

# ELEMENTS OF A PATHWAY TO ADVANCE AND SAFEGUARD THE POLITICAL HORIZON

## Preamble and purpose

A new opening has emerged. President Trump's 20-point Peace plan, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2803, and the Global Alliance's New York Declaration endorsed by 142 countries have together established a clear direction of travel. The declaration of Phase II of the Peace Plan strengthens this momentum. It is high time for the international community to move beyond ceasefire and stabilization toward a credible political horizon, structured political dialogue, an integrated strategy for Gaza and the West Bank, and a wider regional framework that can secure long-term stability, security, and prosperity for Israelis and Palestinians, and for the region.

This document sets out elements of a pathway of what must be done, in ten concrete steps, to initiate progress and safeguard the political horizon culminating in a demilitarized Palestinian state alongside a secure Israel, embedded in a wider regional political, security, and normalisation framework.

These recommendations reflect the deliberations of the Uniting for a Shared Future coalition, a first of its kind strategic infrastructure for Israeli-Palestinian political dialogue initiated after October 7 and the war in Gaza at a time of acute violence and political paralysis. USF now convenes more than 550 Israeli, Palestinian, and international leaders from politics, security, business, diplomacy, negotiations, media, and civil society, advancing work across political, economic, and public opinion tracks. Today, it is the only active coalition of its kind sustaining Israeli-Palestinian cooperation and dialogue across the full ecosystem of strategic sectors.

**We propose the following ten points as elements of a pathway to secure the political horizon, prevent unilateral reversals, restore basic functionality, and deliver visible improvements in daily life that build legitimacy and shrink spoiler space, minimizing the risk of failure and increasing the chances of success.**

**1. Enable Israeli-Palestinian political dialogue among technocrats**, drawing on USF's established dialogue infrastructure as a practical capability to support problem solving on priority files that directly affect daily life, while providing a confidential space to test ideas, serve as a sounding board, and develop practical solutions and workable middle ground on feasibility, fiscal liquidity and revenue release mechanisms, movement and access, crossings and trade facilitation, utilities and service restoration, and reconstruction delivery systems.

**2. Mandate this track to produce, within 60 days, in consultation with broader network and expertise**, thematic and otherwise, a shortlist of executable measures that can be adopted rapidly by relevant authorities and partners.

**3. Connect the technocrat track to regional and international partners** so that technical outputs translate into bankable support, financing, and implementation commitments, rather than remaining theoretical.

**4. Link the time-bound transitional technocratic Palestinian administration in Gaza with the West Bank.**

Publish an 18-month milestone chart and quarterly dashboards for PA reform and NCAG delivery so delivery becomes the legitimacy engine and accountability mechanism.



**Immediate Confidence-Building Measures to create visible legitimacy dividends and prospects for political horizon include:**

**5. Re-open Gaza crossings and unlock movement and access**

- Re-open and operationalise Gaza crossings with modern scanning and logistics upgrades, and a verified operating protocol to enable trade, recovery inputs, and visible legitimacy for transitional governance.

**6. Ease movement and access in the West Bank with immediate, measurable steps**

- Including reduced pressure on Jordan routes, seasonal access to Jerusalem, expanded permits for business travel including via Israeli airports, and a gradual return of Palestinian workers to the Israeli labour market, sequenced to verifiable security benchmarks.

**7. Restore fiscal liquidity and basic functionality**

- Release withheld Palestinian tax revenues immediately and restore fiscal liquidity, paired with audit access and safeguards to ensure transparent use of funds.
- Restore correspondent banking and unblock currency circulation so salaries, arrears clearance, and private sector activity can resume, supported by a donor and IFI bridge guarantee.

**8. Safeguard the political horizon and territorial feasibility**

- Freeze E1 expansion and halt actions that cut territorial contiguity and collapse political feasibility, as an explicit safeguard of the political horizon.
- Prevent further settlement expansion in the southern Jerusalem corridor, particularly between South Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which risks severing two main southern access routes connecting the West Bank to Jerusalem (Har Homa E and the Lower Aqueduct).

**9. Clear deterrence against terrorism, incitement and against the regrouping or reconstitution of armed militias**

- Ensure Hamas disarmament and prevent the return to the dominance of non state armed groups, establish an effective sequencing of security transfers, and the establishment of robust international and regional oversight mechanisms.
- Disrupt illicit arms and finance flows to violent networks and ensure consequences for actors that perpetuate violence on both sides, including those enabling or inciting settler violence.
- Ensure future Palestinian governance is free from militia influence, supporting efforts to dismantle armed groups and facilitating internal dialogue.

**10. Proactively communicate the regional integration and economic opportunities**

- Highlight that progress on the Israeli Palestinian solution can unlock and actively surface these openings to build wider public support, reinforcing that resolving the conflict is central to delivering them.

**How the USF Strategic Dialogue Committee can help deliver this pathway**

The committee works with the broader USF network to support official diplomacy by widening the base of support, providing insights on practical solutions, risks and challenges, and building resilience against spoilers.

**The committee can help in four practical ways:**

- A) Grounded political, institutional, and societal support to cultivate backing, support inclusive Palestinian alignment, and engage cross-sector leaders to counter spoilers and sustain space for compromise.
- B) Strategic input, sequencing, and risk management, including stress testing, feasibility checks, and design adjustments that prevent drift and unilateral reversals.
- C) Economic and private sector mobilisation to support early delivery, jobs, and visible recovery outcomes integrated with governance and security arrangements.
- D) Targeted dialogue formats, including a Track 1.5 technocrat channel and an interfaith dialogue track, to turn technical work into implementable measures and build public consent.