



# TWO STATES?

(a feasibility study)

# Last round of peace talks I

1. Annapolis Conference & 2007-8 Ehud Olmert & Mahmoud Abbas talks
2. Accomplishments of previous negotiations:  
Oslo (1993) & Camp David (2000)
3. Most divisive issue #1: East Jerusalem
4. Most divisive issue #2: Palestinian refugees.

# Last round of peace talks II

- 5. Future border to be based on Green Line.
- 6. Territorial swap for annexation of settlement blocs & East Jerusalem ring towns: Olmert: 5.8% for 6.3%; Abbas: only 1.9%, later 4% & opposes inclusion of Ariel Bloc & Har Homa.
- 7. Territorial contiguity of a viable Palestinian state v smallest number of settlers to be evacuated.
- 8. Main sticking point: settlements!
- 9. Why did talks stop?

# Additional developments in peace process

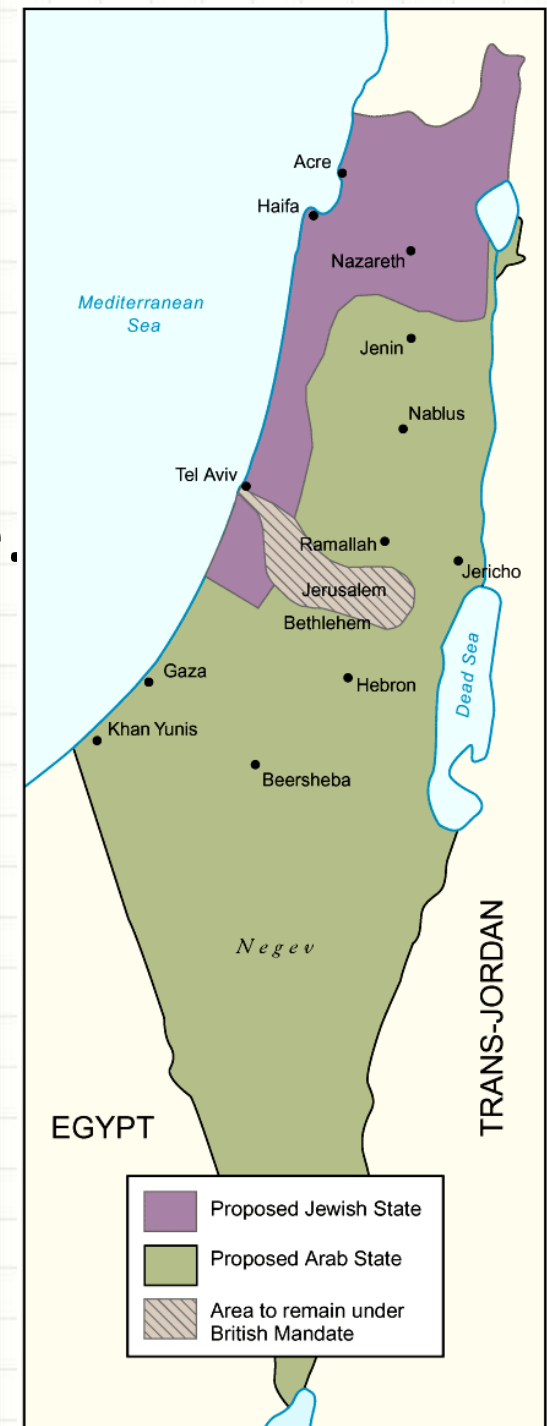
1. Broader framing of I-P conflict
2. Recognizing Israel as a “Jewish State.
3. Arab Peace Initiative (2002).

(i) Complete withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, including the Syrian Golan Heights, to the 4 June 1967 line and the territories still occupied in southern Lebanon; (b) Attain a just solution to the problem of Palestinian refugees to be agreed upon in accordance with the UN General Assembly Resolution No 194. (c) Accept the establishment of an independent and sovereign Palestinian state on the Palestinian territories occupied since 4 June 1967 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital.

