
A National Plan For Separation between Israel and the Palestinians

Executive Summary

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A Proposal for Discussion
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Preface

For several decades, the State of Israel has failed to choose between two conflicting ideological world views. One dreams of Greater Israel while the other believes in a Jewish and democratic state. Each side cultivates the fears and uncertainties associated with the alternative vision. One points to security risks while the other warns of the demographic threat.

Given all the facts and figures at our disposal, it is clear that the demographic threat constitutes the greatest danger to Israel's continued existence as a Jewish and democratic state. Indeed, recent developments prove once again, the demographic threat itself has major security implications.

In order to confront the demographic threat, the public must be offered a clear and focused plan that neither evades nor glosses over the burning questions of the day. The program outlined herein offers the only appropriate answer to the policies of the present government; policies that are leading inexorably towards a calamitous, irreversible reality.

Almost 70 years after its establishment, the State of Israel must once again make fateful decisions of the sort it faced on the eve of independence. David Ben-Gurion had to choose whether to accept a U.N. partition plan that offered us less than our complete national aspirations, or to oppose it and leave the Zionist dream unfulfilled. Today we are called upon to decide in favor of separation between us and the Palestinians.

As painful as it is, separation has long-term existential, strategic implications that will ensure Israel's future as a Jewish and democratic state.

The State of Israel today has no clear and recognized international borders, and the moment when the country's Jewish majority comes to an end is fast approaching.

Despair from the lack of a diplomatic solution, the escalation in violence that has jeopardized the personal safety of Israel's citizens and the country's increasing international isolation, all undermine the very foundations of our existence.

Time is working against us.

The government is spreading fear and despair in a cynical attempt to divert attention from its inability to ensure personal security, counter growing social inequalities, restrain exorbitant housing prices and put a stop to the soaring cost of living. Growing numbers of young people are choosing to leave Israel and build their lives in other countries.

The world around us is changing rapidly. Nation states are disintegrating. In the post-Iraq and Afghanistan era, the United States is in no rush to intervene in distant conflicts. Russia is rehabilitating its position as a superpower while Iran and Turkey seek to regain some of their former imperial glory. ISIS is fighting to establish an Islamic Caliphate and will stop at nothing to achieve its ends, including the cruelest acts of terror.

Instead of facing this reality in a resolute and intelligent manner, the

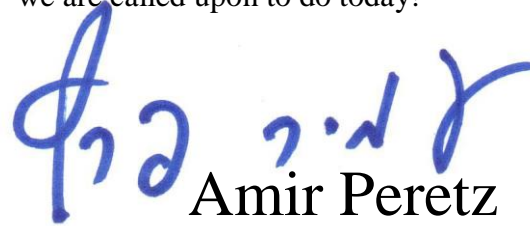
Government of Israel has chosen to conduct an isolationist policy, turning in upon itself while issuing meaningless slogans about "managing the conflict." It has adopted the catchphrase that we shall "forever live by the sword" in a dangerous and unconscionable search for a moral excuse to sit pat and do nothing.

We cannot allow ourselves to be paralyzed with fear. We must transform the current crisis into an opportunity. We must present a bold vision – clear and challenging – to guide Israel and the entire region on to a new path of hope.

Now, more than ever, we must redouble our efforts to find moderate allies in the Arab world and seek an agreement with the Palestinians based on the principle of "two states for two peoples."

The current reality is not a pre-ordained fate. We must offer the Israeli public new leadership – proactive, responsible and farsighted – armed with a bold vision and the courage to bring it to fruition.

This is what Ben-Gurion, Begin and Rabin did in their day. This is what we are called upon to do today!



Amir Peretz

Sderot, 29 November 2015

The National Separation Plan

MK Amir Peretz

Introduction

The current government has done everything to mislead the public into believing that the situation in the territories of Judea and Samaria is irreversible. Senior government ministers have misrepresented the facts, purporting to show that a final status agreement would require the relocation of **570,000** Jews who live over the green line. This is simply incorrect. The time has come to set things straight and tell the public the truth.

The principles of geographic partition within the framework of a future agreement, as presented herein, have already been agreed upon by both sides, at least in part.

490,000 Jews who live over the Green Line will remain in their homes, which will be included within the recognized boundaries of the State of Israel as determined by a future agreement. These will include the Jewish neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, with a population of some **200,000**, as well as the major settlement blocs, home to another **290,000** people.

At the same time we must state plainly and unambiguously what everyone already knows; settlements outside the

main blocs in Judea and Samaria, containing some **80,000** Jews, will not remain under Israeli sovereignty. These settlements will be evacuated in a future agreement.

Although the settlements will be withdrawn, we will not abandon the settlers. It is our obligation to meet their needs effectively, with maximum understanding and sensitivity, while implementing a policy of evacuation, compensation and resettlement. All professional estimates indicate that at least half of them, some **40,000** people, will move voluntarily in exchange for a fair and comprehensive package of assistance, carried out after a careful analysis of the lessons learned from the Gaza disengagement.

As for the remaining 40,000 we must recognize their concerns, safeguard their rights and guarantee their self-respect, so that at the end of the day they accept the decisions of the majority. But we must proceed with firm resolve, determined to safeguard the national interest in preserving Israel as a Jewish and democratic state.

The National Separation Plan, whose main points are detailed below, brings clarity to the issues at hand while debunking the flood of deliberate disinformation aimed at confusing the public. It offers the promise of genuine change in our region.

