

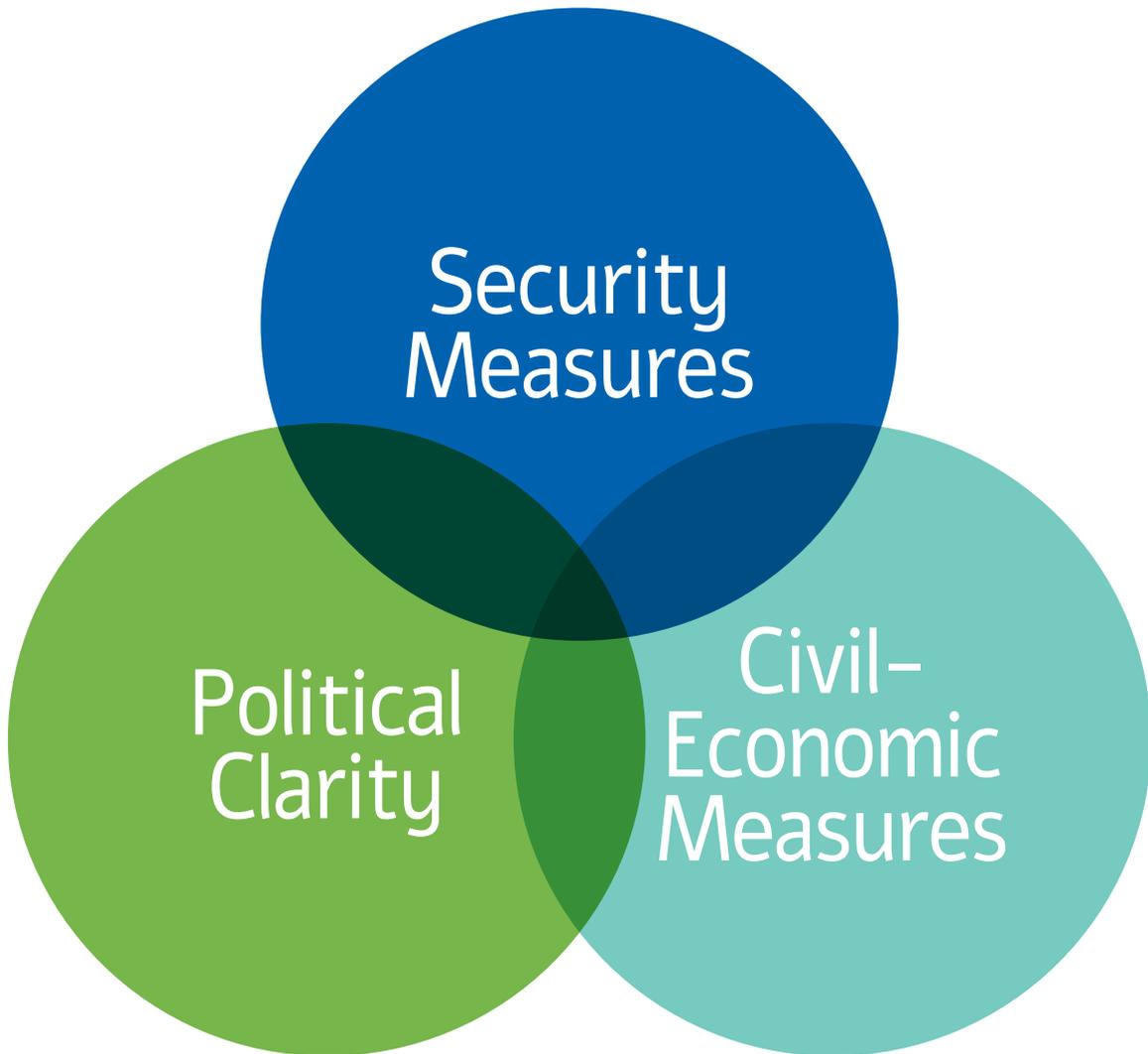
SECURITY FIRST



Changing the Rules of the Game

.....
A Plan to Improve Israel's
Security and International Standing







A Plan of action to extricate Israel from the current dead end and to improve its security situation and international standing.

Only an **integrated effort combining security, civil-economic and political measures**, applied to the **West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza Strip** can bring about significant, sustainable improvement in Israeli security. The Plan, therefore, must be implemented in its entirety.

The Plan addresses the need to increase **personal and national security**, the imperative of **separating from the Palestinians** to the extent possible, and the current necessity for continued **security control over the West Bank** - all while preserving the conditions for a future **'two states for two peoples'** agreement with the Palestinians while **improving Israel's regional and international standing**.



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Executive Summary

An Interim Plan to Improve Israel's Security Situation and International Standing

The over 200 CIS members, all retired IDF generals and Mossad, Shabak and Police equivalents, present the outcome of months of deliberations over answers to Israel's security challenges. Phase One of their findings is encapsulated in this 'Security First' Plan. Phase Two, presenting security solutions for a 'two-state' reality, will soon follow.

Together they constitute a definitive answer to fear mongers: a clear statement that Israel is strong, hence can and must seize the initiative to determine its destiny and shape a better future for our and our neighbors' children; and a security-based conviction that there is no exclusively military solution to the conflict or to waves of terror.

Only a well balanced strategy comprising strict security measures; path-changing policy clarifications; and generous civil-economic measures can gradually change dynamics on the ground and improve security while providing instant dividends on the regional and international scenes.

Governing Principles

- An independent Israeli security and political initiative, not contingent upon the existence of a 'partner'.
- Continued Israel Defense Forces (IDF) control over the West Bank until a permanent status agreement (PSA) is reached.
- Separation from the Palestinians: Israelis and Palestinians living beside each other, not 'inside' each other (in the case of 98.5% of Israelis).
- Clarifying Israel's position on resolving the conflict with the Palestinians ('two-states') and the temporary nature of the military occupation of the

West Bank and the Palestinian neighborhoods and villages of 'East Jerusalem'.

- A practical plan, integrating measures on multiple levels – military, political and civil-economic – to be concurrently implemented in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza.

Goals of the Plan

- To enhance personal and national security.
- To preserve conditions for a future permanent status agreement (PSA) with the Palestinians.
- To increase prospects of Israel's integration into regional security-political arrangements with pragmatic Arab states.
- To improve Israel's international standing and 'pull the rug' from under BDS-like movements.

Security Measures

- Completing construction of the 'security fence' on the West Bank.
- Implementing a strict border control regime along the entire length of the 'security fence'.
- Continued IDF military control over the West Bank until a permanent status agreement is reached.
- Measures to reduce friction between Israelis and Palestinians on the West Bank.
- Measures to end the phenomenon of illegal residency and prevent infiltration into Israel.
- Restoring law and order in the Palestinian neighborhoods of 'East Jerusalem', confiscating illegal weapons and eradicating nests of terror.



Political Measures

- A comprehensive Israeli policy declaration:
 - Accepting, in principle, the Arab Peace Initiative (API), with requisite adjustments to accommodate Israel's security and demographic needs, as a basis for negotiation.
 - Reiterating its commitment to resolving the conflict through negotiations towards a permanent status agreement based on the principle of 'two states for two peoples'.
 - Foregoing claims to sovereignty over West Bank territories east of the 'security fence', but continuing to exercise control over them in a custodial capacity until alternative security arrangements are put into place within the framework of a permanent status agreement with the Palestinians.
 - Acknowledging that the Palestinian neighborhoods and villages of 'East Jerusalem' will be part of a Palestinian state, when established as part of a future agreement.
 - Freezing the construction of new settlements, the expansion of existing ones or the development of civilian infrastructures east of the 'security fence'.
 - Reiterating its commitment to the strict maintenance of the status quo on the Temple Mount and other holy sites.
 - Clarifying that it considers Gaza and the West Bank as a single polity for the purposes of permanent status agreement.

Civil-Economic Measures

- **The West Bank:** Measures designed to improve the welfare of the Palestinians; remove impediments for growth and strengthen the Palestinian Authority (PA).
- **Jerusalem:** Establishing an 'umbrella municipal authority' funded by a dedicated budget and an international fund, for the Palestinian villages

and neighborhoods of 'East Jerusalem', and charged with rehabilitation and development. Strict maintenance of the status quo on the Temple Mount.

- **Gaza:** Measures to prevent the collapse of the cease fire, stave off a humanitarian crisis and promote reconstruction and economic development. Early steps for port development subject to Israeli security needs and PA control.
- **Israeli settlers:** Passing an 'Absorption, Compensation and Voluntary Evacuation Law' for West Bank settlers east of the 'security fence' who seek to relocate west of the 'fence' or within the 'Green Line' (the 1967 line).

Foreword

Immediate adoption by the government of this Plan – in its entirety – will help restore calm and provide Israel with benefits in the local, regional and international arenas

Rolling in against the background of a frozen peace process, recurrent waves of Palestinian terror have exposed Israel's failure to guarantee the welfare and security of its citizens, both within the 'Green Line' and on the West Bank. The security of Israel's citizenry is a key element in its overall national security. Israel must immediately launch an integrated security-political-civil initiative to guarantee it.

This Plan, put forward by Commanders for Israel's Security (CIS), offers a road map to extricate Israel from the current impasse, relax tensions and **improve the security and political situation of the State of Israel**. Members of the Movement – senior veterans of the IDF, the Israeli Security Agency (Shabak), the Mossad and the Police – united in their concern for Israel and its people and bringing to bear their security expertise in a variety of fields, have formulated this Plan in the wake of months of in-depth analysis.

The Plan is informed by the following assumptions

- **There is currently no feasibility** for the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel within the framework **of a permanent status agreement based on the principle of 'two states for two peoples'**.
- **Terror cannot be stamped out by force alone**. It is also a gross simplification that incitement is the sole cause of terror. Terrorism draws on a variety of social, nationalist and religious sources, and is amplified by a sense of despair.
- **The illusion of the status quo**: If the peace process remains frozen it will lead to new rounds of violence, deterioration in security and

increased political isolation. It may render the 'two-state' solution impractical.

- **The situation on the West Bank requires the continued deployment of the IDF** until satisfactory security arrangements are put into place within the framework of a permanent status agreement.
- **Israel is strong enough** that it can – and must – **launch an independent initiative aimed at changing the situation dramatically and improving its standing in the regional and international arenas.**

Alongside detailed security recommendations, therefore, the Plan advocates complementary civil-economic and political steps, simultaneously addressing the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip.

Members of the Movement have no illusion that the situation can be changed overnight. Only an integrated effort combining security and civil-economic measures in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza, coupled with policy statements and measures that restore credibility to Israel's stated commitment to a 'two-state' solution, can bring about significant, sustainable improvements in Israeli security. Isolated actions in one field or in a single geographical area are not enough to confront the complex challenge facing the State of Israel. At best, such actions may have a short term effect – or no effect at all. In the worst case they might create new problems.

The strength of the Plan lies in its practical recommendations: measures designed to bring about significant change without engaging in futile debate as to whether or not we have a negotiating 'partner', while preserving conditions for future negotiations with the Palestinians on a permanent status arrangement when circumstances allow.

The Movement is united in its view that immediate **adoption** by the Israeli government of this **road map in its entirety**, along with steps to begin its implementation, will help restore calm and provide Israel with benefits in the local, regional and international arenas.

We therefore submit this Plan to Israel's decision makers and the general public for consideration.



Israel's National Objectives

The State of Israel is strong, but as long as we fail to define our objectives and move to promote them, Israel will be dragged along by Palestinian and international initiatives as well as by extremists on both sides

Since its inception Israel has faced existential threats from without, successfully countering them both militarily and politically. The threat we face today, however, has no military solution: the loss of Israel's character as the democratic home of the Jewish People¹. The only way to preserve Israel's identity is to guarantee a Jewish majority within agreed and recognized boundaries.

To overcome this danger as well as other security challenges, Israel must pursue **four national objectives**. These objectives are also prerequisites for **economic growth** and **social cohesion** and the **preservation of the country's national character**:

- **Enhancing security for Israelis**, despite ongoing terror.
- **Resolving the conflict with the Palestinians** through negotiations towards a permanent status agreement that ensures concrete and sustainable security arrangements, mutual recognition and internationally recognized borders.
- **Normalizing relations with pragmatic Arab states and integration in regional security structures**. Seizing opportunities for regional security, political and economic cooperation will promote the interests of all parties while enhancing their capacity to meet common threats.

