

**Policy Paper**

**Reimagining the Conflict**  
**From Conceptual Stalemate to Realistic Vision**



**A solid and sustainable national security basis  
for any Israeli-Palestinian arrangement  
and viable alternatives to the current “Two State Solution”**

## About the IDSF-Habithonistim

**The IDSF (Israel Defense and Security Forum)** is a movement of about 10,000 reserve senior officers, commanders and combat soldiers from all branches of the security establishment, founded in order to safeguard the State of Israel's national security needs in a way that allows the country to exist and prosper for generations to come.

**Our position is clear:** We insist on the State of Israel's right to secure borders, which are the borders of the Land of Israel; we believe that the State of Israel's security needs are the country's top national priority; and stress that the State of Israel cannot afford to lose any war. The IDF must have the flexibility to operate freely in all theaters in defending the State of Israel.

The IDSF-Habithonistim movement is non-partisan, and exclusively defined by its values and vision securing the state of Israel.

IDSF board of directors: Major General (res.) Gershon HaCohen, Major General (res.) Yizhak (Jerry) Gershon, Colonel (res.) Ronen Itzik, Brigadier General (res.) Amir Avivi (Founder and CEO)

Among the IDSF members: Major General (res.) Yosi Bachar, Major General (res.) Dani Biton, Brigadier General (res.) Harel Knafo, Brigadier General (res.) Avigdor Kahalani, Brigadier General (res.) Yossi Kuperwasser, Colonel (res.) Yaron Buskila (secretary general)

Authors: Brigadier General (res.) Amir Avivi (founder and CEO), Or Yissachar (Head of Research)

Published in Kislev 5782 – November 2021

[www.idsf.org.il](http://www.idsf.org.il)

# Introduction: Reimagining the Conflict

## Old paradigms are no longer viable.

Despite being one of the most complicated geopolitical conflicts, the international community has consistently approached, the Israeli-Palestinian – or rather the Jewish-Arab conflict in a disappointingly outdated, rigid and simplistic approach that threatens Israel's long-term security. In fact, it is tragic how little innovation there has been in even considering other **frameworks** that can be employed to achieve a sensible détente, leading to peace and security – or at least realistic co-existence.

The international community has been intractably committed to establishing a Palestinian state throughout Judea & Samaria as the sole “holy grail” to resolve this complex conflict – the current **“Two State Solution”**. A non-negligible part of the conversation has been focused on **playing hardball against Israel**. That current Two State Solution has often been referred to as **“the only way”** to achieve peace, ignoring pragmatism, while completely discounting Israel's security requirements. In Israel, the conversation has been mostly focused on managing the conflict with no long-term strategic objective that can serve as a compass for action.

**That specific solution has thus tragically become the dominating doctrine, an irrefutable “religion”** that rules out the possibility of any other solution to the conflict. That singular focus has helped promulgate **a series of misconceptions**, the most profound of which is that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict started in 1967 and is based on the Israeli-Jordanian and Israeli-Egyptian armistice lines, rather than **two clashing religious and national narratives**. It also contributed to **the false notion that the Jewish people are foreign occupiers in its own ancestral homeland**, simply because of this 19-year Jordanian occupation which virtually no nation recognized.

The strategy adopted thus far has been putting pressure on Israel to accept a long list of demands and **unprecedented criteria**, both in politics and in international law, that single it out and that it cannot accept if it were to survive for generations. These are often dubbed **“internationally-agreed parameters”**, feigning to fix an intractable and unquestionable consensus with strong foundation in international law. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. It was simply a method to root this solution as a

conventional wisdom, signalling all members of the international community this consensus must be followed.

**However, approaching the conflict through this narrow prism has failed to resolve it and has actually harmed both parties,** largely due to the lack of **much-needed sensible discourse.** Israel cannot accept retreating to indefensible borders or relinquishing the holy sites in Jerusalem and in its historical heartland of Judea and Samaria, nor has any viable reason to do so.

The Palestinians are divided today into two different entities – Hamas in Gaza, where 2 million Palestinians are enclosed in a narrow 3.5-mile strip; and Fatah as the Palestinian Authority, an entity that in the post-Abbas age may collapse, and enjoys very little support from the local population.

**IDSF-Habithonistim thus seeks to bring this sensible conversation back to the table.**

We do not feign to mischaracterize or over-simplify the Israeli-Palestinian question, nor spin the international community into disregarding multiple “tough nuts” such as religion, narrative, demographics or citizenship.

**Yet the old concepts have been demonstrative failures. It is time to incorporate fresh, out-of-the-box thinking that first and foremost prioritizes Israel’s national security needs and is based upon reality, not wishful thinking.**

**The Abraham Accords disprove this misconception.**

**The dynamic and ever-changing Middle East demand new approaches. The Sunni Arab world, that for decades used the Palestinian issue as a tool to delegitimize Israel, now sees this issue as a liability, as they are focused on improving their relations with Israel to deal with existential challenges they are facing.**

Indeed, the reason Israel, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Sudan and Morocco succeeded where others failed originated in this **principled realism**, setting aside old dogmas that pre-conditioned Israeli-Arab normalization in the Two State Solution.

Instead, a growing number of moderate Arab countries now understand the value of cooperating with Israel, accepting the fact it is here to stay. They leveraged this evolving understanding to create an unprecedented **Israeli-Sunni-American axis in the Middle East** facing common regional challenges – first among them, Iran and its proxies – as well as the advancement of prosperity, covid-19 related research, innovation, and tourism.

**The old working assumption is now being dismantled by new developments in the Middle East.** They should not be taken for granted. Now, new opportunities have been formed and a new reality can enable new ideas to grow with respect to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in order to create a joint Israeli vision on the one hand, and a plan of action for the international community on the other, that can promote ideas without posing a danger to Israel's future.

### **The status quo cannot continue.**

Fast developments on the ground, especially the Palestinian takeover in the C Territories, are now compelling Israel to set aside the Oslo vision and the concept of Palestinian Authority-ruled no man's land. Current Israeli policy of stalemate, containment and lack of initiative may lead to a critical junction in which its room for manoeuvre will be picking between bad and worse options.