(ii) In return the Arab states will do the following: (a) Consider the Arab–Israeli conflict over, sign a peace agreement with Israel, and achieve peace for all states in the region; (b) Establish normal relations with Israel within the framework of this comprehensive peace

# Peel Partition Plan (July 1937)

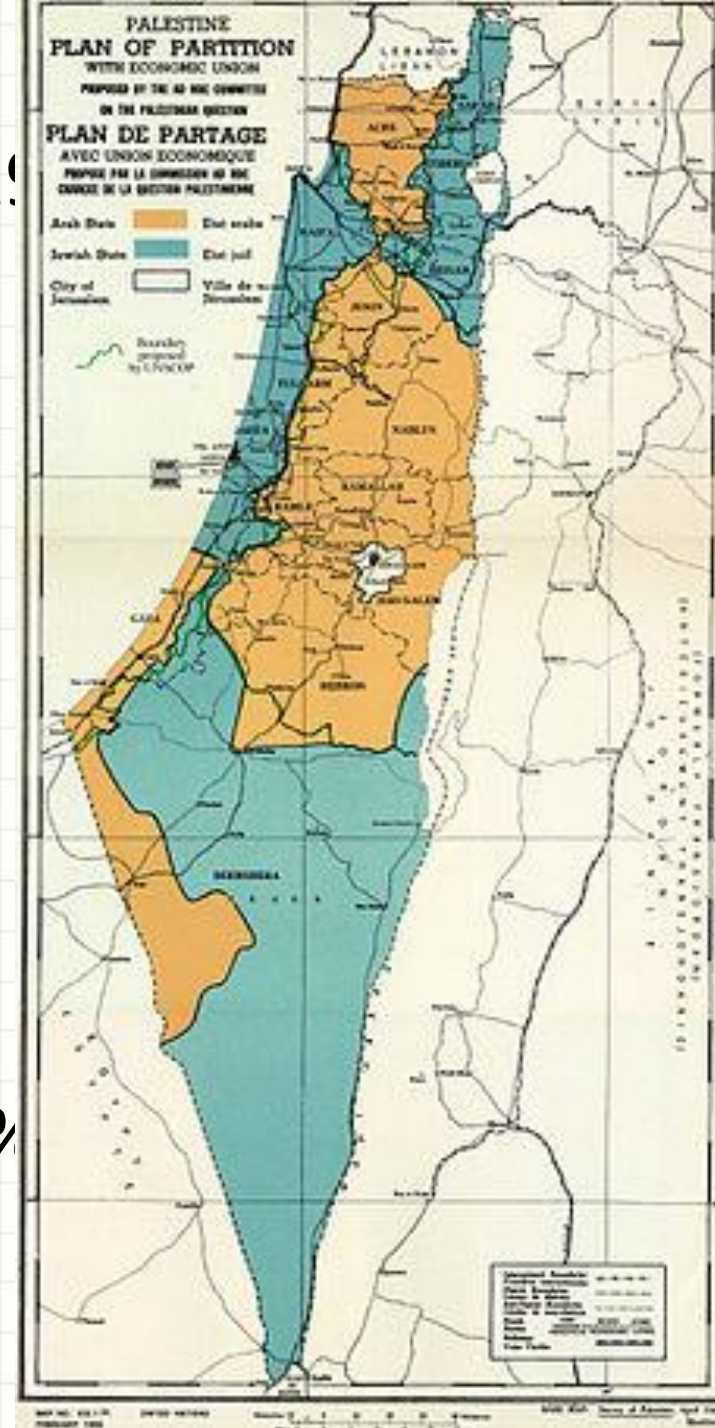
- Response to 1936-1939 Arab Revolt
- Two states, leaving the Jaffa-Jerusalem corridor under British rule.
- Population transfer
- Conditional acceptance by LSM; rejection by AHC.
- Jewish state 33%, Arab state 67%.





# UN Partition Plan (November 29, 1947)

- Two states, leaving Jerusalem under international rule.
- 45% Arab minority within Jewish state.
- Acceptance by Jewish Agency; rejection by Palestinian leaders.
- Jewish state 57%, Arab state 43%
- Economic union.