- **Improving Israel's international standing** as a key foundation for its military, economic and social strength.

No matter how distant a possibility of permanent status negotiations with the Palestinians and normalization of relations with the Arab world may be, aspiring to achieve these objectives must be Israel's top priority, guide its policies and determine its actions.

Under no circumstances should we resign ourselves to living with terror and international isolation. These are not inevitable facets of Israeli life. **Israel must take the initiative** and put forward its **independent interim Plan**: an innovative **political-security program that opens up new horizons for hope.**

The Plan of action formulated over many months by Commanders for Israel's Security, the key points of which are presented herein, offers a road map to extricate Israel from the dead end in which we find ourselves. The Plan addresses the need to increase personal and national security through separation from the Palestinians (to the greatest extent possible), along with the imperative of continued security control over the West Bank, while preserving the conditions that will facilitate future negotiations with the Palestinians based on the principle of 'two states for two peoples'.

Careful implementation of this Plan will not only bring about an improvement in the personal security of Israel's citizens and Israel's standing in the world even before a permanent status agreement is reached; it will help facilitate an agreement that brings about an end to the conflict.

1. According to figures published by the demographer Sergio della Pergola (an advisor to the Israeli government), the Jewish share of Israel's population was 76.7% as of 2014. Between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River, however, Jews constitute only 52%, a percentage in continuous decline as compared with the Arab share of the population (Palestinians and Israeli Arabs). If this trend continues it will lead to an Arab majority within a few years.



A Clear Policy, an Independent Initiative

Israel's strength enables us to determine
our future

The conflict with the Palestinians determines Israel's national agenda. Terror undermines Israelis' sense of security, while damaging the delicate fabric of relations between Jewish and Arab citizens. The conflict divides Israeli society while undermining its economy, the welfare of its people and relations with the international community.

Without detracting from the responsibility of those who carry out and support Palestinian terror, the current wave of violence is, in large measure, the product of Israel's rule over more than two million Palestinians and their resulting humiliation, abject poverty, despair and the absence of hope for a better future. As these feelings intensify, they are exploited by extremists who fan the flames with incitement, encouraging further violence.

Time is working to Israel's detriment. Security cooperation and other agreements with the Palestinian Authority still serve the interests of both sides and are therefore being maintained. This situation could change in the wake of increased violence, a loss of control, waning motivation on the part of Palestinian security forces or a decision by President Abbas to carry out his threat, 'return the keys' to Israel and dismantle the Palestinian Authority. Such a development would force Israel to reassert complete control over Area A and Area B (see map entitled Areas of Control on the West Bank, page 50 below). This would have grave political, economic and military implications.

The policy of 'managing the conflict' has turned out to be a dangerous illusion. In practice, the situation has only gotten worse. In order to restore a sense of relative security and prevent further deterioration, Israel urgently needs to change the rules of the game.

The State of Israel must adopt a clear policy, based on actual conditions on the ground, a long term perspective and the need to eliminate ambiguity regarding the future of those parts of the West Bank which it currently controls. Israel must decide whether it seeks to annex the territories or continue to hold on to them until a permanent status agreement that guarantees its security can be reached.

In this context, Israel also needs a clear and consistent policy towards the Palestinian Authority. Should we weaken the PA (leading to its collapse, the creation of a power vacuum, political and security chaos and the rise of more extreme elements); or should we strengthen it, contribute to its stability and capacity to govern?

Israel's strength enables us to determine our future. The time has come to be proactive rather than being dragged along by events, continually reacting to international or Palestinian initiatives or the actions of extremists on both sides.



'Security First'

Changing the Rules of the Game

An approach to national security that combines military force with an appreciation of the limits of power and the socio-economic needs of both populations while presenting and pursuing a clear policy regarding the future of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and ways to resolve it.

Terror cannot be defeated by security measures alone – determined and comprehensive as they may be. Nor can we preserve the option of a future resolution of the conflict without taking political steps now. Israel has waged three military campaigns in the Gaza Strip without finishing off Hamas terror. Likewise Israel has fought wave after wave of terror from the West Bank, using all military methods at its disposal, but terrorism only rears its head again, though its characteristics may vary over time.

It is only the combined potency of Israel's security forces with enhanced and sustained interest of the Palestinian public and security agencies to reign-in the extremists in their midst, that can restore and preserve stability and thus provide the setting for future negotiations.

Therefore, Israel must launch an independent political and security initiative, irrespective of whether or not we presently have a 'partner'. We must launch this initiative and carry it through while maintaining IDF control of the territory and removing ambiguity about Israel's intentions regarding the future of the West Bank.

Goals of the Plan

As noted above, the Plan has four primary objectives:

- To enhance personal and national security.
- To preserve conditions for a future permanent status agreement (PSA) with the Palestinians.
- To increase prospects of Israel's integration into regional security-political arrangements with pragmatic Arab states.
- To improve Israel's international standing and 'pull the rug' from under BDS-like movements.

The West Bank

Developing a workable solution to West Bank complexities requires familiarity with some basic facts and figures. Jewish settlement is primarily concentrated in large settlement blocs adjacent to the 'Green Line', most of which are west of the route of the 'security fence'. Most of the friction between the Israeli and Palestinian populations, on the other hand, occurs deep inside the territory, in areas with dense Palestinian population and sparse Israeli settlement.

Facts and Figures

570,000 Jewish settlers live over the 'Green Line'. Some 460,000 of them (80.7%) are located in 'East Jerusalem', in settlements adjacent to the 'Green Line' or in the large settlement blocks. The remaining 110,000 (some 19.3%) live in settlements on the mountain ridge, a minority of them in the Jordan Valley:

- **The Jewish neighborhoods of 'East Jerusalem'**, within the municipal jurisdiction of the city, with a population of some 200,000, represent 35.1% of Israelis living over the 'Green Line'.
- **The large settlement blocks and settlements adjacent to the 'Green Line'**, with a population of 260,000, represent 45.6% of Israelis living over the 'Green Line'.
- The Jordan Valley Settlements, with a population of 6,500, represent 1.1% of Israelis living over the 'Green Line'.
- **The settlements of the mountain ridge**, small and isolated communities, with a population of 103,000 people, represent 18.2% of Israelis living over the 'Green Line'.

A clear Palestinian Majority, a High Level of Friction, Conflict, Violence and Terror

Palestinians constitute a clear majority of the West Bank population, where they number 2.6 million as compared with 570,000 Israelis. East of the 'security fence', the imbalance is even greater, with only 110,000 Israelis comprising just 4.5% of the total population.

These circumstances – a clear Palestinian majority on the West Bank combined with high levels of friction between the two populations – create fertile ground for tension and routine conflict, violence and terror, and therefore constitute a major security burden.



The West Bank Plan

A series of balanced and integrated measures based on more than just the use of force.

Goals of the West Bank Plan

- Enhancing the security of Israelis living on both sides of the 'Green Line'.
- Reducing friction between Israelis and Palestinians on the West Bank.
- Improving the welfare of Palestinians living in areas of the West Bank under Israeli control.
- Reducing the danger that the Palestinian Authority will collapse.
- Eliminating political ambiguity regarding the future of the West Bank.
- Preserving conditions for future negotiations on a permanent status agreement between Israel and the Palestinians.

Security Measures

Completion of the 'Security Fence'

- **Completing** (with specified minor adjustments) **those sections of the 'security fence' planned by the government but never built** (see map on page 54). These uncompleted sections have become infiltration routes for terrorists and for smuggling of weapons, drugs and illegal goods. They also serve as channels for crime and for the entry of illegal workers from the West Bank into Israel. Conversely, they facilitate the smuggling of weapons from Israel to the West Bank:
 - Gush Etzion gap (see map on p. 58).
 - Southern Mt. Hebron gaps (see map on p. 60).
 - Maale Adumim gap (see map on p. 62)

Completing the 'security fence' so that the major settlement blocks



Gaps in the 'Security Fence'

Infiltration routes for terrorism and crime into Israel

— 'Security Fence'

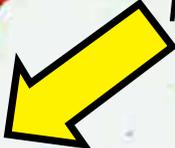
— 'Green Line'



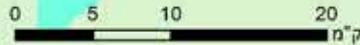
Maale Adumim Gap



Gush Etzion Gap



Southern Mt. Hebron Gaps





remain on its western side will considerably enhance the security of Israelis living within the 'Green Line', as well as those living on the West Bank between the 'Green Line' and the route of the 'security fence' (in the major settlement blocks, in the Jewish neighborhoods of 'East Jerusalem' and in settlements adjacent to the 'Green Line'), comprising some 80% of all Israelis living over the 'Green Line'.

- **Reinforcing routine IDF security measures along the route of the 'security fence' and enforcing a strict border security regime**, as well as enhanced physical separation, upgraded tracking and supervision and rapid response protocols for every infiltration attempt, including repair of damage to the 'fence'. This operating routine will reduce the infiltration of illegal workers and terrorists into Israeli territory and will make counterterrorism efforts more efficient.
- **Upgrading and reinforcing crossing points** along the route of the 'fence' while providing for the needs of the civilian population that uses these crossing points, without compromising on security requirements. This will involve the deployment of more security personnel, increasing the amount of equipment at their disposal, and upgrading security check procedures for those with Israeli work permits, with the goal of significantly reducing waiting time.

Continued IDF control over the West Bank

- **Continued IDF control over the West Bank** (in full coordination with Palestinian security agencies) in all areas east of the 'security fence' until agreed concrete and sustainable security arrangements are put into practice as part of a permanent status agreement with the Palestinians.
- Israeli forces will continue to provide for the **security needs of Israelis living east of the 'security fence'** (who comprise 19.3% of Israelis living on the West Bank) with the goal of allowing them to live routine lives in security, to the greatest extent possible, until a permanent status agreement is reached.

- **Secure transportation corridors** will be established for Israeli traffic during all hours of the day, as well as roads where secured traffic is limited to specific times and alternative routes in cases where the level of friction is high. These and other measures will help reduce friction between Israelis and Palestinians east of the 'security fence', and will make it easier for the IDF to carry out its mission to protect the security of Israelis living there.

Addressing the problem of illegal workers

- As most perpetrators of terror acts in the recent wave of violence have been Palestinians who entered Israel without permits (hence not been subjected to security vetting procedures), **intensifying efforts to deal with the problem of Palestinian illegal workers is an essential security measure**. This should be done through both administrative measures and law enforcement within the 'Green Line'; in addition to completing the 'security fence' and upgrading routine security along its route (as suggested earlier).

There are over 50,000 illegal workers in Israel west of the 'Green Line'. Security forces and law enforcement agencies must make a joint effort to track down those who have infiltrated the country illegally as well as those who assist them. A special police unit will be established to deal with Israeli citizens who assist and/or employ illegal workers. Legislation will be passed as necessary to increase the penalties imposed by the courts.

- **Encouraging and expanding legal, supervised Palestinian employment in Israel**. The main reason illegal workers enter Israel is the lack of employment on the West Bank combined with their inability to obtain Israeli work permits. Therefore, as recommended by the Israeli defense establishment, tens of thousands of additional work permits should be issued to West Bank Palestinians.

As experience shows that Palestinians who have been security-vetted and provided with work permits have rarely been involved in terrorism, it is in Israel's interest to employ tens of thousands of Palestinians who return to their homes at the end of the work day. Reducing joblessness for West



Bank Palestinians who have become dependent on employment in Israel for their livelihoods, together with improvements in border control mechanisms to reduce the long waiting time at checkpoints (as suggested above), will improve economic conditions and the overall atmosphere among Palestinians.

Civil-Economic Measures

In addition to the above measures, Israel will carry out a civil-economic program to develop the economy and create jobs east of the 'security fence' with the goal of improving the welfare of the Palestinians and raising their standard of living. The program will upgrade infrastructures, promote trade and employment and allow for greater freedom of movement. This will ease conditions for West Bank Palestinians, relax tensions and offer hope for a better future:

- **Addressing the lack of building permits for the growing Palestinian population in area C.** One percent of the territory of Area C (a total of under 35 km² [13.5 mi²] comprising small segments in separate locations adjacent to Palestinian villages in Area B) will be transferred to the Palestinian Authority and thus legalize and remove the threat of demolition from 11,000 homes where some 200,000 Palestinians reside.
- **Spurring agricultural development on the West Bank.** Israel will institute a rapid approval protocol for laying down water lines in potential Palestinian agricultural lands, based on agreed priorities. Water allotments for Palestinian farmers would be increased. For their part, the Palestinians would commit to increase the use of recycled water. In places with a demonstrated need, approval could be given for paved roads (for the purpose of building infrastructure and the transport of agricultural equipment).
- **Easing Restrictions on the transport and export of goods.** Israel would make it easier to transport Palestinian goods within the West Bank (in part by reducing the number of instances where vehicles are checked twice), between the West Bank and Israel, including Israeli ports; between the West Bank and Gaza; and between the West Bank and the Arab world.