Various scenarios for the day after the Palestinian Authority collapses may result in a vacuum that will need to be managed. Even these days, the "**Fayad Plan**" changes reality on the ground by creating "**suffocation rings**" around Jewish communities and taking over large swaths of land, unsupervised and uncontrolled.

**Israel must take the initiative** in territories under its control and steer its strategy by **laying on the table viable alternatives to the status quo** so that its security and prosperity as the Jewish people's nation state is guaranteed for generations to come.

**It is time for an innovate line of thinking relevant to Israel's national security needs.**

# Thinking outside the box

It is dangerous to assume any single political question must inexorably be funnelled into a singular, all-encompassing solution. We do not accept the assumption that the current Two State Solution is the only alternative to chaos.

There is no single solution to any one problem.

## The current Two State Solution is not viable.

This determination is founded on two complementary tenets:

### A. The Two State Solution is not an intractable requirement. Simply put, the Israeli-Palestinian question is not a zero-sum game.

- **International law:** This all-too-common perception, that Israel's presence and control over Judea and Samaria violates international law is the biggest obstacle for innovative thinking about new solutions. Judea and Samaria have never belonged to the Palestinians and never hosted a Palestinian nation state. The leading principle in international law is precedent, and there is none that asserts territorial property post-factum.
- **The Israeli and Palestinian narratives are clashing and congruent, not parallel.** There has never been a Palestinian state in any part of the territory, certainly not in two distinct parts – Judea and Samaria (“the West Bank”) and Gaza. The “green line” only signals the points in which Israeli and Jordanian armies ceased fire, not historic frontlines.
- **Numerous worldwide models of self-identity can be applied:** It is far from true that every minority group that identifies as a people gets a nation state. It is true for Catalonia, Lombardi, Alsace, Southern Tyrol, certainly multiple countries with colonial heritage all around the Middle East, Africa, and South-East Asia with countless ethnic groups – as many as 100 in Tanzania, 200 in the Congo, alongside countries known for their structural ethnic diversity such as Lebanon or multiplicity of tribal groups such as Yemen and Libya. **Countless minorities in the world do not express their identity in the form of a nation state.**

- **Multiplicity of worldwide models of self-determination:** The same is true for types of states – in comparison to the current or future Palestinian autonomy.
  - The official website of the U.S. State Department lists about **50 special territories around the world** that it calls, “**Dependencies and Areas of Special Sovereignty,**” which includes Puerto Rico, Gibraltar, and Hong Kong. Few question the special arrangements that govern the autonomy of these places, or think of them as less democratic, even though matters of their defence and foreign policy are determined by the United States, the United Kingdom, and China.
  - There are **demilitarized states** or **states without standing armies**, such as San Marino and Monaco; **territories** such as Guam and American Samoa, whose residents are not entitled to become US citizens; and **disputed territories with various political arrangements**, such as Western Sahara for Morocco.

**B. The current Two State Solution is not commensurate with Israel’s national vision, national security, or even long-term existence.**

- **Refugees and Jihadists:** An independent Palestinian state connected to Jordan may incentivize millions of Palestinian refugees, Jihadists, and weapons, to pour into the heart of the land with the goal of fulfilling what they see as their “right of return”. Israel cannot contain a demographic threat of this magnitude in the heart of the high ridge of the mountains of Judea and Samaria. One needs to look no further than the “fence marches” organized by Hamas in Gaza to realize the demographic threat also entails serious security implications.
- **Topography:** The highlands of Judea and Samaria have a strategic advantage as they overlook the entire Israeli shoreline and all major Israeli population centers, as well as critical infrastructure such as the Reading, Rutenberg, and Hadera Power Plants and the Ben Gurion International Airport. This reality requires **full Israeli Security control** over the Jordan Valley and Judea and Samaria, and **no such control can be guaranteed without a massive presence of Israeli citizens.**
- **Israel will not be able to survive** if we were to return to pre-1967 lines, when Israeli farmers were targeted by Syrian snipers who utilized their strategic



advantage being perched atop an elevated mountain range in the Golan Heights. This would be implemented all across its coastal plain if we were to return to pre-1967 lines. The current Hamas model in the Gaza strip, targeting communities in Sderot with live ammunition, or the previous reality in Jerusalem's provincial neighbourhoods being targeted by snipers from Bet Jallah, cannot be replicated throughout Israel. Never has such a large population lived on such a dangerous coastal plain, leaving it completely vulnerable and exposed.

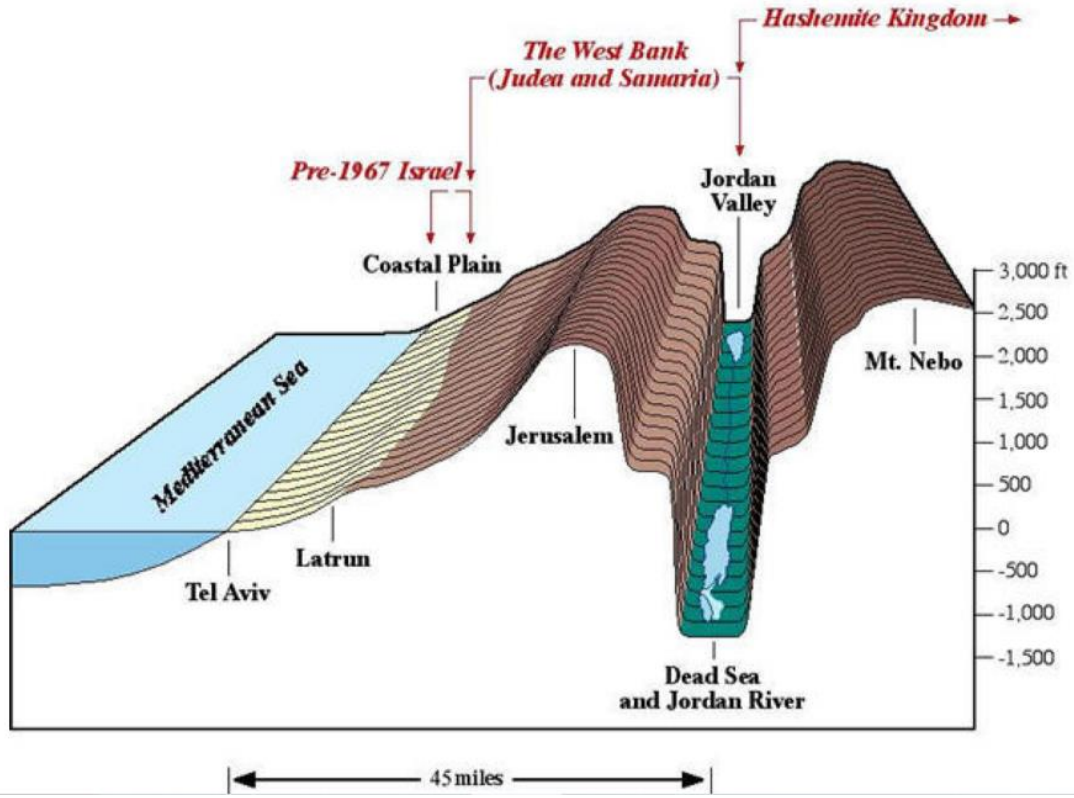
- **This model has been tried in Gaza.** With its fall to Hamas's control, Israel had to confront a much more robust, well-oiled terror machine, with the ability to fire rockets and long-range missiles at its population centers, the construction of hundreds of miles terror tunnels and international criticism. **Israel cannot afford another failed terror state, this time in the heart of the country, with topographic advantage and 16 times the size of Gaza.**
- **Israel and the territories share the same ecosystem.** The same water and electricity systems, airspace, and terrain. There is no room in this narrow piece of land for two countries, especially with such a bloody history of conflict.
- **Regional aspect:** The Jordan Valley serves as Israel's eastern barrier facing the likely Iranian takeover in case of a vacuum, much like Iraq, Syria, and Gaza.