# FEASIBILITY STUDY: two states I

- 1. Palestinians outnumber Israeli settlers 7:1.
- 2. 74% of settlers live in East Jerusalem and settlement blocs.
- 3. Demographic trends:
  - (a) Declining growth rate of settlements.
  - (b) Sources of growth.

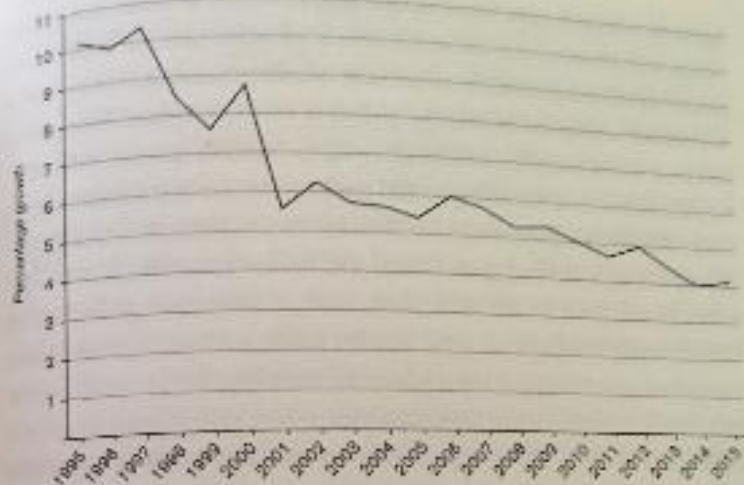


Figure 1. Percentage of settler population growth in the West Bank, 1995-2015. Reprinted by permission of Shaul Arieli from [www.shaularieli.com/?lat=he](http://www.shaularieli.com/?lat=he).

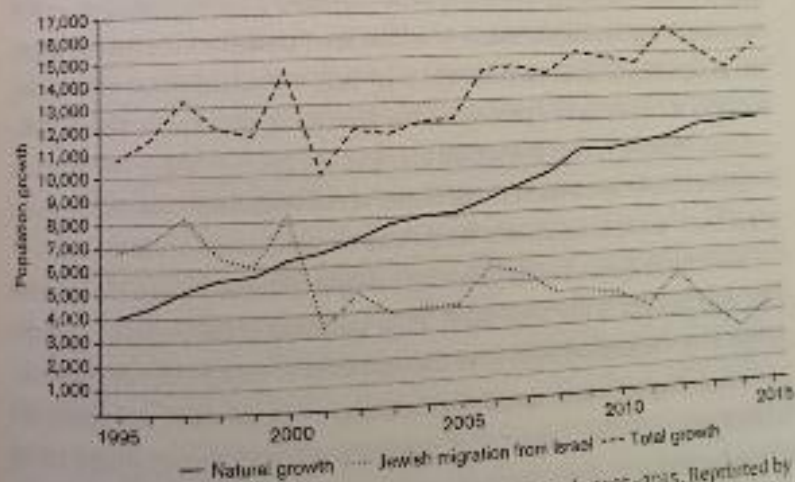


Figure 2. Sources of settler population growth in the West Bank, 1995-2015. Reprinted by permission of Shaul Arieli from [www.shaularieli.com/?lat=he](http://www.shaularieli.com/?lat=he).



