

## An Arab Quartet Action Plan for the Palestinian Presidency in 2007 "Plan B"

### Objectives:

1. Enable Abu Mazen and his supporters to reach a defined endgame by the end of 2007 through parallel, benchmarked security, economic development, political, and communications strategies. The endgame should produce a PA government through democratic means that accepts Quartet principles.
2. Create an enabling environment conducive to progress on an Israeli/Palestinian track.
3. Undermine political strength of Hamas through continued international pressure and steps that accrue domestic political credit to Abbas, particularly in areas where Hamas cannot deliver (e.g. GOI deliverables).

### Components:

1. **Endgame/Trigger:** *Timeline: As soon as possible – ideally 3 – 6 months*
  - Define key event to achieve endgame if the NUG does not accept the Quartet principles: Early elections? Collapse unity government by withdrawing ministers? Technocrat government? Referendum? What triggers this outcome – time or benchmarks? If the route chosen is withdrawal of Fatah ministers, to collapse the government what would replace it – a technocratic government, to emergency government? A Fatah controlled government? A Hamas refusal (in the PLC) to support a government that would ease international pressure and accelerate the political track could make them seen as the obstacle to statehood.
2. **Financial:** *Timeline: 0-3 months*
  - Maintain Structures: PLO Economic Department headed by Fayyad as a mechanism to receive Arab funding. What about others means to address control of funds and building a firewall?
  - Expenditure Plan: Fayyad develops a plan to fund security, economic, and political priorities (including PA expenses as he deems appropriate) while restricting resources to extralegal entities
  - Funding: Arab donors meet their previous \$450 million pledge to Abbas/Fatah to fund key pillars of this plan, amortized across nine months
  - International role: Quartet/EU continues allowances to PA employees and social hardship cases through TIM, while seeking to shift the TIM over time to project support. U.S. continues efforts to support basic needs and selected infrastructure projects that benefit Abu Mazen and his supporters.
3. **Security:** *Timeline: 6-9 months*
  - Maintain Firewall: Maintain President Abbas' independent control of key security forces (PSO, Mukhabarat, Presidential Guard, National Security Force) through National Security Advisor. Avoid Hamas integration with these services, while eliminating the Executive Force or mitigating the challenges posed by its continued existence.
  - Law and Order: NSA Dablan oversees effort in coordination with General Dayton and Arab Quartet to train and equip 15,000-man force under President

Abbas' control to establish internal law and order, stop terrorism and deter extralegal forces.

- Presidential and Crossing Security: A parallel effort will strengthen the Presidential Guard in their responsibilities for VIP protection and crossings. The U.S. will commit at least \$30 million to this effort.
- Smuggling: Egypt, Israel, and the PA will take immediate steps to prevent smuggling of arms and cash into Gaza, in coordination with Quadrilateral Committee
- Security Sector Reform: Continue longer-term efforts to restructure and streamline PASF in accordance with Roadmap and Palestinian National Security Strategy. USSC Dayton will facilitate this effort and the U.S. will review where it can support this effort once the new government forms.
- Fighting Terrorism: The PA government will be held responsible for stopping rocket fire, securing the release of Gilad Shalit, and preventing terror.

#### 4. Political: *Timeline: 3- 9 months*

- Elevate the young guard through district, regional and university elections and reconcile differences between Dahlan and Barghouti supporters;
- Set up Fatah strategic communications unit and train spokespersons
- Improve grassroots organization for effective mobilization through technical assistance

#### 5. Economic: *Timeline: 3-9 months*

- High impact development plan: Fayyad identifies development projects, both immediate and longer term, for international (i.e. European and American) support. A strong public diplomacy component will also be required.
- Assistance: Quartet/EU expands TIM beyond basic humanitarian needs to include project activities and reform of non-PA institutions.
- Movement and Access: USSC Dayton leads effort with GOI to reduce barriers to movement in West Bank and normalize operations at Rafah. (U.S./EU funding for Qarni will total \$30 - \$60 million.)

#### 6. Strategic Communication: *Timeline: 0-3 months*

- Establish strategic communications unit for the Office of the President with external consultants/technical advisors to maximize domestic political credit for development projects, political efforts, TIM payments, and improvements in Palestinian daily life.