**Above all, Judea and Samaria, and especially Jerusalem, are the very reason the Jewish people returned to its homeland. They are its main anchor in the Land of Israel to revive Israel's redemption and fulfil its national creed and ethos. Without them, the Jewish Nation cannot exist, and there is no other way to convey for generations its affinity to its land, whose entire history is found in the Judea and Samaria mountains.**





# Topography and Israeli Security: Israel's Vulnerable Coastal Plain



Courtesy of Amb. Dore Gold



View from Judea and Samaria facing Israel's coastal plain





Haifa

Judea and Samaria

Tel Aviv-Yafo

Ben Gurion Int. Airport

Jerusalem

Gaza Strip

Be'er Sheva

Rimallah

Jordan Valley

40 miles

# Foundational national security tenets for any future political framework

In our view, the following **organizing principles** should guide any future political framework for the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

These are general parameters that we believe adjudicate a **realistic, sensible pathway** that safeguards Israel's security and are consistent with its national vision while acknowledging the reality on the ground.

They are based on our intimate field experience and knowledge of local and regional politico-military conditions.

1. **Point of departure:** The premise that **the Land of Israel, including Judea and Samaria** ("the West Bank") and the **Holy Sites** is the **historic and eternal homeland of the Jewish people**, a place that is inseparable from Jewish identity as both a religion and nationality.
2. **Civil self-governance:** The recognition of the necessity to strive for a sensible arrangement vis-à-vis the Palestinians which allows for their civil self-governance, given the dissonance between large parts of their population and Israel's national vision.
  - Such an arrangement will be a direct continuation of the path already concluded, set, and executed in the framework of the Oslo Accords and still valid today. It gave the Palestinians full civil control over their population centers, setting forth a vision of a demilitarized Palestinian entity alongside the Jewish and democratic State of Israel.
3. **Borders:** The following is not only a vision adopted by current Israeli security establishment, but also a consensus adopted by the Rabin government as a backdrop for the Oslo Accords.
  - a. **Jerusalem will remain the undivided capital of the State of Israel.** Different arrangements may be found for some of the peripheral communities outside the separation wall currently still considered a part of the city.

- b. Israel will establish sovereignty in the **Jordan Valley** in the broadest sense, in such a way that assures a **defensible eastern border, addressing** Iran and other threats to regional instability.
  - c. Israel will retain full security and military control over **Judea and Samaria** (“the West Bank”). The established Jewish communities there function as a force multiplier assisting in maintaining security along routes and key areas crucial for the Jewish people; combined with Israel’s control of the **electromagnetic space, airspace, and the border**.
  - d. These are much more than technical security arrangements that may be otherwise addressed, as suggested in proposals such as the Allen Plan. Israel’s chief working assumption is that **it is exclusively responsible for its national security and will always defend itself by itself. It cannot afford to rely on foreign powers or international forces**.
  - e. This presence also expresses the Jewish people’s right for sovereignty in its homeland.
4. While we do not view Israel as responsible for the Palestinians’ well-being, we encourage initiatives to lower security visibility, empower local population, launch common industrial zones, promote economic peace, and facilitate the day-to-day life for the benefit of all parties.

# Reservoir of possible political frameworks

The following proposals are all based on the aforementioned principles, which we believe should be the blueprint of any future Israeli-Palestinian arrangement.

**The IDSF does not endorse any of these proposals as set in stone.** They provide viable alternatives vis-à-vis various scenarios that Israel may have to confront sooner or later.

The following proposals include the **Palestinian Emirates plan**, the **Palestinian-Jordanian Confederation plan**, the **New State Solution**, the **One State Solution**, and the **Deal of the Century** – whose principles are remarkably similar to those presented by Rabin in the Oslo Accords and during his last speech at the Knesset before his assassination.

**The time has come to turn the page** on the current two-state fallacy and move to new ideas while re-focusing the conversation, some of which are literally outside of the box as they seek solutions not limited to the borders of the very small land of Israel.

It is possible, even likely that the Israeli-Palestinian question be in a completely different place if only Israel switches **from stalemate to initiative** and strive to make the most out of the opportunities currently in place.