- **Removing impediments to economic development.** The Value Added Tax Authority would computerize its dealings with the Palestinian Authority; connectivity would be established between Israeli and Palestinian banks via the SWIFT interbank system; Palestinian trade would be encouraged – including with countries that do not maintain diplomatic and/or trade relations with Israel.
- Resuming the continuous and effective **operation of the Joint Economic Committee (JEC)** to resolve problems and encourage economic activity in the private sector.
- **Developing Palestinian industrial and employment** zones adjacent to the 'security fence'.
- **Improving transportation infrastructures** for Palestinian use on the West Bank. Thousands of kilometers of safe, modern roads already exist on the West Bank. These, however, lead mainly to Jewish settlements and army bases.
- **Supporting the establishment of another, new Palestinian city.** The establishment of Rawabi (in Area A) north of Ramallah has demonstrated the demand for affordable, urban housing and its importance to Palestinian economy, society and dignity. Construction of this sort creates thousands of jobs, including hundreds of jobs for academicians (engineers, economists etc.). Palestinian investment funds such as PIF already have plans to establish additional cities, mainly in area C. These plans should be accepted as long as they are slated for areas approved of by the government and the IDF.
- **Issuing a larger number of permits to work in Israel** (see page 23–24 above).

Freedom of Choice: Assisting Settlers who wish to relocate

To mitigate the impact these measures will have on their lives, the State of Israel will afford **settlers living east of the 'security fence'** the choice of moving to the large settlement blocks west of the 'fence' or to locations within the 'Green Line'. To facilitate this, the Knesset should pass a generous

"Absorption, Compensation and Voluntary Evacuation Law" which guarantees the welfare, self-respect and future of those who choose to move.

One of the lessons of the 2005 Gaza Disengagement is that early legislation is necessary for effective planning. The proposed law will enable residents of isolated settlements who know that in the end they will be obliged to evacuate, to do so voluntarily, thereby ensuring that they can make the transition and readjust in a dignified manner.

The proposed "Absorption, Compensation and Voluntary Evacuation Law"² regulates the way in which the government will redeem homes of settlers living east of the 'security fence' in exchange for alternative housing within the sovereign boundaries of the State of Israel or in territories over the 'Green Line' but west of the 'security fence' (the settlement blocks and Jewish neighborhoods in 'East Jerusalem')

The law would be a proactive Israeli initiative. Thus, while keeping the door open for future negotiations, Israel would strengthen the credibility of its declared intentions regarding the peace process in the international community, while reducing the security burden associated with providing adequate security for each settler.

Clarifying Israel's Intentions Regarding the Future of the Territories

The security and civil measures outlined above will be accompanied by a clear policy statement aimed at eliminating the current ambiguity about Israel's intentions regarding the future of the West Bank. In addressing the West Bank, the statement will include the following principles:

- **The 1967 line will form the basis for Israel's eastern border in a future permanent status agreement, with adjustments made for security and demographic reasons.** It is Israel's position that the large Jewish settlement blocks west of the 'security fence' and the Jewish neighborhoods in 'East Jerusalem' will remain under Israeli sovereignty.

2. Formulated by Blue White Future; For an in-depth look at this topic, see the CIS website.

- **Israel has no claims for sovereignty on territory east of the 'security fence' in the West Bank or the Palestinian neighborhoods of 'East Jerusalem'.** Israel will retain control of these territories on a provisional basis until such time as a permanent status agreement that ensures its security goes into effect.
- Israel remains committed to **resolving the dispute with the Palestinians** on the basis of the principle of 'two states for two peoples', with the Palestinian state being demilitarized and arrangements put into effect that ensure Israel's security.
- **East of the 'security fence', all construction of new settlements as well as the expansion – or development of infrastructures within – existing settlements, will be frozen.**
- **Israel will continue to develop the settlements west of the 'security fence'.** New construction, however, will be limited to built-up areas and will be strictly controlled. Preference will be given to high density (multi story) housing in order to avoid extensive land use so as not to increase the amount of land Israel will be asked to swap with the Palestinians in future permanent status negotiations.
- **Law and order will be strictly enforced on the West Bank,** and High Court decisions will be carried out to the letter. This will include vigorous action to prevent and prosecute violations on the part of both Israelis and Palestinians. Israelis known for repeated provocations will be removed to the western side of the 'fence'.

Imperatives of Combined Measures

- The security measures described above will bring about an improvement in personal security for Israelis, both those living within the 'Green Line' and the 80% of those residing over that line who live in the major settlement blocks and in the Jewish neighborhoods of 'East Jerusalem'.
- A 'security fence' separating the Palestinians from most of the Israeli population will create a situation in which they live 'beside each other',



not 'inside each other'. Friction between the two populations will be reduced considerably, thereby allowing each group to lead a more normal life.

- Removing ambiguity about Israel's intentions regarding the future of the West Bank by issuing a clear policy statement and implementing the operative measures outlined above will:
 - Demonstrate the sincerity of Israel's intentions regarding the resolution of the conflict by diplomatic means based on the principle of 'two states for two peoples', thereby shifting the burden of proof back to the Palestinian side.
 - Lay the groundwork for joining regional security frameworks and resuming dialogue with the Palestinians.
 - Strengthen Israel's international position and contribute to the struggle against the boycott movement and other efforts to delegitimize the State of Israel.
- Violation of the settlement freeze as spelled out above, will increase friction with the Palestinian population on the West Bank; create additional security problems; undermine Israel's international standing; and close options for a future negotiated settlement.
- Implementation of the security and civil measures outlined above, together with the declaration of intent described previously will create a new horizon for hope, helping to build confidence between Israel and the Palestinian authority. This could serve as a moderating factor, encouraging the reasonable Palestinian majority and the Palestinian Authority to restrain the extremist minority in its midst. These developments, in turn, will also ease tensions between the Arab and Jewish communities in Israel.

Not a Unilateral Withdrawal

In contrast with the unilateral withdrawals Israel carried out in 2000 (from South Lebanon) and 2005 (from Gaza), the 'Security First' Plan calls for the IDF to remain in the West Bank and retain complete security control until

a permanent status agreement with the Palestinians ushers in alternative concrete, sustainable security arrangements.

Unlike in the Gaza experience, in retaining overall IDF security control, extreme Palestinian elements will not be able to claim credit for this independent Israeli initiative. If anything, it will likely boost the morale among, and enhance the prestige of the moderates.

Jerusalem

A ticking bomb or a ray of hope

All the security, demographic, economic, nationalist and religious aspects of the Palestinian–Israeli dispute converge in Jerusalem.

The continued growth in the Palestinian share of the population (some 40% of all city residents), neglect and economic inequality, religious extremism on both sides and the frozen peace process have turned Jerusalem into a locus of nationalist and religious violence. This reduces economic resilience, generates instability, undermines security for all the city’s residents and threatens the city’s character.

‘East Jerusalem’ in 2016 has become a flashpoint of neglect and despair. A popular uprising could easily break out among the city’s 320,000 Palestinian residents. Such a development would have strategic and security implications of unprecedented severity.

The key to restoring calm and preventing such an outbreak lies in the immediate adoption of a plan of action combining steps to enhance personal security in all areas under the city’s municipal jurisdiction – including the Palestinian neighborhoods – with a significant improvement in the socio-economic condition of the city’s Palestinian residents, thereby replacing despair with hope for a better future.

A Hasty and Unnecessary Annexation

Forty nine years ago (in 1967) Israel annexed the Palestinian neighborhoods and villages surrounding Jerusalem to the city’s municipal jurisdiction, despite the fact that they had not previously been part of the city. This hasty and coercive move was an error of historic proportions. Today, some 320,000 Palestinians live in areas annexed to the city by Israel. They possess Israeli residency cards and are guaranteed rights under Israeli law, including

the right to apply for Israeli citizenship. Many are dependent on Israel for employment, healthcare and welfare services. **This dependency** cannot be terminated in one fell swoop. It **can only be reversed through an ongoing but vigorous effort to build alternative economic, social and municipal infrastructures within and without the Palestinian parts of the city**. Only afterwards – as part of a future permanent status agreement with the Palestinians – will it be possible to separate Palestinian and Israeli neighborhoods, political and security conditions permitting.

Enhancing personal security and reducing socio-economic gaps

Until political conditions make a permanent status agreement feasible, Israel must take independent steps to enhance the personal security of Jerusalem's residents, prevent escalation and promote the chances of a future permanent status agreement.

The following steps, which Israel must take immediately, offer a way to handle the unique and complex fabric of life in the city, while providing for the security and economic needs of its residents, Israelis and Palestinians alike. This would not require any political or legal changes until circumstances ripen for a permanent status agreement.

United Jerusalem – Myth and Reality

Jerusalem's municipal area can be divided into three parts:

'West Jerusalem' – 56 km² (21.6 mi²) in size, located within the 'Green Line', under Israeli sovereignty since 1949. Its population is overwhelmingly Jewish.

'East Jerusalem' – covering an area of only 6 km² (2.3 mi²), conquered from Jordan in the Six Day War. Known in the Arab world by the name of Al Quds. This area includes the Old City of Jerusalem and adjacent neighborhoods, populated mainly by Palestinians³. It was annexed to the municipal area of Jerusalem in 1967.

'Eastern Jerusalem' – A 70 km² (27 mi²) area, was seized from Jordan in the Six Day War. This territory includes Palestinian neighborhoods and villages that had been part of the West Bank until they were occupied by Israel. The



area was annexed to Jerusalem in 1967. 320,000 Palestinians live in these villages and neighborhoods⁴. 200,000 people reside in 12 Jewish neighborhoods that have been built in this area since it was annexed.⁵

In effect, two separate cities exist within Jerusalem's municipal boundaries: a well-developed Israeli city and an underdeveloped Palestinian one, discriminated against in all areas of life (employment, construction, housing, infrastructure, education, community services, etc.). These gaps provide fertile ground for violent confrontations between extremist groups with opposing nationalist aspirations.

The Israeli government recognizes the connection between neglect, poverty and violence

In June 2014, the government approved for the first time a five year development plan for 'East Jerusalem'. In adopting the plan, the government recognized that "there is a close connection between the extent and level of violence among 'East Jerusalem' residents and living standards in the city's eastern neighborhoods".⁶ The NIS 300 million (some \$75 million) plan aims to promote the development of the city's Palestinian sections, and thus reduce tensions and improve security.

Meanwhile, street violence is on the rise. According to Israeli Security Agency figures, during the course of 2015 – the end of which saw the outbreak of the current wave of terror – 583 terror attacks took place in Jerusalem (involving Molotov cocktails, improvised explosive devices, stabbings, car attacks or shootings). In 2014, by contrast, there were 346 attacks and in 2013 only 126.⁷ The wave of terror that began in Jerusalem in October 2015 against the background of tensions on the Temple Mount has since spread throughout Israel.

3. Some 42,000 people live in the Old City, of them 28,000 in the Moslem Quarter and 6,000 Jews in the Jewish Quarter. Roughly 23,000 people live in Ras el Amud, 18,000 in Silwan, 15,000 in Wadi Joz, 15,000 in Sheikh Jarrah, and 24,300 in A-Tur and the slopes of the Mt. of Olives. Several tens of Jewish families have settled within this dense Palestinian population. They are spread out in the settlements of Ma'ale Zetim in Ras el Amud, Silwan, the Moslem Quarter of the Old City and other places.

4. The main ones are Beit Hanina (some 34,500 residents), Zur Baher (15,000), Um Tuba (4,000), Kfar Aqab (15,000), Shuafat (36,000), the Shuafat refugee camp (various estimates put its population at 15,000), Issawiya (13,570), Jabel Mukaber (32,000) and Beit Zafafa (9,300 residents). Once again, these are in addition to the Old City and adjacent neighborhoods belonging to the Eastern City (Wadi Joz, Sheikh Jarrah, Ras el Amud, Silwan).

