



An IPF delegation in the Northern West Bank in January 2017.

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state. The initiatives discussed herein are not a replacement for permanent status negotiations or an alternative to a two-state solution; they represent the best policies that can be adopted in the immediate term to safeguard the two-state solution and make a resumption of meaningful negotiations possible.

While Israel takes these steps, the Palestinians must take their own steps outside of the traditional peace process to accomplish the same objectives of creating a de-facto two-state situation while reassuring understandably skittish Israelis on security. The most important measure for the Palestinian Authority to undertake is continuing the security coordination with Israel that has, more than any factor, successfully combatted the spread of organized terror attacks in Israeli cities. While continuing security cooperation is necessary, it is not sufficient. The PA must also reinstitute the program of state institution building that was initiated under the prime ministership of Salam Fayyad and lay the foundation for a functioning, accountable, and transparent state. Israel must assist in this effort – and improving Palestinian contiguity

in the West Bank is an important step – but the burden for the heavy lifting in this regard will be on the PA government as it demonstrates basic competence in administrative functions rather than only in security functions.

The initiatives laid out here are not without challenges or controversy. They will be opposed by Palestinians as unilateral steps that impose facts on the ground outside of Israel's obligations under the Oslo Accords and the Quartet Roadmap. They will be opposed by the Israeli right, who want to deepen Israel's hold on the entire West Bank rather than ease it, and by the Israeli left, who view the continued presence of Israeli settlements and the IDF in the West Bank as the primary obstacle to resolving the conflict. Yet they are the best and most realistic set of proposals for the current political environment that advance the end goal of two states for two peoples while preserving the framework of a future negotiated permanent status agreement. Absent such measures, the dream of a secure Jewish and democratic Israel living alongside a peaceful and demilitarized Palestine will continue to fade until it is nothing more than a fleeting memory.

Key Talking Points

An Israeli initiative is needed, supported by the United States

- Current political realities strongly indicate that a resumption of negotiations aimed at a permanent status agreement would not be advisable.
- However, in the absence of any diplomatic initiative, others will fill the void, whether international actors or terror organizations.
- Therefore, Israel should be encouraged to take an initiative, with support from the United States, to enhance its security and preserve the opportunity to negotiate a two-state agreement in the future, when political conditions are conducive.

Advance Separation, Not Annexation

- Israel and the major settlement blocs should be separated from Palestinian populations and territories in the West Bank that must constitute the basis for a future Palestinian state.
- Any annexation of West Bank territory would risk undermining the two-state vision, threaten the peace treaties with Jordan and Egypt, increase the likelihood of international isolation of Israel, endanger the continued viability of the Palestinian Authority and its security cooperation with Israel, risk Israel being faced with the incorporation of 2.3 million Palestinians into its jurisdiction, and threaten to spark a resumption of Palestinian violence.
- Annexation efforts should be vociferously opposed by the United States and all pro-Israel advocates. Separation should be encouraged.

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Promote 'Security First'

- IPF supports the proposals of Commanders for Israel's Security, an unprecedented alliance of over 260 top retired security chiefs who call for security, civil-economic, and political measures to enhance Israel's ability to provide security for its citizens in the near term and preserve the opportunity to reach a negotiated two-state solution with the Palestinian in the future.

Complete the Security Barrier

- Two major gaps in Israel's security barrier - surrounding the Ma'ale Adumim and Gush Etzion blocs - should be completed in a manner that maximizes Israel's ability to provide security, and ensures both Jewish and Palestinian territorial contiguity, creating a de facto two-state reality on the ground.

Separation & Contiguity

- Israel should freeze settlement activity east of the security barrier and beyond the built-up area of the major settlement blocs.
- By transferring 10.5% of Area C to Area B, Israel can establish Palestinian territorial contiguity and enhance prospects for law and order and economic development in the West Bank.
- By transferring 4% of Area C to Area B – or transferring responsibility for planning and zoning in this area to the Palestinian Authority – Israel can remove the threat posed to 11,000 unauthorized Palestinian homes currently slated for demolition.

Promote Regional Integration

- Threats posed by ISIS and Iranian regional influence have aligned Israel's interests with moderate Arab states as never before.
- The United States cannot afford to enable the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to become yet another source of unrest in the region, especially as the U.S. works to mobilize Arab allies in the fight against ISIS.
- In order to maximize the window of opportunity provided by these shared interests, Israel should accept the Arab Peace Initiative, with appropriate reservations, as a basis for future negotiations on two tracks: Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Arab.

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Hold Palestinians Accountable

- U.S. policymakers should press the Palestinians to 1) take advantage of the aforementioned proposed Israeli measures, expanding law and order and economic projects as territorial contiguity is advanced, 2) maintain security cooperation with Israel, 3) end incitement, and 4) engage in robust efforts to build Palestinian institutions and good governance.

For more resources visit: www.twostatesecurity.org



About Us

ISRAEL POLICY FORUM

Israel Policy Forum (IPF) develops and promotes resources, commentary, and analysis from leading experts in Washington and in Israel through private and public briefings and online media platforms. IPF's influential network of leaders provides validating support for U.S. diplomatic efforts that seek to responsibly advance the goal of two states, ensure Israel's security, and strengthen U.S.-Israel relations.

Our mission is to shape the discourse and mobilize support among American Jewish leaders and U.S. policymakers for the realization of a viable two-state solution. We envision a Jewish, democratic, secure Israel.

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Commanders for Israel's Security (CIS) is a non-partisan movement. Its members are retired IDF generals and their equivalents in Israel's security services in the Mossad, Shin Bet, and Israeli Police. Its members seek to promote no personal ambition. They are motivated solely by concern for the future of Israel.

The CIS took a decision to promote a security-political initiative that will extricate Israel from the current impasse as an interim step toward implementing its vision. The movement's vision is centered around the need to reach a permanent agreement with the Palestinians; to normalize relations and enter into security arrangements with pragmatic Arab states; and thus to secure Israel within recognized boundaries while ensuring its identity as the democratic state of the Jewish People.

Web: en.cis.org.il



The Economic Cooperation Foundation (ECF) is an Israeli policy planning think tank dedicated to achieving an Israeli-Palestinian two-state solution; to promote peace, security, and prosperity for Israel and its Arab neighbors, and to promote Middle East regional stability. ECF operates on three levels of policy planning:

Working for comprehensive Israeli-Arab peace; Preventing escalation of violence and creating conditions for sustainable stability; Working in support of Palestinian state-building.

Ever since it launched and managed the Oslo negotiations, ECF has been involved with Israeli-Palestinian and regional peace efforts. It has been called upon by all Israeli governments – left, right, and center; and has worked closely with all relevant players from the region and beyond, including the Palestinian Authority, Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey, as well as the US, Europe, and international and multilateral organizations.

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