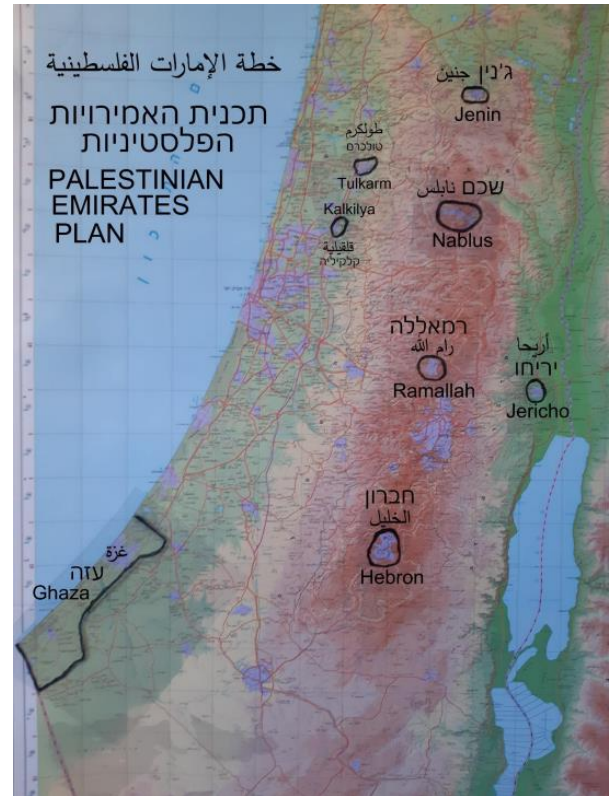
# The Palestinian Emirates Plan

Lt. Col. (res.) Dr. Mordechai Kedar, IDSF member, Orientalist, Research Associate of the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies

**Organizing principle:** Establishing eight emirates in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, based on city-states controlled by local clans, tribes and families.

## Rationale:

- **In the Middle East, the prime loyalty is to family, religion, and tribe, rather than artificial nation states.** Therefore, this plan is **founded on the recognition of the Palestinian population's tribal-clan decentralization which is not uniform.** For example, there is little to no affinity or trust between the clans of Jenin, Ramallah or Nablus.
- **The Western-colonialist attempt to dress the Westphalian nation state model on the region has failed miserably,** as evidenced from the 2011, collapse of the (artificial) states across the region, from Iraq to Tunisia, that failed to uproot the tribal-clan roots which had stabilized over millennia.
- Endless civil wars, inter-clan conflicts as well as poverty, unemployment, destitution, and migration waves have demonstrated this model's failure.
- Against this backdrop, the only economically and politically successful model in the region is also the one that took its origins into account – **"the tribe states"**. Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman and the UAE are not artificial national consortium of tribes, but rather relatively-homogenous groups characterized by **one central ruling tribe**. They also were savvy enough to forge partnerships such as hosting American bases and establishing the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC).
- **The most effective and relevant solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is going back to their origins and embracing that reality.** The failed attempt to assemble the Palestinian people together in preparation for a nation state through the Oslo Accords and the creation of the Palestinian Authority, later the promotion of the Two State Solution, brought an inverse result to the one that was hoped for: a central government characterized by corruption and detachment from their constituents, and lack of access to rebellious areas under its control, such as Hamas in Gaza or dignitaries in Hebron and elsewhere. As a result, no election has been held since 2005.



- **We have been living in a Two State Solution reality since 2007, when the Palestinians obtained a de facto state in the Gaza Strip ruled by Hamas.** Another state in Judea and Samaria will unavoidably lead to a Hamas takeover of that territory leading to another terror state in the heart of the country, presenting a serious threat for Israel.

**Outline:**

- Canceling the Oslo Accords and re-dividing Judea, Samaria and Gaza into civil control nucleuses split into eight large population centers: **Ramallah, Jenin, Nablus, Hebron, Tulkarm, Kalkilia, Jericho, and Gaza.**
- Between them, including a significant portion of Area C as well as parts of Areas A and B, Israel will enact **full sovereignty on maximum land with minimum Palestinian population.**
- **Jerusalem will remain Israel's united capital** which enables **freedom of worship for all religions.**
- **Governance structure: Each Emirate will be headed by an Emir agreed upon by the ruling families of that Emirate, and in cooperation with Israel.** In addition, each Emirate should preferably include a **council of dignitaries** including the totality of factions, clans, and tribes in its jurisdiction to share authority on decisions relating to day-to-day life or conflict resolution. They will also include ministries of treasury, labor, defense, education, interior, tourism, and others.
- **Inter-Emirate relations:** The eight Emirates may act separately or establish a **joint coordination and management council.** In any scenario, the local Emirate will have the upper hand in order to fulfill the plan's objective to create local homogenous stability, as well as avoid a scenario of a joint Hamas back-door rule.
- **Political status:** The Emirates' residents will enjoy **Emirati citizenship,** and the joint council will issue ID cards, passports, driver's licenses, and other official documents.
- **Palestinian residents living in communities on which Israeli sovereignty will be enacted** will be offered a choice between Israeli citizenship (like Israeli Arabs) or Israeli residence (like residents of East Jerusalem).
- **Israel-Emirates borders:** Israel will have the liberty to define restrictions on the freedom of movement from the Emirates' territories into its own. Work, tourism, residence and other visas may be issued. As per the current Israeli policy, **family unification and immigration** into the State of Israel **will be prevented.**