5. Neve Yaakov (20,700 residents), Ramot Alon (43,000 as of 2013), Pisgat Zeev (41,800), Gilo (32,000), East Talpiot (15,200), Har Homa (18,000), Ramat Shlomo (15,100), Givat Hamivtar, French Hill and Tzameret Habira (7,000 people altogether), Ma'ale Dafna (4,300) and Ramat Eshkol (some 8,700 residents).

6. Quoted from the text of the plan. To view the details of the plan, see the website of the Ministry of Construction and Housing: http://www.moch.gov.il/Gov_Decisions/Pages/GovDecision.aspx?ListID=f33e0a4b-aa35-4b12-912e-d271a6476a11&WebId=fe384cf7-21cd-49eb-8bbb-71ed64f47deo&ItemID=560

7. Israeli Security Agency, Summary of 2014 (unclassified version) <http://www.shabak.gov.il/publications/study/Pages/ReportY2014.aspx>

The Jerusalem Plan

In Jerusalem, like in the West Bank, personal security can be restored to all the city's residents only through an **independent Israeli security initiative combined with civil-economic measures** to improve the welfare of Palestinian residents, alongside a **clear declaration** of intent which will create a new **political horizon and reason for hope**.

The Jerusalem Plan calls for the **restoration of law and order in Palestinian areas** of the city where there is currently no security presence, **improving the quality of life, marking a political horizon** and replacing despair with hope among the city's Palestinians.

The practical steps outlined below will not affect Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem, require changes to the Jerusalem Law or impact on the status of Palestinian residents. They are also not contingent upon the existence of a Palestinian 'partner' at this time.

The Jerusalem Plan is an independent Israeli initiative that could also serve as an interim stage on the road to an eventual permanent status agreement with the Palestinians.

Goals of the Jerusalem Plan

- Restoring personal security for Israeli and Palestinian residents of Jerusalem;
- Bringing law and order to Palestinian neighborhoods and villages of the city;
- Improving the quality of life for Jerusalem's Palestinian residents;
- Laying the groundwork for a possible change in the status of the city's Palestinian neighborhoods and their residents within the framework of a future permanent status agreement.

Security Measures

- **The 'security fence' (the 'separation wall') will be completed along the Jerusalem envelope**, and law enforcement measures will be intensified along its entire route in order to prevent the infiltration of illegal workers and smugglers from the West Bank into the city's Palestinian and Israeli sections.
- **A vigorous enforcement program will be carried out to restore law and order to Palestinian villages and neighborhoods in 'East Jerusalem'**. A robust, permanent security presence will be established in these areas, illegal weapons will be confiscated and nests of terror and crime will be destroyed.
- In order to achieve this, **police and border police force will be augmented**, new units will be recruited, trained and equipped and the required budgets allocated.
- **The status quo on the Temple Mount will be scrupulously maintained**. This will require the sensitive and intelligent management of the issue on both the security and policy levels in order to reduce friction and tension in and around the Temple Mount and prevent it from causing a religious strife.

Civil-Economic Measures

- The State of Israel will establish an **administrative separation** between the Palestinian villages and neighborhoods ('Palestinian Jerusalem') in **'East Jerusalem'** and the city's Israeli neighborhoods. This will not require changes to the Jerusalem Law or affect the status of Palestinian residents.
- **A 'municipal umbrella' will be established for the Palestinian neighborhoods and villages**, to be managed as a separate municipal framework within the city of Jerusalem. This 'municipal umbrella' will be invested with authority in the fields of planning and zoning, construction, tax collection, infrastructure development, education, municipal services, promotion of trade, assistance to small businesses, community services,

etc. It will manage its dedicated budget, separately from the budget of the City of Jerusalem.

- **A master plan for the development of 'Palestinian Jerusalem'** will be drafted with an emphasis on planning and construction, infrastructures, services and economic development.
- **An accelerated development plan will be put into effect immediately.** In the first stage, this plan will give priority to projects that meet two criteria:
 - Provide for the needs of the maximum number of Palestinian residents;
 - Have the best prospects of success in a short period of time.
- **The Government of Israel will establish – and contribute to – a fund** to upgrade municipal services in 'Palestinian Jerusalem' and bring them up to the level of West Jerusalem, in accordance with the master plan mentioned above. Palestinian, Arab and international donors will be invited to participate. The fund will be supervised jointly by the umbrella authority, the city of Jerusalem and the donors.⁸
- **Residential and commercial construction projects will be developed outside of Jerusalem** in parts of Area C that do not constitute a threat to Israeli settlements. Palestinians would be allowed to move there without losing either their permanent residency rights in Jerusalem or related welfare benefits, including Social Security. This would reduce overcrowding and ease the shortage of housing and employment in Jerusalem.
- **Municipal and welfare services would be made accessible to Palestinians** living within the city's boundaries but outside the separation wall, as well as to permanent residents who live outside the city's municipal jurisdiction.

This combined approach will have a positive impact, both in practice and on public opinion among the city's residents.

8. An estimated NIS 3–5 billion (\$ 1 billion) will be required over a period of five years.

The status of Palestinian residents of the city

- **The residency status of Palestinians in Jerusalem will not be changed** until a permanent status agreement is reached.
- **No new residents will be registered.** Any further registration of residency will be limited to those born in the city. An Israeli exceptions committee will deal with special cases.
- **Israeli citizenship will no longer be granted to permanent Palestinian residents of the city.**
- **Rules will be issued to protect the residency status of Palestinian residents of Jerusalem** living in areas of the West Bank beyond the city's municipal limits. This will stem the migration back into the city of those who fear losing their residency status, a development that has led to overcrowding and housing shortages, increased the cost of living and placed an undue burden on already fragile educational and health infrastructures.

Clarifying Israel's intentions regarding the future of 'East Jerusalem'

Alongside the security and civil measures outlined above, Israel will issue an unequivocal political declaration to dispel ambiguity about its intentions regarding the future of the Palestinian neighborhoods and villages of 'East Jerusalem'. The declaration will include the following:

- **Israel has no claims to sovereignty over the Palestinian neighborhoods and villages of 'East Jerusalem'.** Israel will retain control of these areas on a provisional basis until such time as a permanent status agreement is signed and goes into effect.
- Until conditions ripen for such a permanent status agreement, **Israel will scrupulously maintain the status quo on the Temple Mount.**



A Ray of Hope

The policy recommendations regarding Jerusalem detailed above call for vigorous security measures while taking into consideration the needs of all ethnic and religious groups. They are based on a sober view of how the city may eventually be divided along national and municipal lines. Such a policy will serve to relax tensions, bring hope to all who live in the city and improve Israel's relations with the Palestinians, the Arab states, the Muslim world and the international community.



The Gaza Strip

A Humanitarian Disaster on Israel's Doorstep

Concern over a humanitarian disaster in the Gaza Strip is shared by both international-aid experts and Israel's defense establishment. Absent major changes on the ground, the coastal enclave will be unfit for human dwelling by 2020.⁹

Gaza is one of the most densely populated places on the face of the Earth. Moreover, its population – half of which is under the age of 18 – is growing rapidly. In 2014, the Strip's unemployment rate set a world record of 47%. Of all Gazans 40% are classified as poor and 80% depend on support from international agencies. During Operation "Protective Edge" (2014), about 100,000 of the Gaza residential units were damaged – 19,000 of which were completely destroyed. The crumbling electricity grid has taken a turn for the worse, as it currently supplies only 8 to 12 hours of power a day. Gaza's sewage treatment facility and water supply have deteriorated to the point where there are concerns of an acute shortage of drinkable water.

Despair Triggers Escalation

The troubling state of affairs in the Gaza Strip evolved in the wake of the Israeli unilateral disengagement in 2005. From an Israeli perspective:

- On the one hand, the situation in Gaza is no longer Israel's concern, since the IDF pulled out of its territory; all Israelis were evacuated; the military government was dissolved; and its border with Israel was closed.

9. For an in-depth look at this topic, see the translation of the following article from the British Guardian: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/1.2722476>. For a UN report on these developments, see http://unctad.org/meetings/en/SessionalDocuments/tdb62d3_en.pdf; For an in-depth look at this topic, see the CIS website.

- On the other hand, neither the situation on the ground nor the international community enables Israel to shed responsibility for the Strip. Following Hamas' takeover in 2007, Israel (as well as Egypt) imposed a land, sea, and aerial blockade. Consequently, Gaza is dependent on Israel for water, electricity, and fuel supplies and Israel controls all Gaza's access to the world, including for the passage of goods to the Strip.

Hamas rule in Gaza has been mired in a prolonged crisis. A hostile relationship with Egypt; political isolation in the inter-Arab arena; a financial crisis; a slow reconstruction process; the inability to provide for the basic needs of the population; as well as Hamas's continued failure to pay the salaries of its military wing and provide its members (and their families) with financial security (donor countries prohibit the use of their funding for this purpose), set the stage for the outbreak of hostilities in 2014.

If Hamas' concern with an Arab Spring-like popular uprising were not enough, it has increasingly been challenged by armed cells of more extreme Islamic groups, such as Salafia-Jihadia and supporters of ISIS.

A Ticking Bomb

This ticking bomb in Gaza affects Israel in several ways:

- **Further Rounds of Fighting.** Conditions today are not very different than those on the eve of "Protective Edge" (2014). So long as this situation persists, there is a real danger of future conflagrations.
- **Strengthening of Extremists.** The more the situation deteriorates, the greater the challenge of more extreme Islamic groups to Hamas as well as to the ceasefire with Israel. Any reduction in Hamas' ability to rein them in increases the prospects of the ceasefire collapsing.
- **Stoking Tensions in the West Bank and Israeli Arab Communities.** Thus far, the majority of Palestinians in the West Bank and most Israeli Arabs do not absolve Hamas of responsibility for the enclave's woes. However, further deterioration in the humanitarian situation or another violent confrontation in Gaza may trigger a very different reaction.



- **A Wave of Infiltrators.** The phenomenon of young Gazans risking their lives to sneak into Israel with the objective of finding jobs or being incarcerated in an Israeli prison – where at the very least they will be afforded minimal living conditions – speaks to the depths of despair in the coastal enclave. As long as the situation deteriorates, the number of such infiltrators can be expected to rise. Israel might then have to contend with hundreds or even thousands of Gazans knocking at its gates.
- **International Pressure.** Widely viewed as bearing responsibility for developments in Gaza, Israel would be battered by international pressure should the humanitarian crisis intensify.

Political Variables

Efforts to deal with these humanitarian needs and to stabilize the ceasefire are further complicated by several developments:

- **The Hamas–PA Rivalry.** The Palestinian Authority’s insistence that it takes no responsibility for Gaza before Hamas yields all political and security authority there has created a major stumbling block for reconstruction. As the donor countries refuse to bypass the PA, the latter refuses to facilitate the reconstruction efforts on the grounds that any aid to Gaza that it does not oversee will weaken the PA and bolster Hamas.
- **Israeli Security Considerations.** The Israeli defense establishment needs to balance the urgency of Gaza rehabilitation with the evidence that goods slated for reconstruction find their way into Hamas hands and serve its ‘tunnels industry’. It is also aware of the fact that any progress in Gaza reconstruction that is not matched by constructive steps on the West Bank, sends the message that Israel rewards only those who use force against it.
- **Internal Disputes within the Hamas.** Power struggles between Hamas’ military and political wings and between the organization’s Gaza-based leaders and those abroad have engendered a situation in which there

is no single faction calling the shots. As a result, Israel is unable to rely on messages conveyed by Hamas or predict its actions. Indeed, unlike in the past, today there is no figure in the Hamas with whom to 'close a deal'. Thus, for example, a major reason that Operation "Protective Edge" (2014) lasted 51 days was the inability of the Hamas external leadership (centered in Qatar) which conducted the negotiations, to compel the military wing to abide by the understandings it reached.

