

AREA A

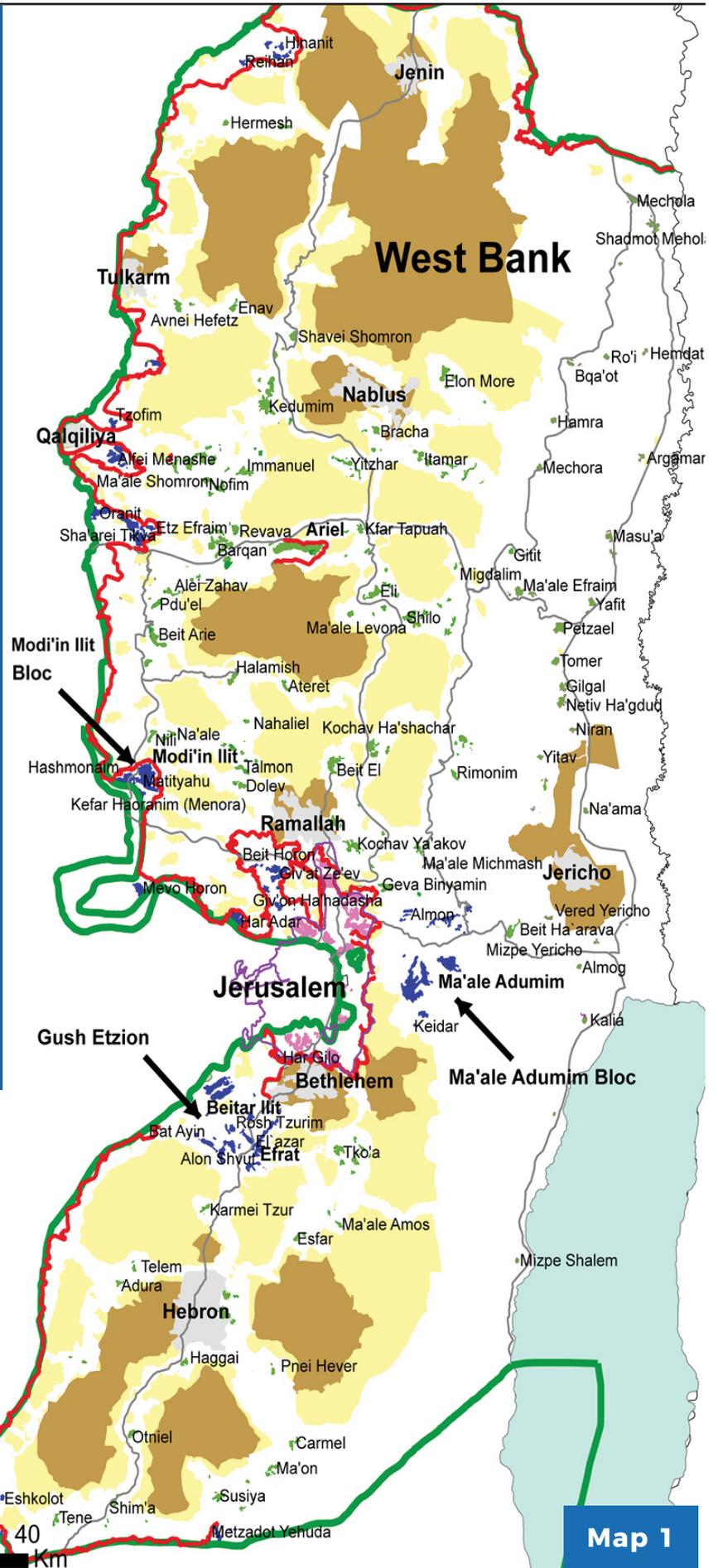
- Palestinian civil and security administration managed by the Palestinian Authority.
- 1.3 million Palestinian residents.
- Includes major urban city centers like Ramallah, Nablus, Jericho, and Jenin.
- 18% of the territory in the West Bank, 393 sq. mi.

AREA B

- Palestinian responsibility for law and order under overall Israeli security control.
- 700,000 Palestinian residents
- Includes smaller Palestinian towns and villages.
- There are 167 individual 'islands' of Area A and B surrounded by Area C.
- 22% of the territory of the West Bank, 480 sq. mi.

AREA C

- Full Israeli civilian and security control
- 300,000 Palestinian residents and 350,000 Israeli settlers.
- Includes all Israeli settlements, their intersecting roads, the Jordan Valley and agricultural areas.
- 60% of the territory of the West Bank, 1,310 sq. mi.
- The area is territorially contiguous and creates the archipelago of Areas A and B.