**The Palestinian Emirates Plan**

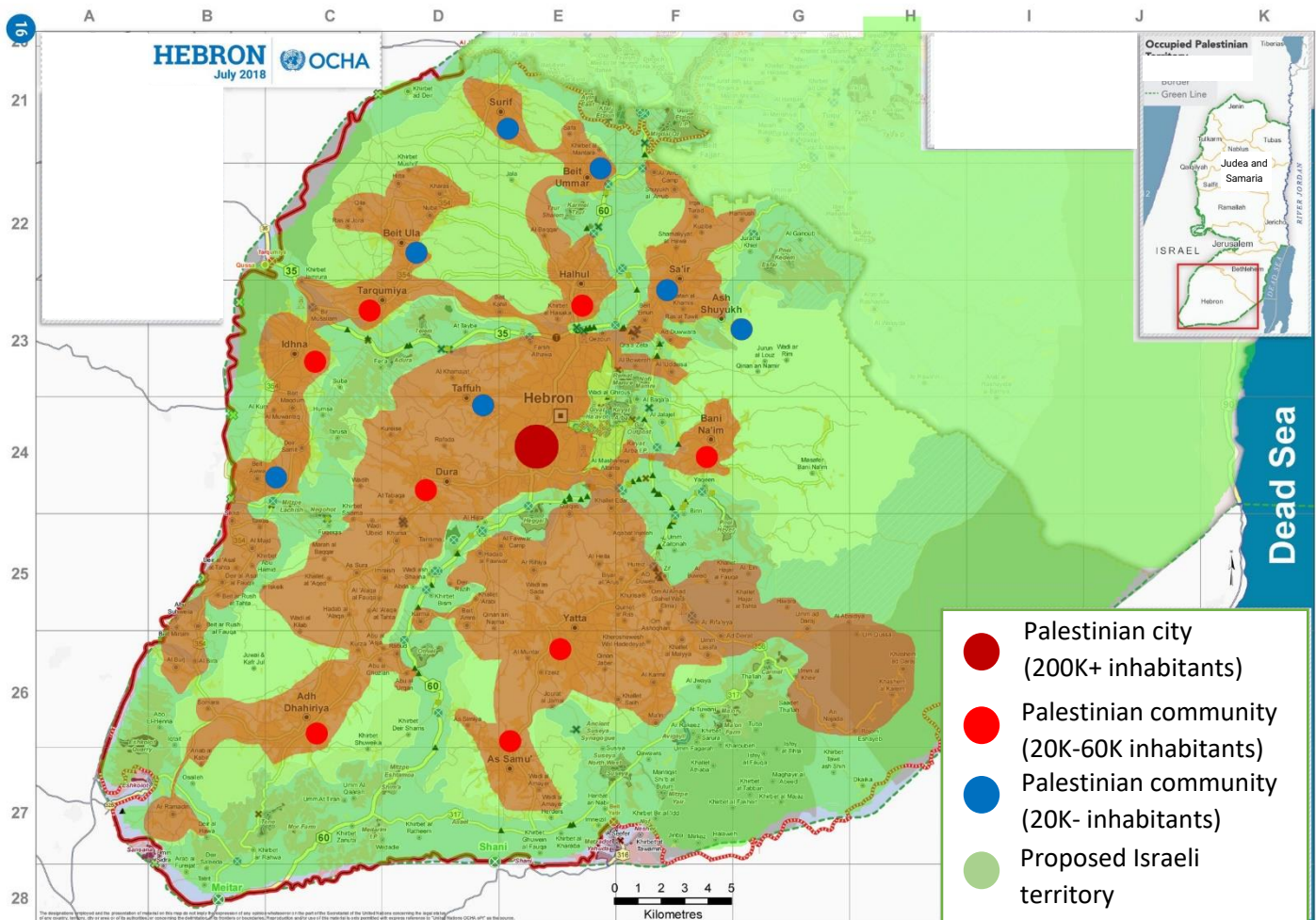
<b>Pros for the Palestinians</b>	<b>Pros for Israel</b>
Local, grassroots governance commensurate with the population landscape	Divide and conquer – preventing a Palestinian territorial sequence
Bringing to life the tribal-clan identity	Maximum land with minimum Palestinians controlled by Israel
Leaving behind the deeply-unpopular Palestinian Authority	High Palestinian political stability
Focusing on economic growth	Responding to the collapsing status quo
High political stability	Consensual route vis-à-vis the Palestinian population
Independent civil management	Sovereignty on homeland territories while strengthening the IDF's security margin

- **Economic and political cooperation with Israel:** The Emirates Plan heralds an **opportunity for leveraging economic peace between Israel and the Palestinians** by the means of a series of economic cooperation accords. Among other things, people of the Emirates will be offered to use Israel's port, investment in joint industrial zones, granting work permits in Israel, or even declaring the ecosystem between the sea and the river as a **free trade zone**.
- **The Emirates will also be opened for investments from the Arab World, Europe, the US and around the world** to develop industry, infrastructure, and various branches of the economy.
- Israel may demand a **5-year stabilization** trial period during which the existing model will be examined and amended in order to make it commensurate with reality on the ground.

### Evidence for practicality

This plan may sound revolutionary, but in fact it is as extension of the reality on the ground.

- It symbolizes the **return to the pre-Oslo period** during which Israel managed its relations with the Palestinian population through their mayors and local governance through the Civil Administration.
- It **continues the Oslo Accords** by granting the Palestinians full civil control. Today we witness a clear intention among several leaders of clans to move this way the day after Abbas.

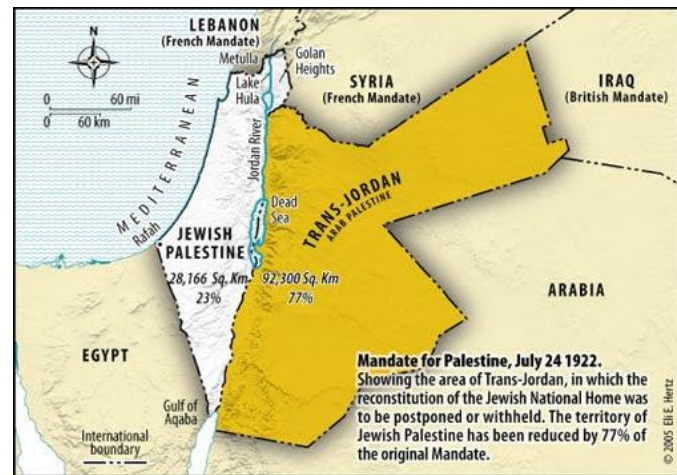


# The Jordanian Confederation/Federation Plan

**Organizing principle:** Establishing a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation or federation between the Kingdom of Jordan and major Palestinian population centers in Judea and Samaria.