- **The Egyptian Position.** Cairo refuses to open the Rafah Border Crossing (beyond the occasional short opening for humanitarian needs) or, for that matter, grant Hamas any other form of relief as long as it has evidence of the organization's involvement with Islamic extremists who challenge Egyptian sovereignty in the Sinai. Moreover, it is Egypt's stated policy that this course of action shall continue until the PA is allowed back into the Strip. Egypt's strategy may also rest on a more enduring consideration: a concern that once Rafah emerges as a main lifeline for Gaza, Israel will seek to dump responsibility for the Strip on Egypt's shoulders. This strategy presents Egypt with a dilemma: the Gazan 'pressure cooker' is liable to erupt with potential consequences for Egyptian security interests in the Sinai and beyond. It is for these reasons that Egypt has not only been at the forefront of efforts to resolve the Gaza impasse, but also undertook responsibility for Israeli-Hamas security coordination which has resolved relatively peacefully many tense situations.
- **Arab States and the International Community.** At a conference in Egypt following Operation "Protective Edge"(October 2014), donor countries pledged \$5.4 billion for the rebuilding of Gaza. However, less than 25% of these commitments have reached the Strip. Even initiatives that were paid for and approved by Israel have stalled due to the PA's foot dragging as well as the refusal of donors, other than Turkey and Qatar, to circumvent it.



The Position of Israel's Defense Establishment

Since the fighting in 2014, the Israeli defense establishment has consistently recommended that Israel take steps to alleviate the crisis in Gaza, even at the risk that some of the goods can be utilized by Hamas for its 'tunnels industry' and other belligerent purposes. In recommending these measures, the Israeli defense establishment advising doing so in a way so as to ensure that the Hamas does not get credit for relaxation of restrictions at the expense of the PA. Thus, for example, it recommended a substantial 'package' of steps to strengthen the PA and its standing, concurrent with easing restrictions on Gaza. Some of these recommendations, like permitting significant amounts of construction material into Gaza for international projects (the private sector included), have been adopted by the political echelon. Others have not.

The Gaza Plan

Although Hamas bears most of the blame for the situation in Gaza, Israel cannot ignore the potential direct ramifications of humanitarian crisis on its security. The reconstruction of the enclave's infrastructure and other steps to reduce the populace's suffering are Israeli interests of the first order. These measures cannot await a change in intra-Palestinian dynamics and the regional-strategic environment.

Substantial relief will foster hope for a better future and help push off or avert the next round of violence. What's more, it will shore up Israel's international standing.

Given the fact that aid to Gaza will bolster Hamas reputation, hurt the Palestinian Authority, and suggest that Israel yields to the use of force, Israel must come up with creative solutions to limit this damage. Thus, relief to Gaza should be packaged with far reaching measures to improve conditions in the West Bank and 'East Jerusalem' as recommended above.

Objectives of the Gaza Plan

- To stabilize the ceasefire between Israel and Hamas and prevent a new round of fighting.
- To avert a humanitarian disaster.
- To encourage donor states and the Palestinian Authority to reengage with the Gaza Strip.
- To thwart the rise of more extreme Islamic elements than Hamas, such as ISIS' supporters, in Gaza.
- To create conditions that will enable the Palestinian Authority to reestablish control over Gaza and thus serve as a 'partner' for the negotiation of a permanent status agreement, once the conditions are ripe for such talks.



Civil- Economic Steps

As recommended by the defense establishment and international aid officials, Israel should focus its efforts in Gaza on several urgent issues:

- **Supply of Basic Goods.** The number of delivery trucks that are allowed to enter the Strip on a daily basis should be increased to 1,200. This is a feasible goal thanks to upgrades to the Kerem Shalom Crossing's inspection apparatus, including new scanning equipment installed in April 2015.
- **Electricity.** The rebuilding of Gaza's electricity infrastructure should be accelerated. Paid for by the international community, this work will be carried out by aid organizations. For its part, Israel needs to join the pressure on the Palestinian Authority to remove barriers. This project is to include the following enhancements:
 - The reconstruction and upgrading of transmission lines in Gaza, for the sake of improving the grid's efficiency.
 - Increasing the amount of power supplied by the Israeli Electric Corporation by 30 megawatts right away and another 100 megawatts within a year.
 - Expanding the capacity of Gaza's power station and refitting it, as originally planned, to operate on natural gas.
 - Connecting the Strip to Israel's national gas transmission network.
- **Water.** Israel should grant permission for the establishment of a central water desalination facility. In addition, the Palestinians should be allowed to finish building water treatment plants in the northern and central portions of the Gaza Strip.
- **Employment.** Subject to the approval of the Israeli General Security Service (Shabak), considerably more exit permits must be issued to Gazans wishing to work in Israel. Moreover, there should be a major increase in agricultural and manufacturing exports to Israel and abroad.¹⁰ Israeli companies must also be permitted to renew outsourcing from the Strip. Lastly, the area off the Gazan coast that is open to Palestinian fishing should be expanded.¹¹

Paying the Salaries of Hamas Activists.¹² Israel should quietly approve of an international effort to find a solution to Hamas' payroll difficulties. To this end, the Israeli government should press the Palestinian Authority to stop hindering these efforts.

A Seaport in Gaza

The construction of a maritime port in Gaza is a long range project, whose significance goes beyond any immediate measures to stabilize the current situation. However, early steps in this direction are likely to improve the environment and reinforce Israel's claim that its imposed restrictions are exclusively security-driven. This project is also of great symbolic import to all Palestinians. In exchange for such an outlet to the Mediterranean Sea, Hamas will have to accept Israel's security demands – first and foremost strict security inspections of all goods and individuals entering Gaza, but also PA control – or risk being blamed for blocking the project. Authorizing the relevant international and local agencies – including the PA – to begin planning the facility will pay immediate dividends in the international community's attitude towards Israel's policy on Gaza.¹³

An Israeli Political Declaration

Israel will declare that notwithstanding the present rift between Gaza and the West Bank, Israel deems these two territories to be a single entity in all that concerns the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its resolution.

It will point out that the humanitarian situation in Gaza demonstrates the apathy of Hamas towards the Palestinian public, and articulate the moral premise of Israel's desire and effort to prevent a humanitarian crisis in the Strip. To this end, the government will distinguish between its uncompromising war against Hamas-sponsored terrorism and its assistance to the Gazan populace; commit to back any undertaking – be it Palestinian, regional, or international – that is compatible with its security interests; and spell out the independent steps mentioned above.

10. Since November 2014, Israel has allowed imports from Gaza into the West Bank. Likewise, the eight-year embargo against Gazan agricultural exports to Israel was lifted in March 2015 (as part of the Israeli government's preparations for the shmita (sabbatical year)). In practice, though, restrictions imposed by the Ministry of Agriculture have severely watered down this decision. This step has impeded the ability of COGAT (the Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories) to boost the Gazan economy. The ban on industrial exports, particularly textile, paper, furniture and plastic goods, to Israel was lifted in October 2015. However, this decision is not being implemented on account of bureaucratic hurdles put up by the PA, which is exploiting its authority over VAT. Joint Israeli-international pressure is needed to remove this obstacle.

11. At the behest of the Navy, the fishing zone is limited to three miles off the Gazan coast. Owing to the sparse amount of fish in these waters, the area was expanded to six miles at the above-mentioned talks in Cairo, but the earlier policy was subsequently restored. Given the broader issues involved, various security officials have taken issue with the Navy's position and favor expanding the zone to as much as twelve miles. The issue should be reconsidered in light both of routine security considerations and broader questions of stability.

12. On the eve of "Protective Edge", Israel prevented a UN emissary from partially resolving the salary crisis. Israel subsequently came to the realization that it is in its interests to end this saga. To this end, Israeli officials cooperated with Swiss and Qatari efforts to pay the back wages, but the PA foiled both initiatives.

13. The defense establishment has already explored several options, including the use of a port in Cyprus, the construction of a facility on an artificial island off the Gaza coast or a floating dock.

MAPS





Areas of Control on the West Bank

The map of the West Bank was drawn up as part of the Oslo II Accords (the interim agreement), signed in Washington on September 28, 1995. The agreement, including the further redeployment (FRD) carried out by Israel in 1997–98, granted the Palestinians self-rule in the cities of the West Bank and Gaza Strip as well as in 450 villages throughout the West Bank.

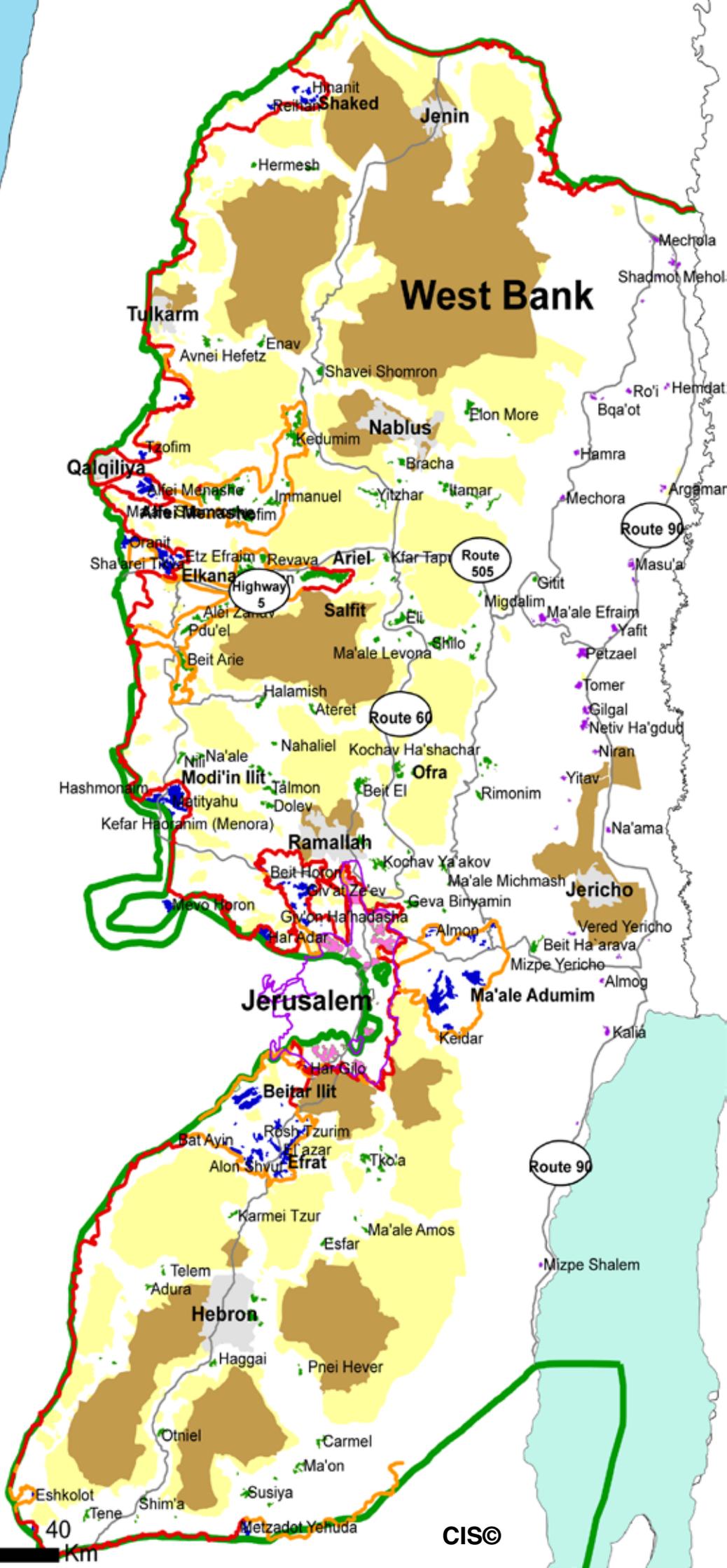
The Oslo Accord divided the West Bank into three categories:

- Area A: Areas under the civil and security control of the Palestinian Authority, primarily the larger Palestinian cities and areas without significant Jewish settlement (marked in brown).
- Area B: Areas under the civil and security control of the Palestinian Authority, primarily Palestinian villages (marked in yellow). In these areas Israel has overriding authority for the security of Israelis and combating terror.

Areas A and B constitute 40% of the West Bank and contain 95% of its 2.3 million Palestinians.

- Area C: Areas under Israel's civil and security control (with the exception of authority for 24 various civilian matters [taxes, education, health, employment, etc.] transferred to the PA). These areas contain all the Jewish settlements, including the Jewish settlement in Hebron, access roads, empty spaces, military firing zones, the Jordan Valley and the Judean desert (the white areas in the map).

Area C takes up 60% of the West Bank and contains only 100,000 Palestinians. The area is territorially contiguous and creates the archipelago of areas A and B.