# FEASIBILITY STUDY: two states II

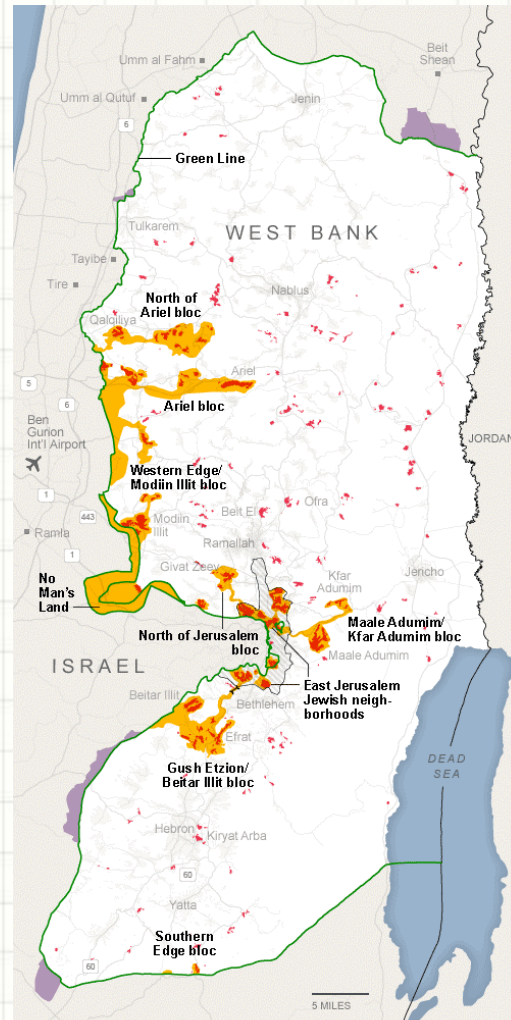
- 4. Built up area of settlements – 2%
- 5. “Potemkin Villages.”
- 6. Employment pattern
- 7. “Maze of control?”
- 8. resistance of messianic settlers.
- 9. How many settler households to be evacuated?
- 10. Electoral results:

TABLE 1  
 Votes cast for the Knesset by political party, settlement category, and location, March 2015  
 (number and percentage of votes)

	Political party			Totals by settlement category (100%)
	JEWISH HOME	LIKUD	ALL OTHER PARTIES	
<b>All settlements</b>				
Religious Zionist (Amana or Gush Emunim)	21,303 (55.5%)	6,985 (17%)	10,756 (27.5%)	39,044
Mixed (secular and religious)	10,231 (24%)	16,009 (37.6%)	16,381 (38.4%)	42,621
Secular	6,453 (14.9%)	15,738 (36.1%)	21,366 (49%)	43,557
Haredi (ultra-Orthodox)	1,410 (3.6%)	1,090 (2.7%)	37,263 (93.7%)	39,763
Totals in all settlements by party	39,397 (23.9%)	39,822 (24.1%)	85,766 (52%)	164,985
<b>Settlements outside settlement blocs</b>				
Religious Zionist (Amana or Gush Emunim)	15,211 (53%) <sup>68%</sup>	4,323 (15%)	9,166 (32%)	28,700
Mixed (secular and religious)	6,455 (31.5%)	5,734 (28%)	8,285 (40.5%)	20,474
Secular	5,252 (17.4%)	11,607 (38.4%)	13,381 (44.3%)	30,240
Haredi (ultra-Orthodox)	173 (8.8%)	106 (5.4%)	1,688 (85.8%)	1,967
Totals outside settlement blocs by party	27,091 (33.3%)	21,770 (26.7%)	32,520 (40%)	81,381

SOURCE: calculated from <http://votes20.gov.il/>.