## Rationale:

- The affinity between the Kingdom of Jordan and the Palestinian population finds expression in a number of dimensions:
  - **Population:** The Jordanian population includes about 10.5 million inhabitants (including refugees), of which between 70-80% are Palestinians. Jordan does not declassify the exact number, fearing political friction. The capital Amman, with 4 million inhabitants, is **the world's largest Palestinian city**.
  - **Area:** Jordan is located on some 75% of the national home allocated to the Jewish people in the League of Nations' San Remo Conference (1920). Between 1948-1967, Jordan held Judea and Samaria as Jordanian territory, not recognized by virtually any nation. Israel took control of these territories in 1967. Until the 1988 "disengagement" ("Faq el-Ertebat"), the Palestinians living throughout Judea and Samaria held **Jordanian citizenship**. Since the 1994 Israel-Jordan Peace Accord, and formally and internationally since the 2015 "Kerry Agreement", Jordan serves as the custodian of Jerusalem's Holy Sites.
  - The King of Jordan even proposed the "**Federation Plan**" in 1972, in which he stressed that the Jordan river's East and West Bank **do not inhabit two peoples but one sole people**. It was only the 1974 Arab League resolution, which established the PLO as the Palestinian people's exclusive representative, which forced Jordan to relinquish its insistence of speaking on behalf of Palestinians.
  - Despite the Jordanian institutional suspicion toward the Palestinian population, and bloody incidents such as the 1971 Black September, such statements regarding the **Palestinian-Jordanian affinity** are consistently raised among Jordanian officials and certain moderate Palestinian voices.





## Outline:

- This Plan may be carried out under a variety of circumstances, that also depend on domestic Jordanian political stability. In case of the **collapse of the Jordanian monarchy**, it may be plausible to **establish the State of Palestine in today's Kingdom of Jordan, with enclaves in Palestinian population centers in Judea and Samaria**. Alternatively, **establishing a joint Jordanian-Palestinian confederation or federation** between the Kingdom of Jordan and enclaves in Judea and Samaria.
- A **confederation** is an alliance between two or more states, maintaining their independence and sovereignty while divesting symbolic aspects of their sovereignty to the confederation's institutions.
- **The Palestinian's national ambitions will be addressed** by having a **Palestinian state in partnership with Jordan**.
- **Governance:** The Kingdom of Jordan will be responsible over Palestinian state institutions in Judea and Samaria and will constitute a Palestinian-Jordanian government.
- **Economy:** The confederation will leverage this political partnership to boost the entities' joint economy. Cooperation can range from water technology – a critical issue for both parties – through tourism to manufacturing and innovation.
- **Foreign aid coming from the Arab world and the international community** will assist establishing new cities, factories and agricultural lands, making the desert flourish.
- **A Palestinian state in Jordan, with all the symbolism and impact it entails, will be a magnetizing force** for Judea and Samaria Arabs, many of whom having family ties with their Jordanian counterparts.

## Evidence for practicality

- **Jordan's crumbling economy and the desperate need to spur the Palestinian economy** will incentivize both economies to collaborate together.
- **Jordan can be the Palestinian' national home**. This solution was not only feasible before Judea and Samaria Palestinians were stripped of their Jordanian citizenship, but actively promoted by the Kingdom of Jordan – including the 1950 West Bank annexation by Jordan, and the 1972 federation proposal.
- Palestinians do not benefit from their current position, of dependency on UNRWA and donor countries. This solution has the potential take them to the next level of autonomy and prosperity while remaining tethered to a country with deep Palestinian affinity.



# The New State Solution

**Brigadier Gen. (res.) Amir Avivi, IDSF Founder and CEO**, former Commander of Military Combat Engineering School

**Organizing principle:** Establishing an independent, sovereign Palestinian state side by side with the State of Israel in the Gaza Strip, with territorial contiguity into the Northern section of the Sinai Peninsula.

**Rationale: The New-State Solution remains faithful to the internationally recognized position for a negotiated solution that creates two states for two peoples living side by side in security.**

- The plan is anchored in the Gaza Strip as a main stepping stone to resolve the conflict, rather than an insurmountable problem. It is focused on providing an immediate solution to the significant challenges facing Gaza.
- By understanding the interests of the parties and their point of intersection—as opposed to focusing on the stated positions that are brought forward by the parties—it is possible to identify opportunities presented by the shifting geopolitical landscape.
- Gaza's territorial expansion as well as economic investments will address the humanitarian crisis there, as well as encourage the dissatisfaction among Palestinians in Judea and Samaria by the Palestinian Authority.
- Israeli standpoint: The New State contributes to finding a solution to the conflict without compromising Israel's basic interests. Releasing the pressure on the approximate two million residents of Gaza, while creating a dynamic of prosperity, will likely reduce the danger of conflict and war.

## **Outline:**

- Establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to the State of Israel located in the Gaza Strip with agreed-upon territorial contiguity into Egyptian territory, in the Northern section of the Sinai Peninsula.
- The New State will be internationally recognized.



- This state would be sufficiently large so as to ensure geographical viability and integrity as the nation state of the Palestinian people.
- **Governance:**
  - The emergent government of The New State would be assured of, and equipped with, the ability to defend itself, by itself, against all threats; foreign and domestic.
  - The New State would assume all responsibilities and accountability attendant to all sovereign states
  - Present-day Gaza residents will be granted with New State citizenship.
  - Judea and Samaria's Palestinian residents will also be granted with New State citizenship.
- **Borders:** The Egyptian military would only be present on the Egyptian side of the shared border. The Israeli military would only be present on the Israeli side of the shared border. Israeli and Egyptian forces would closely cooperate, including with The New State, in order to prevent spill-over beyond, and unwanted infiltration within, the borders of The New State.
- **Economy and trade:**
  - The New State will have an open, commercial airport and seaport, and its extensive shoreline holds an immense opportunity for prosperity from trade, tourism, import, and export.
  - Massive economic investment within The New State would come from all international parties who have pledged their commitment to resolving the conflict, including Israel.
  - The New State would serve as a pioneering entity in the areas of conscious communities and environmental sustainability.
- **Demographics:**
  - The New State will affix and implement its own immigration policy, in accordance with which financial incentives and absorption packages, including commercial assistance, would be offered to any individuals being absorbed into it.
  - There would be no forced transfer of any population.  
Successful movement throughout The New State by residents of the Gaza Strip would significantly reduce current humanitarian considerations in the Gaza Strip.



**Evidence for practicality:**

**Regional standpoint:** Seeing Iran and the Shi'ite Axis as an existential threat, and seeking to strengthen relations with Israel as part of a coalition against this threat, Saudi Arabia and the Sunni Axis are

increasingly viewing the Palestinian cause as a liability rather than as an asset. This will drive an increased interest in finding a viable solution to the conflict with Israel. Weakening Iran's ideological influence and military aid in the Gaza Strip by implementing the New State Solution will contribute to the regional isolation of Iran and the Shi'ite Axis.