... If only we have the courage and wisdom to adopt it ...

Main Points

Stage One

Mutual Confidence Building Measures

Within 30 days of the start of negotiations

1. Israel and the Palestinian Authority will begin taking joint measures against violence and terror.
2. The Palestinian Authority will take action against incitement and will cease all international activity against Israel. For its part, Israel will announce a complete freeze on construction outside the major settlement blocs.
3. Israel will declare that negotiations will be based on the 1967 boundaries, with the matter of demographic changes that have taken place since then resolved through an exchange of territory. For its part, the Palestinian Authority will declare its negotiation goal to be the achievement of a peace agreement and the end of conflict.

Stage Two

Negotiations for a Resolution of Core Issues

Will be completed within one year of the start of negotiations

1. The establishment of an internationally recognized border between Israel and the future Palestinian State that guarantees a Jewish majority in the State of Israel.
2. The establishment of security arrangements, including the demilitarization of the Palestinian State, and the maintenance of Israel's qualitative advantage and military power.
3. The liberation of Jerusalem from security threats, from the demographic threat and from the burden of policing Palestinian neighborhoods. Jewish neighborhoods will be under Israeli sovereignty and Arab villages under Palestinian sovereignty.
4. Jerusalem's historic basin will remain under Israeli sovereignty. A joint administration established therein will guarantee freedom of movement and worship and the maintenance of the status quo at the holy sites. A dedicated negotiating team will be established to design this special regime.
5. There will be no return of refugees into the State of Israel. The refugee question will be resolved within the sovereign borders of the new Palestinian State and/or within the framework of a major international aid program involving other states in the region.
6. The future of the Gaza strip will be determined through negotiations with the Palestinian Authority and in coordination with the international community.

Stage Three

The Exchange of Sovereignty and the Completion of Security Arrangements

The Process will take five and ten years, respectively

The State of Israel will extend its sovereignty over some **5%** of the territory of Judea and Samaria and in exchange will transfer sovereignty over an area of equivalent size, constituting some **1%** of its sovereign territory.

Group A:

Settlements Adjacent to the Green Line

These include, among others, Alfei Menashe, Elkana, Oranit, Shaarei Tivka, Etz Efraim, Modiin Elit, Matityahu, Hannanit, Reihan, Sali't, Zufin, Hashmonaim, Kfar Oranim, Latrun, Mevo Horon, Har Adar, Beitar Ilit, Eshkolot, Sansana and Metzudat Yehuda.

All told these settlements constitute some **1.75% of the territory** of the West Bank, and contain some **150,000 Israelis**.

Group B

Greater Jerusalem Settlements

These include, among others, the Gush Etzion Settlements, including: Alon Shvut, Efrata, Migdal Oz, Newe Daniel, Rosh Tzurim, Elazar, Bat Ayin and Gvaot; Maale Adumim, Givon Hachadasha, Newe Yaakov, Ramot Alon, Kfar Adumim, Keidar, Almon, Givat Zeev, Beit Horon and the East Jerusalem neighborhoods.

All told these settlements constitute some **1.75% of the territory** of the West Bank, and contain some **290,000 Israelis**.

Group C

Settlements of Ariel Salient

These include, among others, Ofarim, Beit Arie, Alei Zahav, Paduel, Beruchin, Barkan, Kiryat Netafim, Revava and Ariel.

All told these settlements constitute some **0.8% of the territory** of the West Bank, and contain some **30,000 Israelis**.

Group D

Settlements of Kedumim Salient

These include, among others, Maale Shomron, Karnei Shomron, Nofim, Yakir, Emanuel and Kedumim.

All told these settlements constitute some **0.7% of the territory** of the West Bank, and contain some **20,000 Israelis**.

An End and a New Beginning

End of Conflict

As part of the Israeli-Palestinian agreement, the Arab states will recognize the end of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and will sign agreements with Israel on normalization and the strengthening of economic and security cooperation.

Now, more than ever, it is essential to start a public discourse on the feasibility of the idea of two states for two peoples.

Only a broad, inclusive and intense public debate will facilitate widespread confidence, generate public pressure and offer real hope; all of which, taken together, will bring us closer to ending the conflict and help usher in a new age of security and peace.

Sderot, 29 November 2015

Some **570,000** Jews live in Judea and Samaria.

Of them, some **490,000** live on just **5%** of the territory.

Their settlements will be annexed to Israel and they will remain under Israeli sovereignty.

Settlements to be annexed:

Group A Settlements Adjacent To The Green Line

Alfei Menashe, Elkana, Oranit, Shaarei Tivka, Etz Efraim, Modiin Elit, Matityahu, Hannanit, Reihan, Sali't, Zufin, Hashmonaim, Kfar Oranim, Latrun, Mevo Horon, Har Adar, Beitar Ilit, Eshkolot, Sansana and Metzudat Yehuda.

Group B Greater Jerusalem

The Gush Etzion Settlements, Maale Adumim, Givon Hachadasha, Newe Yaakov, Ramot Alon, Kfar Adumim, Keidar, Almon, Givat Zeev, Beit Horon and the East Jerusalem neighborhoods.

Group C The Ariel Salient

Ariel, Ofarim, Beit Arieh, Alei Zahav, Paduel, Beruchin, Barkan, Kiryat Netafim and Revava.

Group D The Kedumim Salient

Maale Shomron, Karnei Shomron, Nofim, Yakir, Emanuel and Kedumim.