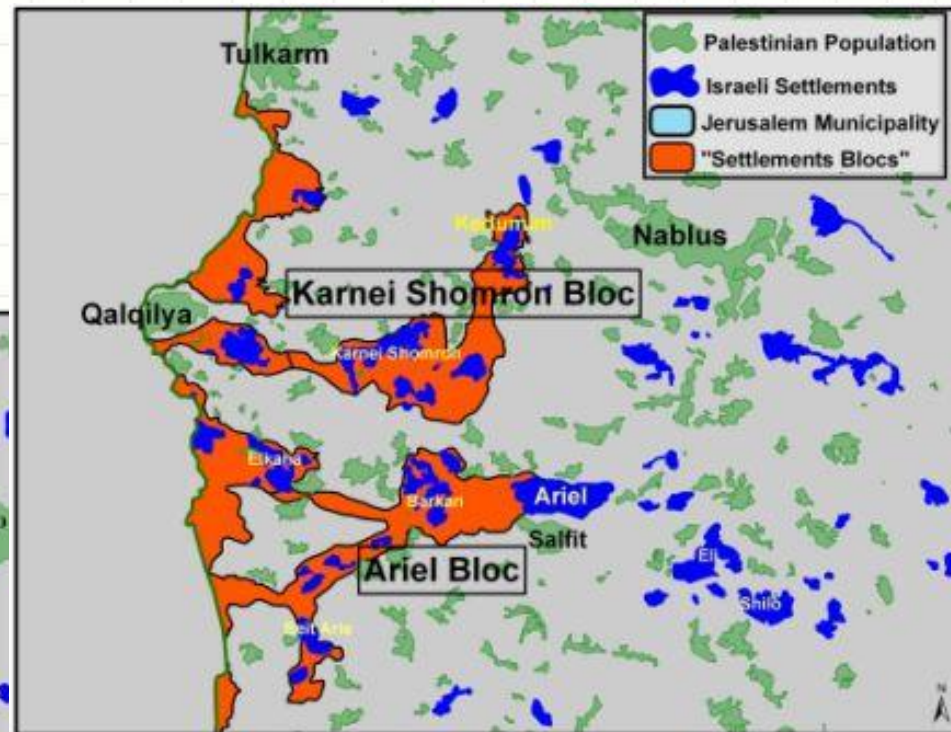
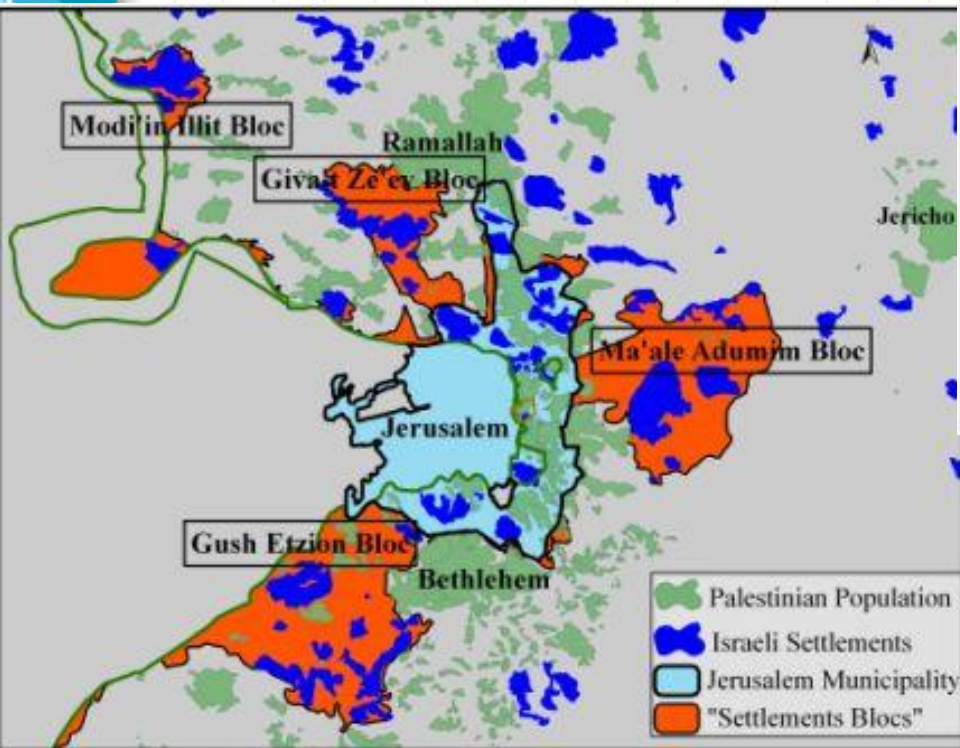
# Sticking points: What are the Settlement Blocs



Map by The New York Times; Source: Washington Institute for Near East Policy 2011



# Settlement blocs





# FEASIBILITY STUDY: two states III

- 11. Cost of evacuation
- Conclusion: “Israeli colonization has failed in achieving its aim since it had not created the conditions for the annexation of the West Bank to Israel.” (181)

# Two states for two people II

- Land swap would be equitable (4%) & let 75% of Jewish settlers stay in situ.
- Require evacuating 27,000 households.
- 60% of settlers work within Green Line, about 4,000 new jobs needed per annum for 5 years.
- Jerusalem would become the capital for two states (12 neighborhoods for Israel, 28 Arab villages for Palestine).
- Old City (partition or shared).