**Egyptian standpoint:** Egypt is facing significant security, economic and regional challenges that faces huge economic and security challenges. Severe economic, social, and security pressures are fomenting a deep sense of crisis. These existential challenges sharpen the leadership's sense of what is important for survival. The New-State Solution could grant Egypt with renewed economic and security stability, its repositioning as a leader in the Arab world, and increased international aid.

**Palestinian Authority standpoint:** In the process of creating The New State, the Palestinian Authority would feel pressure to ensure that Hamas does not expand its control and status. The Palestinian Authority will then attempt to increase its international legitimacy and even its control over the Gaza Strip. Palestinian Authority leaders will be magnetized to the economic gravity created in Northern Sinai.

# "Deal of the Century"

## "Peace to Prosperity"

Former US President Donald Trump, Jared Kushner, Avi Berkowitz, Jason Greenblatt

**Organizing principle:** A realistic Two-State solution in which a secure and prosperous State of Palestine is living peacefully alongside a secure and prosperous State of Israel in a secure and prosperous region.

### Rationale:

- **A security-focused holistic vision** which provides self-determination for the Palestinians, security for Israel, and significant economic opportunities for both parties and the region.
- Through intellectual honesty, openness to new ideas and taking courageous steps, there can be a prosperous and peaceful future for both parties alike. Both parties must recognize that **compromise is necessary** to move forward.
- A peace agreement will be forged only when each side recognizes that it is better off with a peace agreement than without one.
- It is the Israelis and Palestinians who will have to live with the consequences of a peace agreement. Therefore, while the United States will have the role of a mediator, it is only Israelis and Palestinians themselves who can make the decision to forge a lasting peace together.
- This vision aims to be respectful of ideology, religious beliefs and historical claims, but is focused primarily on **putting the interests and aspirations of the people first**.
- It includes **strong economic and regional tenets** – creating economic opportunity for both parties while recognizing the crucial role regional Arab countries have in resolving this conflict, and partnering with Israel to address shared regional threats. The parties in the region are not fated to live in eternal conflict because of their different ethnicities and faiths.
  - The plan also provides benefits to Jordan and Egypt as well as Lebanon and countries throughout the region.



## Outline:

- **Political framework:**
  - Any workable peace agreement must address the Palestinians' legitimate desire for self-determination through the designation of territory for a future Palestinian state, strengthening Palestinian institutions of self-government, providing Palestinians with the legal status and international standing of a state, ensuring solid security arrangements, and building an innovative network of roads, bridges and tunnels that enables freedom of movement for the Palestinians.
  - Achieve mutual recognition of the State of Israel as the nation state of the Jewish people, and the State of Palestine as the nation-state of the Palestinian people, in each case with equal civil rights for all citizens within each state. This mutual status shall be recognized internationally.
- **Security standpoint:**
  - Israel's extraordinary geostrategic challenges infer that it has no margin for error. The future Palestinian state must be peaceful and secure, rather than a platform for instability and conflict. Israel cannot be asked to compromise on its security.
  - The State of Palestine shall be **fully demilitarized** and remain so.
  - Palestinian security forces' mission shall be public order, law enforcement and counterterrorism.
  - A **Security Review Committee** that includes representatives from Israel, Palestine, and the United States shall be established, and will serve as a forum to support progress in meeting and maintaining the security criteria.
  - A **Regional Security Committee (RSC)** shall be established, tasked to review regional counterterrorism policies and coordination.
  - Israel shall maintain control of the entire **airspace** west to the Jordan River.
  - **Gaza:** The Gaza Strip is currently held hostage by Hamas and other terror groups. Israel will be expected to implement its obligations only if the Palestinian Authority, or another body acceptable to Israel, has full control of Gaza, terror organizations in Gaza are disarmed, and Gaza is fully demilitarized.
- **Borders:**
  - Israel will make significant **territorial compromises** to allow the Palestinians to have a viable state.
  - **Land swaps** will provide the State of Palestine with land reasonably comparable in size to the territory of pre-1967 West Bank and Gaza.
  - The **Jordan Valley**, which is critical for Israel's national security, will remain under Israeli sovereignty.
  - **Access roads** shall be built to connect Gaza and the West Bank and to connect the future Palestinian State with Jordan.
  - The system of border crossings will keep the visibility of Israel's security role to a minimum. A board of overseers shall address relevant concerns.



- **Population:**
  - Approximately 97% of Israelis in Judea and Samaria will be incorporated into contiguous Israeli territory, and approximately 97% of Palestinians will be incorporated into contiguous Palestinian territory.
  - Palestinians located in enclaves under Israeli control and Israelis located in enclaves under Palestinian control shall be citizens of their respective countries and will have access routes to them. They shall not be discriminated against and their security shall be ensured.
  - The Triangle Communities of Israeli Arabs which largely self-identify as Palestinian may become part of the State of Palestine, subject to consent.
- **Freedom of access to all religious sites of all faiths in both states** should be agreed to and respected by the parties, including the status quo in Jerusalem.
- **Jerusalem will remain the sovereign capital of the State of Israel, and it should remain an undivided city.** The vision addresses the civil status of Arab residents of East Jerusalem.
- The plan also addresses the concerns relating the **prisoners and refugees**.
- **Economic standpoint: Both sides gain more than they give.**
  - **Unleashing economic potential:**
    - **Reducing constraints** on the Palestinian economy and creating the necessary conditions for it to prosper by opening it to regional and global markets.
    - **Constructing essential infrastructure** through a program that facilitates **billions of dollars of investment** in the electricity, water, and telecom sectors.
    - **Promoting private sector growth** with the potential to facilitate **more than \$50 billion in new investment** over ten years in entrepreneurship, small business, tourism, agriculture, housing, manufacturing, and natural resources.
    - **Strengthening regional development and integration** by boosting the economies of Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, and Lebanon while reducing trade barriers across the region. A **free trade zone** between Jordan and Palestine will be established to expedite economic cooperation between the two countries, and a **trade agreement** between Palestine and the United States will be negotiated.
  - **Goals:**
    - **Doubling the Palestinian GDP** in 10 years
    - Creating over **1 million new jobs**
    - Reducing the **unemployment rate to below 10 percent**
    - Reducing the **poverty rate by 50 percent**
    - Increasing Palestinian **exports** as a percentage of GDP **from 17% to 40%**
    - **Doubling the potable water supply** per capita for the Palestinians
    - Increasing **foreign direct investment** share of Palestinian GDP **from 1.4% to 8%**
    - Empowering the Palestinian people by boosting Palestinian **human capital development** achieving a **0.70 score** in the World Bank Human Capital Index; establishing at least one Palestinian **university** in the global top 150; and increasing **female labor force participation rate** from **20% to 35%**.