Map 1

Separation, Not Annexation

Keep Israel Jewish, democratic, and secure.

Dear Friends:

Commanders for Israel's Security (CIS) is comprised of over 260 Israeli generals who, like myself, have fought for Israel on the front lines of war. Today, we are fighting for Israel's secure future as a Jewish and democratic state.

The risks of annexing areas of the West Bank are serious: the collapse of Israeli-Palestinian security cooperation, the unraveling of the peace treaties and security cooperation with Egypt and Jordan, a renewal of Palestinian violence, and yet another escalation of international efforts to isolate and even delegitimize the State of Israel. Worst of all, by taking actions that would further integrate the Israeli and Palestinian peoples, sooner or later the Palestinian population will become equal in numbers if not surpass the Jewish population, threatening the viability of Israel's future as a Jewish and democratic state.

We refuse to let this happen without a fight. We need separation, not annexation!

We cannot let the question of whether or not there is a Palestinian partner hijack our future. We must take the initiative.

We need an initiative to enhance our security and protect Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. Ensuring security for Israelis while creating territorial contiguity for Palestinians in order to create de facto a two-state reality on the ground. We need an initiative to reach out to our Arab neighbors and take advantage of the current alignment of shared interests and challenges.

The "Security First" proposals developed by CIS – elements of which are highlighted in this booklet – provide a blueprint for such an initiative, endorsed and promoted by Israel's foremost military heroes and security experts. For these ideas to be successfully implemented, they must enjoy the support of our most critical ally, the United States.

That is why as CIS takes its message to the Israeli government and the Israeli public, we are honored to have the partnership of our friends at the Israel Policy Forum, which is working to ensure these messages also reach policymakers in Washington and leaders in the American Jewish community.

My colleagues and I are once again fighting for the future of our children and grandchildren in our country. And we are determined to be victorious. I thank you for joining us in the battles ahead.

Sincerely,

Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Amnon Reshef

Founder and Chairman, Commanders for Israel's Security

Security

Complete the security barrier to maximize Israeli security and preserve conditions for two states.

The security barrier, initially erected in 2003 by Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in response to the wave of suicide attacks during the second *intifada*, has proven to be an effective hindrance to terrorism. However, gaps remain in the barrier that leave Israeli citizens vulnerable to this day.

Two gaps in particular – surrounding the Ma’ale Adumim and Gush Etzion blocs – should be closed. The completion of these gaps would accomplish three goals:

- Enhance the security of Israeli citizens living in these communities and throughout Israel.
- Limit the growth of these settlement blocs in ways that risk foreclosing the possibility of a future two-state solution.
- Create a de facto two-state reality on the ground, absent an agreement.

Closing these gaps should be done in a manner that maximizes Israel’s security and the future viability of a negotiated two-state solution.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Completing the security barrier should include an indefinite Israeli freeze of settlement construction in the West Bank east of the barrier and an Israeli preparedness to acknowledge that territories east of the barrier would constitute a future Palestinian state, pending a negotiated agreement.