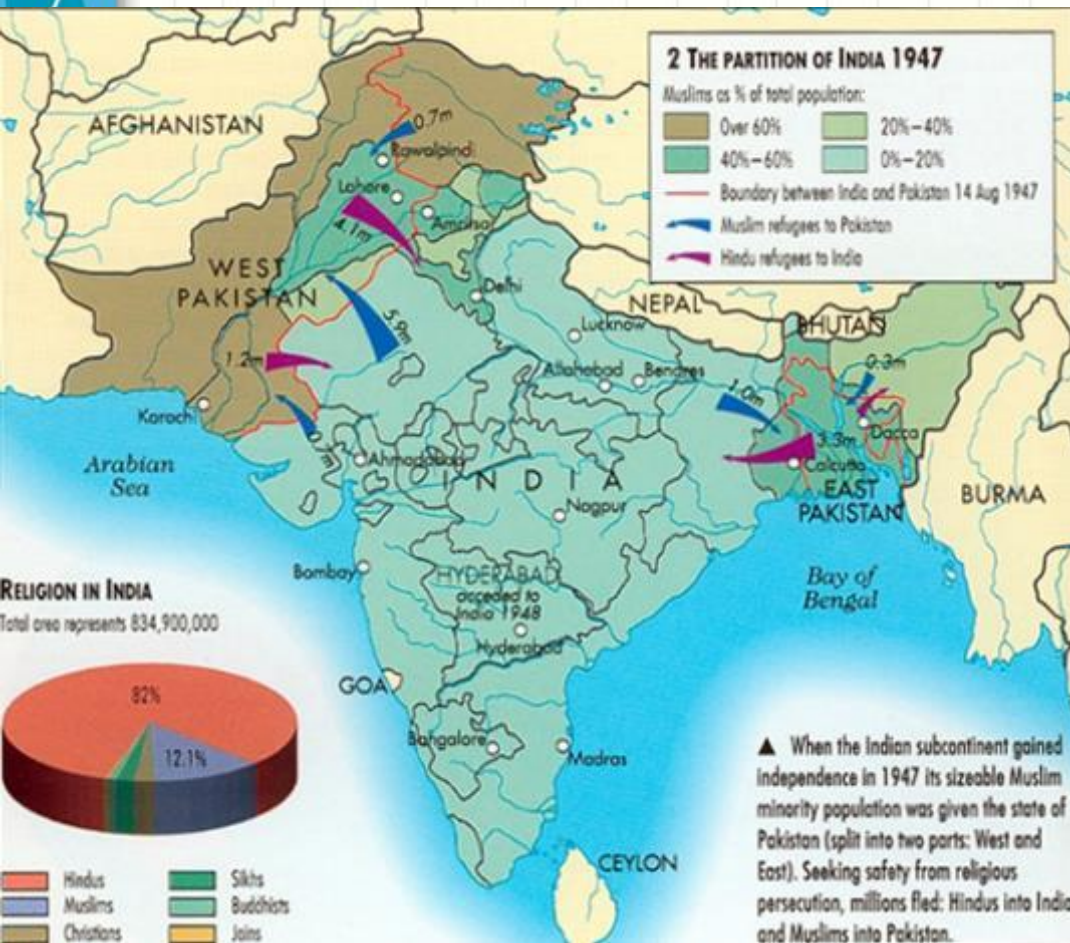
# Territorial partition? I

- Matching boundaries of state and nation.
- Examples:





# Territorial partition? II





# Settler populations

- Examples of historical 'restoration:' after the French Revolution & breakup of the USSR.