- **Reducing** over time the Palestinians' **dependence on aid** from the international community.
- **Regional Arab countries are strongly encouraged to normalize ties with Israel and form regional economic partnerships.**
- The agreement also addresses the questions of port facilities, airports including in Gaza, water treatment, and envisions a Dead Sea resort area.
- **Palestinian state's political foundations:**
  - The region cannot absorb another failed state. **A Palestinian state must combat all forms of terrorism** and be accountable to its neighbors to be a productive and non-threatening member of the international community.
  - The Palestinian governing system shall provide for freedom of press, free and fair elections, respect for human rights, provide protections for religious freedom and its minorities, uniform and fair enforcement of law and contractual rights, due process under the law, and an independent judiciary.
  - Its financial institutions must be transparent, independent, and credit-worthy.
  - The Palestinians shall **end all programs**, including school curricula and textbooks, **that promote incitement, hatred or antagonism** towards their neighbors.
  - **A culture of peace must be promoted.**
- **Recognition:** The United States will support the establishment of a Palestinian State under the condition that the Palestinian leadership satisfies the following criteria:
  - Recognize Israel as the Jewish state
  - Reject terrorism in all its forms
  - Allow for special arrangements that address Israel's and the region's vital security needs
  - Build effective institutions
  - Choose pragmatic solutions

# The One State Solution

**Caroline Glick**, Columnist, Senior Editor at the Jerusalem Post, Senior Fellow at the Washington-based Center for Security Policy

**Organizing principle:** Full annexation of the totality of the Judea and Samaria territories into the State of Israel while granting full Israeli citizenship or residence to the totality of Arab population. The plan does not include the Palestinian residents of Gaza, who constitute a significant portion of the non-Israeli citizens, Palestinians and Arabs between the sea and the river.

## Rationale:

- **None of the other solutions**, be it Two States or the status quo, **properly addresses the complexity of the Israeli-Palestinian situation**. Establishing a Palestinian state will lead to forming a radical Islamist entity in the heart of the country, and continuing the conversation on it further delegitimizes the Jewish people's presence in its Land while legitimizing the PLO.
- **It is more dangerous for Israel** to continue the process of establishing an independent Palestinian state in Judea and Samaria, Gaza, and parts of Jerusalem than enacting Israeli law in Judea and Samaria and granting Arabs with an option for citizenship.
- **Neither Arabs nor Jews will evacuate**. They are forced to live as neighbours, and the distance only further exacerbates hostility between the parties.
- **Israel is entitled to choose how its future will look like**. Palestinian self-determination endangers the State of Israel, and Israel is entitled to choose not to establish a terror entity that will threaten its existence.
- **Judea and Samaria Arabs are better off being governed by Israel**, leading to economic opportunities and increased quality of life, much like the Israeli-Arab experience.

## Outline:

- **Borders and sovereignty:** Israel will gradually annex the totality of Judea and Samaria territories.



- Israeli control will begin with areas already under its control, but are not characterized by the enforcement of sovereignty – such as the ravaging terror and crime in East Jerusalem, while distinguishing law-breakers from law-abiding citizens.
- Since Israeli sovereignty cannot be applied immediately, it will be necessary to first establish an expanded autonomy in the territories of the Palestinian Authority that will replace the PA and prepare the ground for naturalization and the introduction of Israeli rule.
- It must be ensured that foreign entities operating in Israel, such as the European Union, comply with Israeli law and respect Israeli sovereignty.
- Palestinian control over education should be cut back in Area C – the area that is already under Israeli civil control.
- **Citizenship and rights:**
  - The Israeli Knesset will pass legislation that includes criteria for granting Israeli citizenship to Judea and Samaria's Palestinian residents. Excluded are members of terror groups such as Hamas, Fatah and Popular Front, as well as members of the Palestinian Authority apparatus.
  - The remaining Palestinians will be granted with permanent Israeli residence like the residents of East Jerusalem, and will fully benefit from the accompanying civil rights.
- **Immigration and demographics:**
  - Arabs from other countries will be prevented from immigrating into Israel in order to prevent Palestinian right of return from the back door.
  - Jewish Aliyah, or emigration will be encouraged from worldwide countries.
  - The Arab society's urbanization will affect its demographics.
  - We are currently witnessing a significant amount of Arab and Palestinian immigration abroad.
  - New census estimates moderate the conservative demographic argument regarding the loss of Jewish majority in Israel. Even if Israel annexes the totality of Judea and Samaria Arab, it will still maintain a two-third Jewish majority.
  - **Gaza's 2 million Palestinians** are mostly included in the total count of Palestinians between the sea and the river, while **this plan does not concern them** nor includes them in the relevant census.
- **International legitimization:** Action must be taken to create an appropriate international legal climate, and expand Israel's composition of alliances with Asian and African countries while reducing its psychological and security dependence on the United States. Israel will be better positioned to explain its position to the world when it determines a clear direction for its future.

### Important note

- **Developments over recent years, most notably the disengagement from the Israeli society by some Arab demographics, the friction in Israeli-Arab mixed cities' population groups, the Israeli loss of control over Area C territory (in Judea and Samaria) and the granting of legitimacy to the**

**Muslim Brotherhood by the Israeli government, bring the One State vision further away.** This vision will have to develop more gradually, until these trends reverse themselves. As a first step, sovereignty must be enacted on the totality of the Area C territory while offering Israeli citizenship for the Palestinians there – while considering the massive Palestinian immigration into Area C with international support.