graham Usher, Journalist; Fou’ad Hallaq, Advisor, NSU; Anwar Darkazally, Legal Advisor, NSU; Lamya’ Mansour, Accountant; Deniz Altayli, Elise Aghazarian, Hayat Alami, Sana Shannak, Mahmoud Abu Rumeileh, PASSIA.

24 March 2005, Best Eastern Hotel, Ramallah (organized by PASSIA)

**One- or Two-State Sovereignty for Palestine and Israel: Feasibilities, Options, Prospects & Conditions**

**Speaker:** Jan de Jong, Geographer and Land Planning Expert

**Participant(s):** Approx. 80 people.
Palestine, Jordan and Israel between (Con-)Federation and Separation

Speakers: Dr. Musa Braizat, Ambassador, Jordanian Permanent Representative to the UN, Geneva; Mr. Maher Masri, PLC Member
Dr. Manuel Hassassian, Vice-President, Bethlehem University
Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Chairman, PASSIA

Participant(s): Dr. Mamdouh Al-Aker, Physician, Commissioner General, PICCR; Fadia Daibes, Consultant; Mohammed Ghaith, Wafa; Nesreen, Al Hayat Al Jadida Newspaper; Rasha Barghouti, President; Omar Faqih, Mofa; Ahmed Al-Qasim, Director; Ma‘moun Silmi, Director; Radwan Yassin, School Principle; George Bahu, Pharmacist; Tareq Touqan, Lawyer; Thuqan Qishawi, Consultant; Clemens Messerschmid, Hydrogeologist; Mohammed Nusseibeh, Engineer; Samer Nusseibeh, Engineer; Hazem Kawasmi, GTZ; Omar Salhi, DAI; Marian Stefan, Diplomat; Somics Abbas, Manager; Farida Amad, Director, In‘ash Society; Rima Saba, Planning Consultant; Ghazaleh Arar, GUPT; Faisal Awartani, Lecturer, BZU; Phadime Schoshane, Diplomat, South African Representative, Ramallah; Muhammad Jaouni, US Consulate; Sa‘ed Zahrani, Treekaj; Suleiman Burqawi, Physician; Mohamed Rantisi, Al Ra‘ey; Sam Bahour; Wladrui L'ornetsson, French Consulate; Muzna Shihabi, Student; Dr. Munjed Saleh, Director; Laila Jammal, Director General; Ahmed Suboh, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Information; Amin Ghosheh, Vocational Tra. Exp.; Raid Malki, Canadian Representative Office, Ramallah; Anis Barghouti, Retired; Abdul Fattah Ghanem, Meethaq Party; Hila‘l Malhis, Legal Translator; Lu‘ay Shabaneh, President; Dana Jamjoum, Project Coordinator; Siza Nicwana, South African Representative; Hana Barghouti, Chief of General Education; Lily Habash, PNO, Prime Minister’s Office; Ghanem Nusseibeh, Civil Engineer; Marie Abdel Rahman; Muntaser Nofal, Lawyer; Bassem El-Wazir, Managing Director, PC Fund; Dr. Marin Albu, Romanian Representative; Tom Kay, Architect, BZU

Thinking Out of the Box: A Middle East Union?

Speaker: Dr. Jeff Halper, Coordinator, Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) and Professor of Anthropology

Participant(s): Claudia Martinez Mansell, Student, Birzeit University; Lucia Pizarro, International Coordinator (PhD), ICAHD; Royce Kuzwayo, South African Representative Office; Mitzi Gardiner, SOAS, University of London; Renata Capella, Coordinator, EU, Hum.Secr; Hirayama, Professor, Japan; Niall Holohan, Irish Repre-
sentative, Ramallah; Khalil Assali, Radio Sawa; Suad Younan, Principle, Helen Keller Center; Anna Younan, Executive Assistant; Samia Khoury, Volunteer, Sabeel; Chris Ferguson, Jerusalem Representative, World Council of Churches, Deniz Altayli, Elise Aghazarian, PASSIA.

Publication

- Palestinian-Israeli Impasse - Exploring Alternative Solutions to the Palestine Israel Conflict
  Aug. 2005 (English, 360 pages)

by various authors

The papers included in this volume look at the reasons the two-state solution has failed to succeed until the present day and consider what prospects for future success or failure it still has, thereby looking at the issue from various angles (historical, conceptual and religious aspects; implications for the refugee question, Jerusalem, the settlement issue and the future geography of Palestine/Israel). The various proposed approaches to solve the Palestinian-Israeli impasse explored in this volume were provoked by a number of concrete questions, such as whether there is still a possibility for a (short-term or permanent) two-state solution; how the two-state solution should be reevaluated, given that all recent breakthroughs in the reconciliation process of inter-communal or ethnic disputes (e.g., Northern Ireland, South Africa) have been based on federal, consociational, and autonomy arrangements, and not on partition; and what kind of practicable models could be envisioned for the Palestinian-Israeli case.