Israel

West Bank

Legend

- Existing 'Security Fence'
- Planned 'Security Fence'
- Jerusalem Municipal Boundary
- The 'Green Line'
- Main Road
- Settlement Blocks and Adjacent to the 'GL'
- East Jerusalem Jewish Neighborhoods
- Settlements of the Jordan Valley
- Isolated Settlements
- Main Palestinian Cities
- Division of Control in the West Bank**
- Area A
- Area B
- Area C



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Lack of Territorial Contiguity between Palestinian Communities

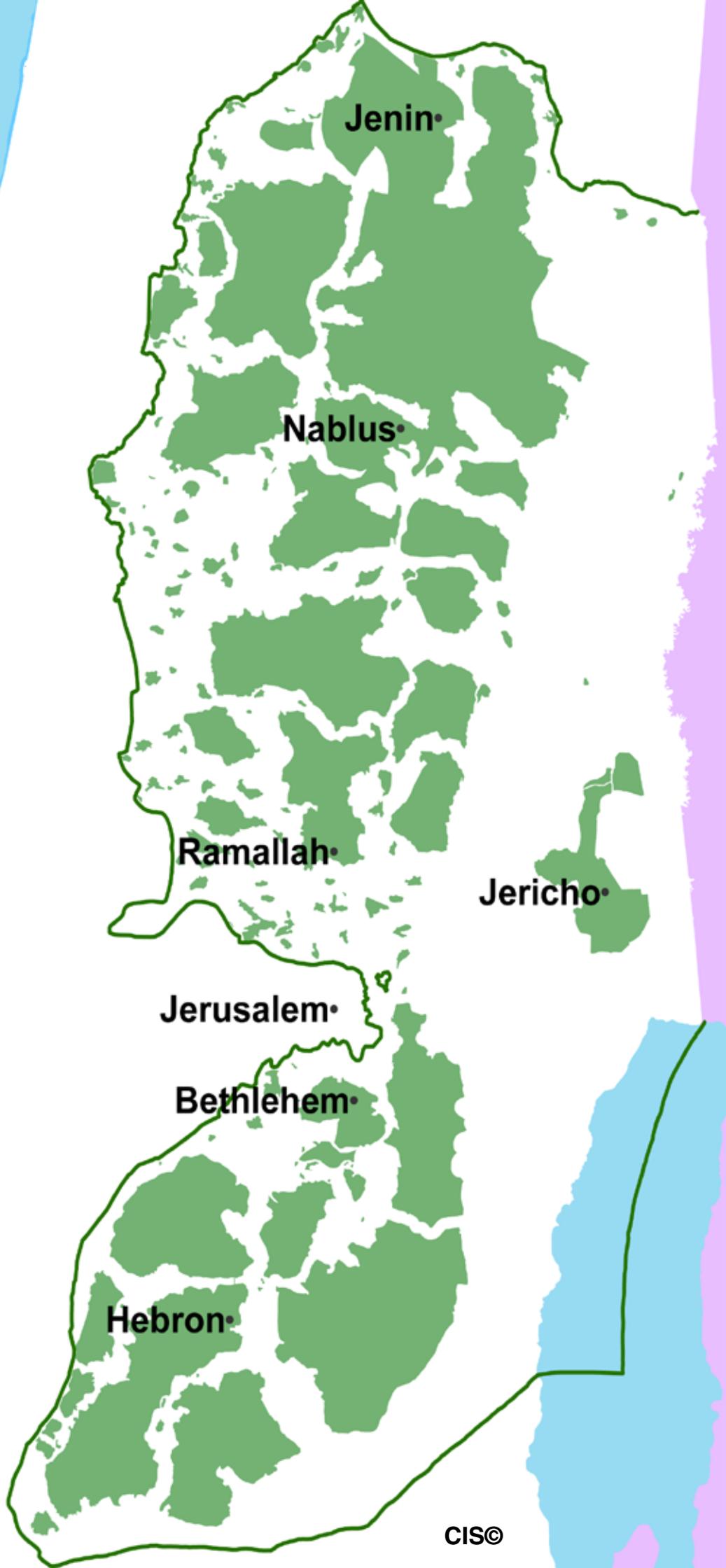
The map of green 'spots' (Areas A & B) illustrates the distribution of Palestinian communities on the West Bank, the problems it creates and the consequent disputes between Israel and the Palestinian Authority over civil and military control.

Palestinian areas are spread out over 167 units of territory, decoupled from each other by Israeli controlled areas. This situation was produced by the Oslo Accords in which Israel sought to protect its interests – including Jewish settlements, military bases and firing zones, roads and infrastructures – until a permanent status agreement comes into force. This created an archipelago of 167 'islands' containing main areas of Palestinian cities and villages on the West Bank. The empty areas surrounding them, including Palestinian owned agricultural lands, were often included in Area C, under Israeli exclusive civil and military control. Some of these territorial units are no more than 2km² (0.77mi²) in size. These 'islands' constitute 40% of the West Bank and contain 2.2 million Palestinians (95% of its Palestinian population, excluding 'East Jerusalem').

This creates difficulties for the Palestinian population on a variety of levels. Israel retains authority over building and construction in Area C and does not allow Palestinians to build there, creating a shortage of land for industrial and residential use – land needed to meet the natural growth needs of the population. As a result, many Palestinians have built on lands they own in Area C. These homes are now subject to demolition orders. The location of agricultural lands outside Palestinian areas of control inhibits agricultural development and makes it difficult for Palestinians to cultivate their fields. Furthermore, Israeli control over water allotments has reduced the amount of land cultivated and the share of produce grown locally.

The need for traffic between Palestinian communities to cross territory under Israeli control creates friction with the Jewish population and with the IDF at checkpoints, generating frustration and feelings of humiliation.

In any future agreement – as well as under conditions of continued Israeli control over the territory – tens of these units of territory should be united into one contiguous area, joining together the fabric of Palestinian life into a single territorial unit.



Legend

-  The 'Green Line'
-  Areas A and B - Palestinian Control
-  Area C - Israeli Control



The 'Security Fence'

The 'security fence' in the West Bank was designed to extend along a 766 km (476 mi) route. In practice only 465 km (289 mi) have been completed (some 60% of the route as originally approved). The 'fence' was conceived as part of the struggle against Palestinian terror during the second intifada. It was to prevent Palestinians from the West Bank from infiltrating into Israel's population centers and committing acts of terror, crime, weapons smuggling or illegal residency (those parts of the 'fence' already built are indicated by a solid red line).¹⁴

This type of physical barrier has proven effective in defending Israel's borders. In recent years the Israeli government has built new security fences along the Egyptian border and along the frontier with Jordan, in the Arava region. Such a barrier is also a key element in Israel's defense along the border with Lebanon and in the Golan Heights.

The 'security fence' minimizes instances of Palestinian infiltration, but it does not eliminate them entirely. This is because the 'fence' is still incomplete, and because the operational defense concept and requisite supervision have been implemented only partially or ineffectively (uncompleted sections of the 'fence' are marked in orange).

The 'fence' contains four large gaps: Gush Etzion, southwest Mt. Hebron (a result of vandalism and lack of maintenance), southeast Mt. Hebron and Maale Adumim (for more details, see the following maps).

Absent an agreement with the Palestinians or a decision on a border between the two sides, the 'security fence' was constructed along a route set by the government. During its construction, the route was changed in accordance with High Court decisions in order to eliminate considerations not related to security and to minimize its disruptive effect on the fabric of Palestinian life. In some areas the 'fence' runs along the 'Green Line' and in others it runs east of the 'Green Line', inside the West Bank.

The security concept behind the idea of the 'seam zone' is based on deterrence (the visibility of the barrier), passive defense (elements of the barrier and the presence of security forces), and active defense (measures to detect and pursue infiltrators). This complements counterterrorism measures such as the collection of intelligence data, arrests and rounds of warfare (such as operation "Defensive Shield"). Where the 'security fence' has not been built, the IDF must increase the offensive element of its strategy so as to preempt terrorism within Palestinian population centers. This results in friction with the Palestinians, casualties on both sides, restrictions on freedom of movement, extended presence in Palestinian areas etc., thus requiring the deployment of larger forces.

14. For an in-depth look at this topic, see the CIS website.



West Bank Settlements

In terms of security, Israeli settlements on the West Bank can be divided into two categories:

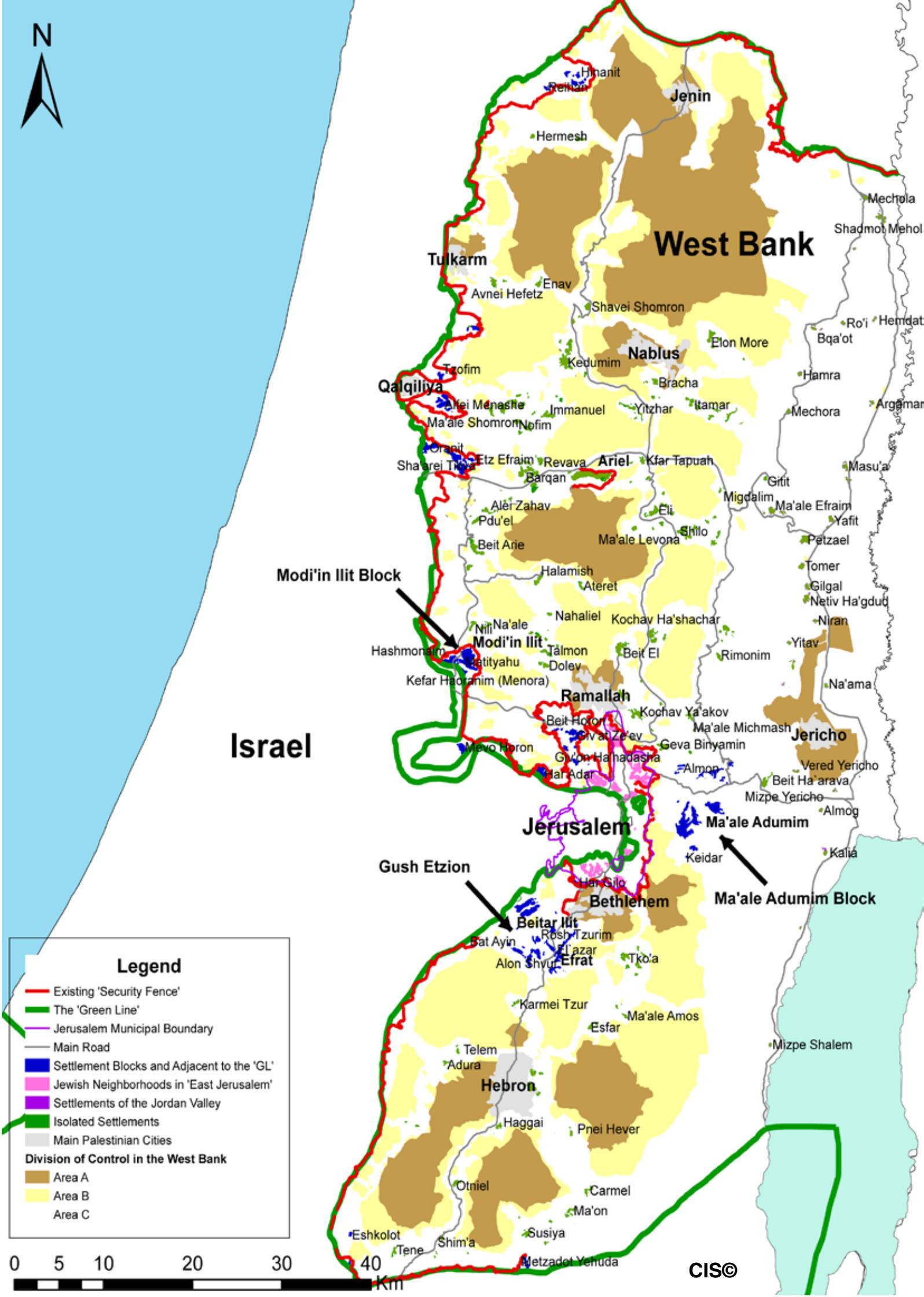
- **Blocks of settlements and those adjacent to the 'Green Line'** (marked in blue), located in the 'seam zone' between the 'security fence' (red line) or the proposed route for its unfinished sections (dotted black line) and the 'Green Line'. All are territorially contiguous with the State of Israel.

These settlements, occupying only 4.6% of the territory of West Bank, contain some 460,000 settlers, representing 80% of Israelis living over the 'Green Line'.