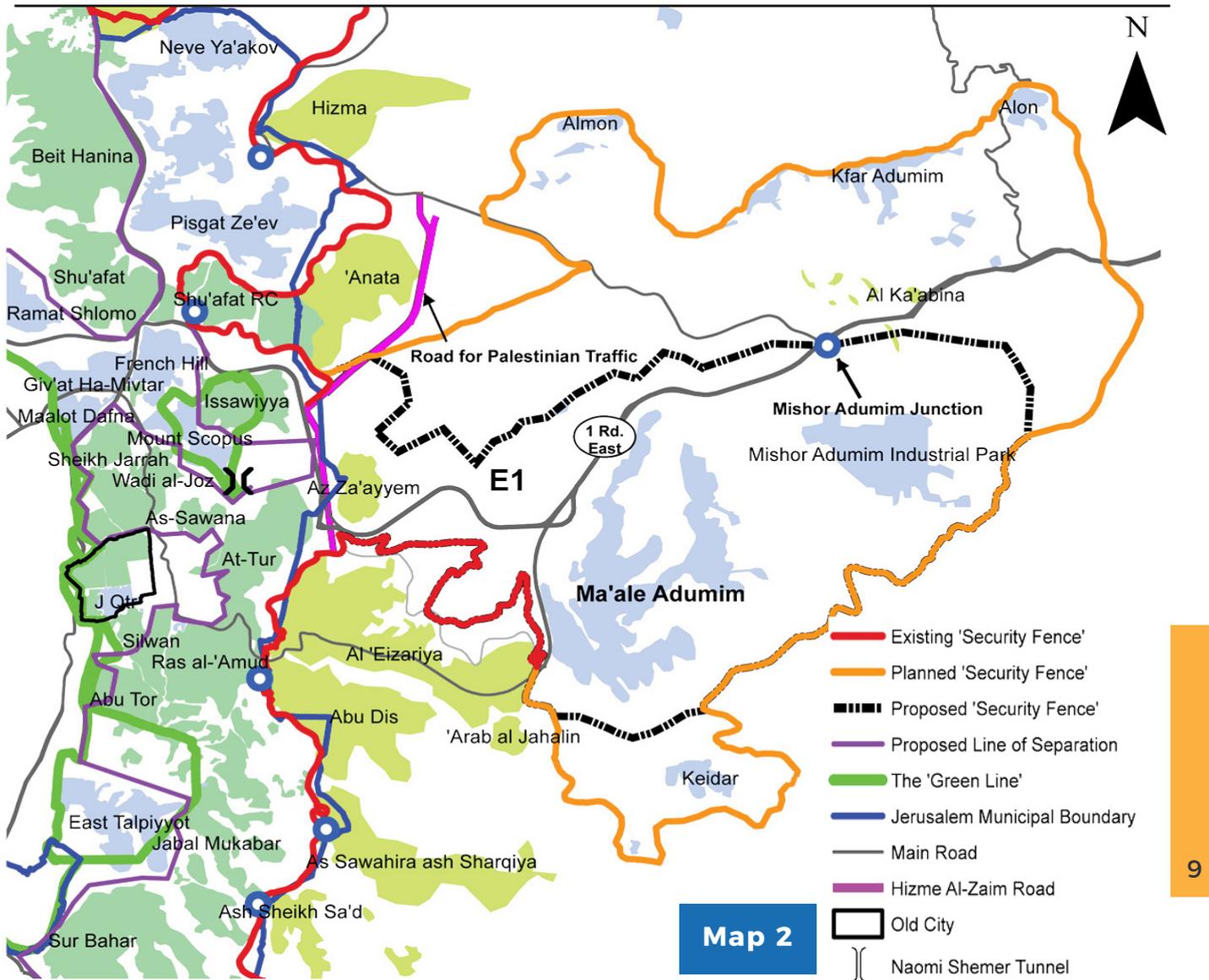
- There should be no formal annexation of any territory in the West Bank prior to a negotiated agreement.
- The route of the barrier should not be considered to be a final border, which can only be determined through negotiations.
- While legislation to compensate settlers outside of the completed barrier would be advisable, no settlers should be forcibly removed outside of the context of an agreement.

THE MA'ALE ADUMIM GAP

Ma’ale Adumim is the largest Israeli settlement in the West Bank with 40,000 residents. Virtually all Israelis believe that Ma’ale Adumim will be annexed to Israel as part of any future agreement with the Palestinians. This consensus view is why efforts to annex Ma’ale Adumim have begun to gain support on the right. There are two dangers with annexing the area:

- Any annexation of the West Bank absent a negotiated agreement could lead to immediate and long-term consequences both in the region and in the international community.
- The area that currently constitutes the Ma’ale Adumim bloc to be annexed incorporates territories that would eliminate the possibility of a contiguous Palestinian state.





The current planned route of the barrier surrounding the Ma'ale Adumim bloc includes the settlements of Almon and Kfar Adumim to the north as well as the area known as E-1, which has long been considered a red line for the United States and Europe. The completion of this route of the planned barrier - or the annexation of this area - would:

- Cut off the main Palestinian access road between Ramallah and Bethlehem.
- Threaten any future two-state solution by bisecting the West Bank between the north and the south.

In advance of a permanent status agreement, an interim security barrier surrounding Ma'ale Adumim should instead be erected in a manner that enhances security for Ma'ale Adumim's residents without hindering Palestinian access to Road 1, the major roadway used by Palestinians to travel to and from Jericho. In addition to amending the route of the barrier, Israel should complete the development of the Hizme-Al Zaim access road connecting Ramallah, East Jerusalem, and Bethlehem, and avoid any further developments in E-1 pending negotiations. By doing so, Israel would improve its security without harming the prospects for two states, while signaling its clear intentions to maintain Ma'ale Adumim in the context of any future agreement.