- Some 260,000 of them live in Gush Etzion, Beitar Illit, Efrat, Modiin Illit, Maale Adumim, Givat Zeev, Elkana, Oranit, Shaarei Tikva, Etz Efraim, Alfei Menashe, Sal'it, Metzadot Yehuda, Eshkolit, Shani, Shaked and other locations (marked in blue).
- Another 200,000 live in the Jewish neighborhoods of 'East Jerusalem' (the light pink surrounding Jerusalem).

- **Jewish Settlements in Judea, Samaria and the Jordan Valley.** These 108 isolated settlements (marked in green) are located in overwhelmingly Palestinian areas, most of them on the mountain ridge between Hebron and Nablus. Distributed over a wide geographical area, they represent some 80% of settlements over the 'Green Line' but are home to just 110,000 settlers, or 20% of Israelis on the West Bank. Mostly 'night dwelling' communities, some of these settlements house no more than a handful of families.

This sparsely distributed population – 110,000 settlers living in the midst of a 2,300,000 Palestinian majority – creates high levels of tension and is difficult to protect.



West Bank

Israel

Legend

- Existing 'Security Fence'
 - The 'Green Line'
 - Jerusalem Municipal Boundary
 - Main Road
 - Settlement Blocks and Adjacent to the 'GL'
 - Jewish Neighborhoods in 'East Jerusalem'
 - Settlements of the Jordan Valley
 - Isolated Settlements
 - Main Palestinian Cities
- Division of Control in the West Bank**
- Area A
 - Area B
 - Area C



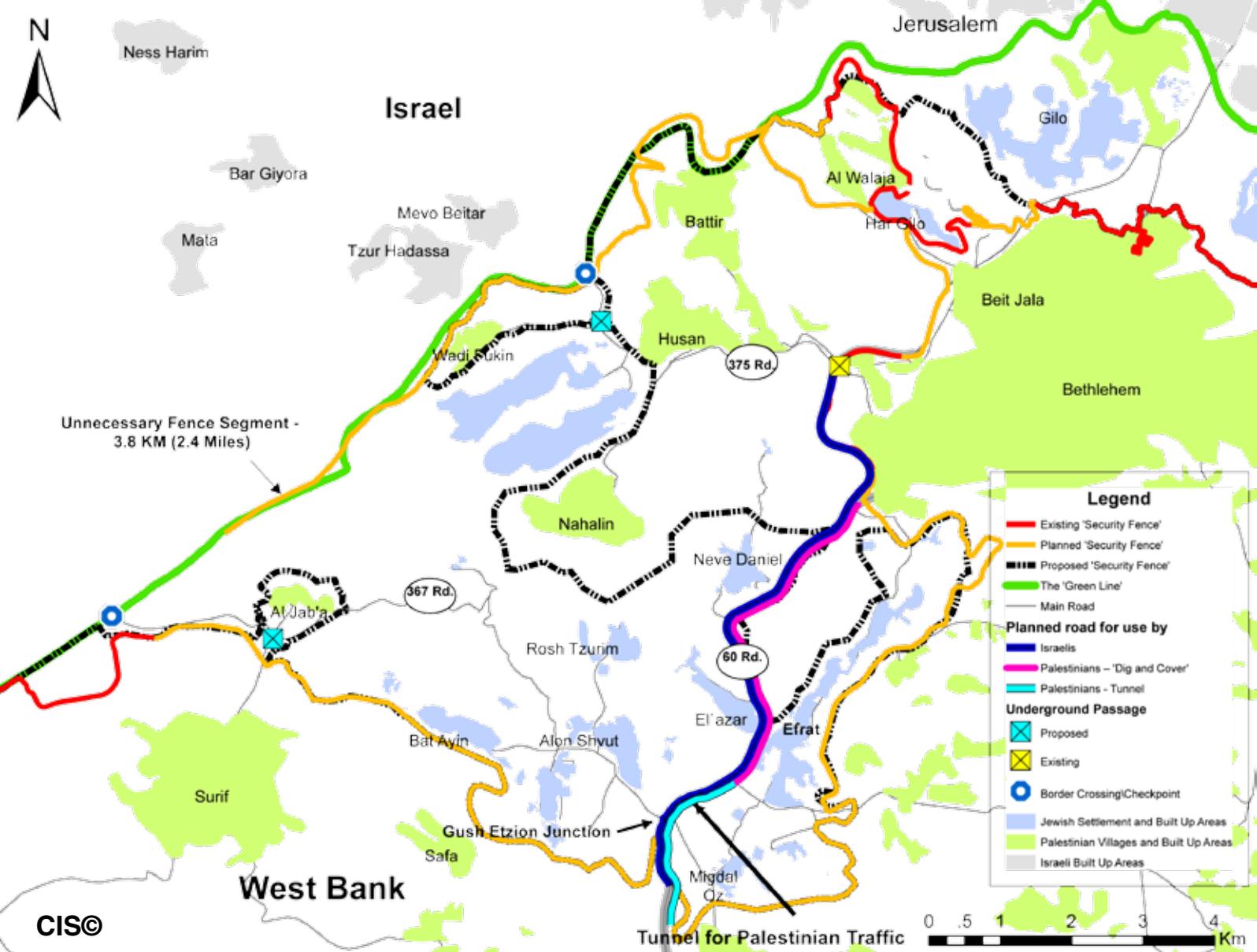
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Gush Etzion Gap

The Gush Etzion junction is a major infiltration point into Israel and site of frequent terrorist attacks. Completing the 'security fence' in this zone must be given top priority. This will serve to better protect Gush Etzion from threats emanating from surrounding Palestinian areas while preventing the infiltration of terrorists and illegal workers across the 'Green Line'.

Government plans originally called for surrounding Gush Etzion with a 'fence' on all sides: north, south, east and west (solid orange line). Due to political rather than security considerations, however, the 'fence' was never built along the approved route, with minor exceptions (solid red line) in the Bethlehem – Beit Jala area and west of the village of Surif. **The 'Security First' Plan** (dotted black line) calls for the 'security fence' to be built along the route originally approved by the government, with adjustments that would place six Palestinian villages – Walaja, Batir, Husan, Wadi Fuqin, Nahalin and Jab'ah, along with their lands – outside of Gush Etzion. This would increase the level of security for Gush Etzion residents. The proposed route – 62 km (38.5 mi) – (dotted black line) as compared to the planned route – 56 km (34.8 mi) – (solid orange line) is as follows:

- **The northern part of Gush Etzion:** The existing 'fence' runs south of Nahal Giloh to Walaja. Part of the 'fence' that has not been built would have continued from Walaja to Batir. This route leaves the Palestinian villages of Husan, Nahalin and Wadi Fuqin and their lands inside the Gush Etzion area. The 'Security First' Plan calls for the 'fence' to be built along a different route: from Neve Daniel it would pass between Rosh Tzurim and Nahalin via Beitar Illit to Wadi Fuqin, adjacent to the 'Green Line'. At this point it would join up with a short segment of the 'fence' running along the 'Green Line' northwards to Batir and Walaja, and from there to the 'fence' surrounding Jerusalem.
- **In the western part of Gush Etzion,** the 'fence' was planned to run along the 'Green Line' from the Palestinian village of Wadi Fuqin to the Palestinian village of Jab'ah. The 'Security First' Plan would make construction of this segment (3.8 km or 2.4 mi) unnecessary, since a 'fence' would be built on the eastern side of Gush Etzion, making a 'fence' on the western side (separating Gush Etzion from the rest of Israel) redundant.
- **On the eastern side of Gush Etzion,** the 'fence' is planned to run (from south to north) from a point east of Migdal Oz to Efrat. Here the 'Security First' Plan calls for completion of the 'fence' according to the original plan.



Transportation

Palestinian and Israeli traffic should be separated along route 60 (solid blue and purple lines) from the point at which it crosses Gush Etzion from north to south. A road for Palestinian use (purple) should be built adjacent to the Israeli road (blue) using the 'dig and cover' method (the road is paved lower than ground level and covered with a concrete and sand roof). This road would continue via a tunnel (light blue) under the Gush Etzion junction, which has become a terror flash point. **Separating traffic in this way would facilitate continuous, free and safe movement for Israelis between Jerusalem and Gush Etzion, while avoiding friction with the Palestinians, who would travel directly on the Bethlehem - Hebron road. Above all, it would increase security for residents of Gush Etzion.**

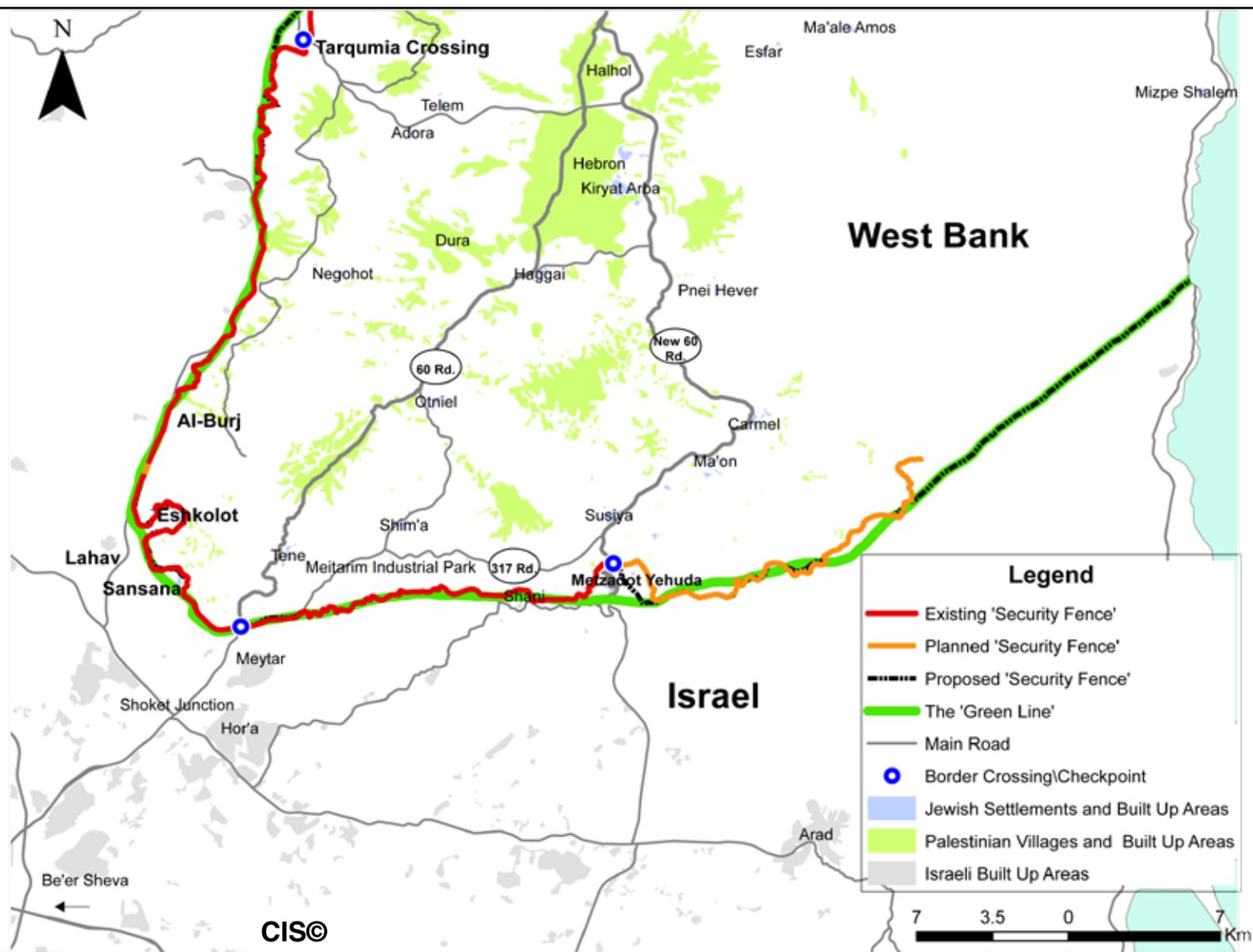
Furthermore, the tunnel on road 375 under route 60 connecting Husan and Bethlehem should be maintained in order to facilitate separate Palestinian traffic between the villages and Bethlehem in the north of Gush Etzion.

To completely separate traffic, a tunnel should be built for Palestinian motorists in the Jab'a area under road 367 and another one under road 375 in the Wadi Fuqin area.

Southern Mt. Hebron Gaps

Two gaps in the 'security fence' in southern Mt. Hebron must also be closed urgently. Completing the 'fence' at these two points would block routes that currently serve terrorist infiltrators and illegal workers, as well as smugglers of arms, drugs and illegal goods.

- **Southeast Mt. Hebron.** In this area, the 'security fence' was originally planned to surround the Israeli settlement of Metzadot Yehuda on its west, north and eastern sides, and continue from there northeastwards along a route adjacent to the 'Green Line' (solid orange line). In practice, only the section west of Metzadot Yehuda has been built (solid red line). **The 'Security First' Plan (dotted black line) calls for completion of the 'security fence' along a route that follows the original plan, with two adjustments:** firstly, in the area of Metzadot Yehuda, the 'fence' should be built west of the planned location (in other words, closer to the settlement). Secondly, the 'fence' should be longer than planned, running northeastwards towards the Dead Sea. The total length of this section would be 40 km (24.9 mi).
- **Southwest Mt. Hebron (the Eshkolot gap).** The 'fence' has been built along the route indicated (solid red line) from Metzadot Yehuda westward towards Eshkolot, continuing northwards towards the Turkamiya crossing point. In practice, the 'fence' and its concomitant security regime are ineffective and have been breached by infiltrators seeking work or engaging in criminal activity (at certain points the 'fence' is traversed by a road open to free traffic). Several gaps in the 'fence' exist in the section between Burj to the north of Eshkolit and Sansana to the south. The 'fence' is completely destroyed going eastward from Sansana towards Eshkolot. The 'fence' must be repaired and its attendant security regime upgraded so as to correct the flaws that have made it so easy to cross.



Maale Adumim Gap

The original plan approved by the government called for enclosing the entire Maale Adumim block within a 'security fence'. This would have included the Mishor Adumim industrial zone, as well as the settlements of Kedar, Kfar Adumim and Almon (solid orange line).

In practice, the 'fence' was never built, with the exception of a short section west of Maale Adumim that is not in use (solid red line).

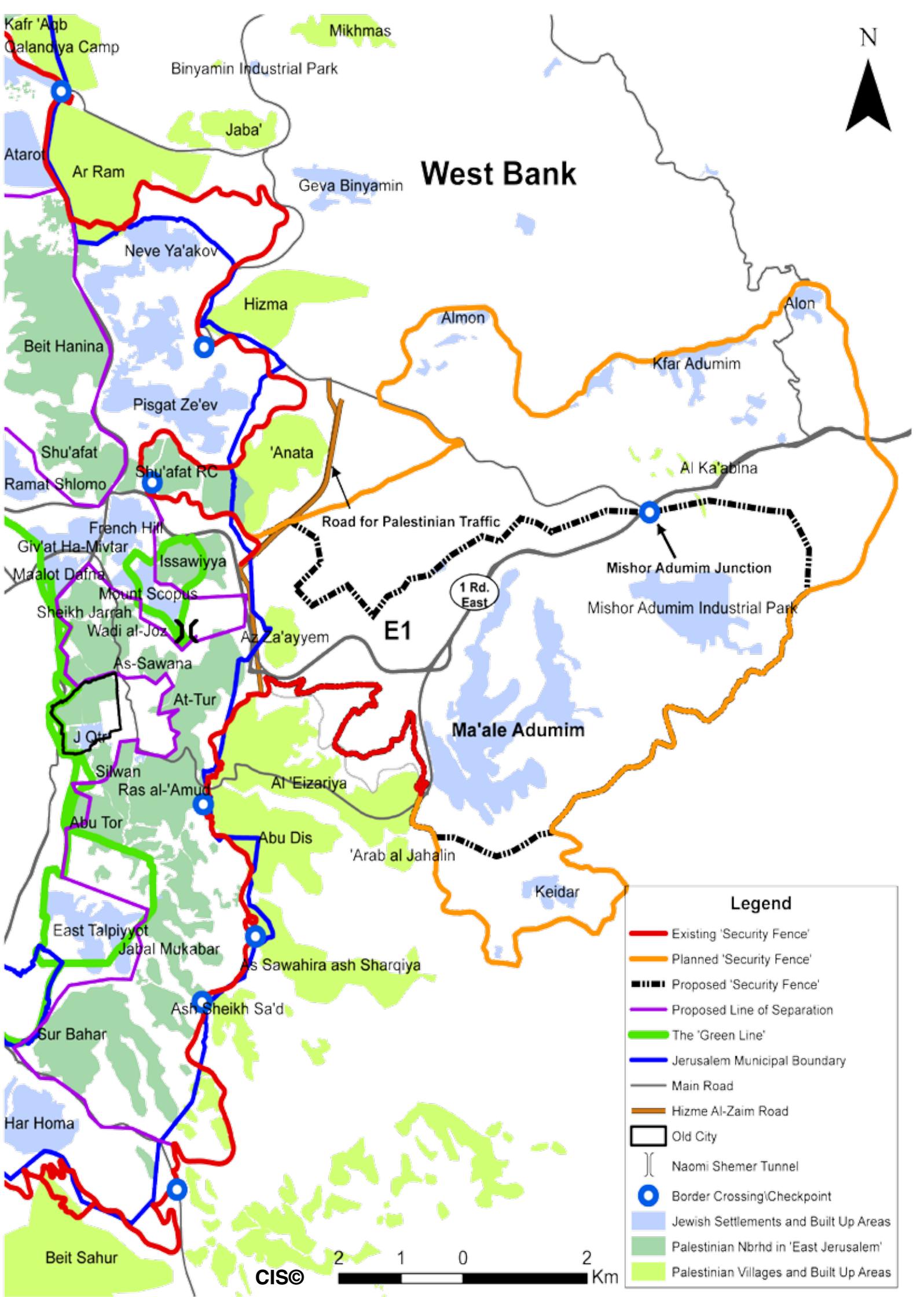
The 'Security First' Plan proposes building the 'fence' along a shorter route, based exclusively on security considerations; a route that will enable the IDF to provide for a more efficient defense of Maale Adumim and the Mishor Adumim industrial zone (dotted black line), while maintaining a secure and contiguous territorial connection with Jerusalem. Such a route would cost less to build (it would be 24 km [14.9 mi] instead of 41 km [25.5 mi]) and would not arouse political disputes concerning the E1 territory. It would also allow for unhindered Palestinian motor traffic from Ramallah-Hizme to Jericho via the Mishor Adumim junction, while rendering it unnecessary to build a new bypass road south of Maale Adumim.

The 'Security First' Plan calls for building the 'fence' along the following route: The southern section: From the southern part of Maale Adumim (east of the Palestinian village of Arab el-Jahalin and north of the settlement of Kedar). Building the 'fence' along this route is more efficient both in terms of security and topography, and will minimize friction with the Palestinian and Bedouin populations in the area:

- **The eastern section:** Along the route approved by the government, from a point east of the city of Maale Adumim to a point east of the Mishor Adumim industrial zone.
- **The northern section:** North of the Mishor Adumim industrial zone continuing north of the city of Maale Adumim and then westward until it joins up with the existing 'fence' surrounding Jerusalem in the Issawiya area.

Uninterrupted Transportation

In order to facilitate unhindered Palestinian traffic from the northern to the southern part of the West Bank, the road and tunnel between Hizme and Al-Zaim must be made operational (brown line).



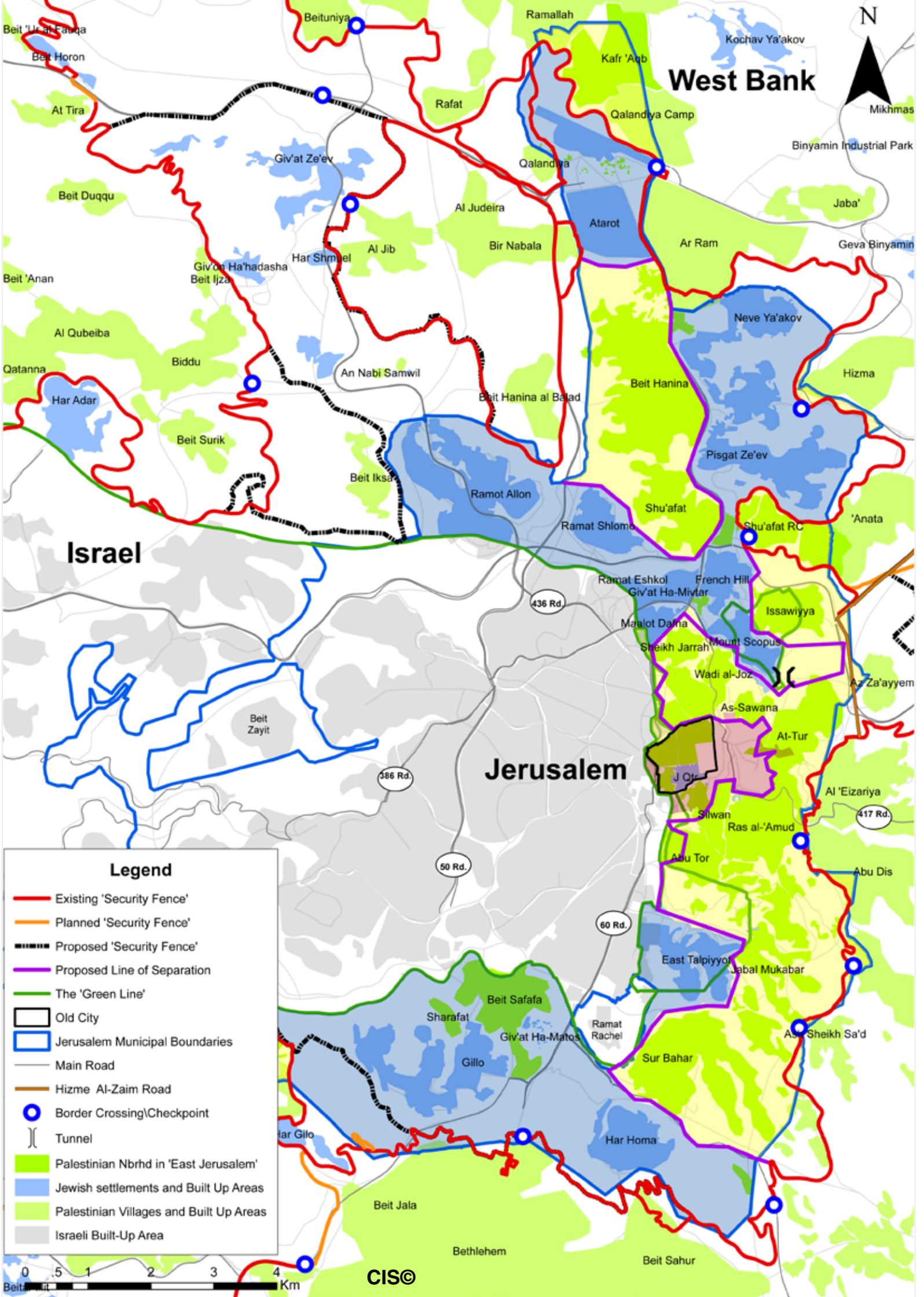
Jerusalem – Area of Jurisdiction of the 'Umbrella Authority' for Palestinian 'East Jerusalem'

The Palestinian neighborhoods and villages of 'East Jerusalem' ('Palestinian Jerusalem') will be managed administratively separately from the city's Jewish neighborhoods. This will be achieved by setting up an 'umbrella authority' for the Palestinian neighborhoods and villages to be administered as a separate municipal framework within the city council of Jerusalem.

This would not impact on Israeli sovereignty, require changes to the Jerusalem Law or affect the status of Palestinian residents.

The area of jurisdiction of the municipal 'umbrella authority' will include the Palestinian neighborhoods and villages from Kfar Aqab in the north to Zur Baher in the south.

The area of jurisdiction of the 'umbrella authority' (purple line) will not be marked off by a separation fence or any other physical barrier until the matter is reconsidered in the context of permanent status negotiations. For details of the proposed security, civil-economic and political measures in 'East Jerusalem', see pages 30–38.





Commanders for Israel's Security (CIS) is a non-partisan Movement. Its members are retired Generals and equivalents in Israel's security services (the IDF, Israeli Security Agency, Mossad and Israel Police). Its members seek to promote no personal ambition. They are motivated solely by concern for the future of our country, our children and grandchildren.

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 final, recognized boundaries while ensuring its identity as the democratic state of the Jewish People.

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