

# REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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## LAND SWAPS—A GUIDE

By Geoffrey Aronson

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry is continuing his efforts with Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and PLO Chairman Mahmoud Abbas to begin negotiations in earnest to end Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and to establish a Palestinian state at peace with Israel. Such negotiations will necessarily address competing Israeli and Palestinian demands for territory.

The idea of a "swap" of territory between Israel and Palestine—according to which Israel annexes territory in the West Bank and East Jerusalem and Palestine annexes Israeli territory as part of a final status peace agreement—has featured in every negotiating forum conducted since 2000.

The strategic objective of Palestinians in a final status peace treaty is to limit changes to the June 1967 line and remove Israeli settlements and settlers from the occupied areas. The long-standing strategic objective of the Israelis is almost the mirror image of the Palestinians' objective—to maximize the number of settlers, and to a lesser degree the size of West Bank territory under internationally recognized sovereign Israeli control, while minimizing the number of Palestinians annexed as citizens to Israel.

The primary Israeli rationale for supporting the swap concept is that it offers Palestinians a mechanism to accommodate Israel's demands for the annexation of territorially and demographically significant West Bank and Jerusalem settlements and other areas at a marginal

**"Netanyahu understands for a peace agreement it is necessary to withdraw from more than 90 per cent of the West Bank and to evacuate many settlements."**

**A senior minister in Netanyahu's cabinet,  
*Ha'aretz*, June 27, 2013**

territorial cost to Israel.

Palestinians consider the entire concept of swaps an imposition and yet another manifestation of Israel's superior power. They do not view it with enthusiasm or expect comparative strategic gain from the Israeli territories they would annex, and the maps outlining their territorial demands upon Israel reflect this minimalist view (see maps, page 3). The PLO as a matter of principle and declared policy disavows any claim to sovereign Israeli territory as defined by the June 1967 line. It views swaps as a means of maintaining the core Palestinian demand that sovereign Palestinian territory comprise no less than that defined by the armistice line.

The Netanyahu government has neither formally recognized nor diplomatically supported the swap concept, nor do some in the Palestinian leadership, particularly members of Hamas. Furthermore, there is no consensus for selecting "swappable" territory in Israel or the West Bank. There are also unre-

solved issues related to the qualitative and quantitative nature of any potential arrangement, resulting from the Palestinian demand for "equal" swaps.

During Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, Palestinian swap proposals have changed little in terms of identifying areas of the West Bank and East Jerusalem that Palestine is prepared to surrender or of identifying swap areas in Israel.

In contrast, the Netanyahu government's rejection of the swaps concept, Israeli territories defined by previous Israeli governments as suitable for swaps, have *increased* from 1 percent to 5 percent, while some of the proposed swap areas themselves have changed in location and in character.

Formal negotiations during the last decade record a progressive *reduction*, from 9 percent to 7.9 percent, in West Bank lands that Israel would annex (excluding the Jordan Valley). This decrease in Israel's territorial appetite owes nothing, however, to a reconsideration of the territorial costs it will be called upon to pay, since the territories that Israel has identified within its borders for swapping are considered marginal.

Israel views the swaps process as a vehicle for making permanent, critical, and strategic territorial gains in the West Bank at no significant cost. Palestinians, in contrast, have not viewed the swaps process as a way to reduce Israel's territorial claims or to maximize the territorial price Israel will have to pay for satisfying its appetite for land in the

**LAND SWAPS**, *continued on page 6*

## TO OUR READERS

Secretary of State John Kerry's tireless efforts to bring Israelis and Palestinians back to peace talks have finally been rewarded with the July 20 announcement that the two sides have agreed to meet in Washington soon. This step forward shows that smart, persistent American diplomacy can work.

But agreeing to talk will mean little unless the two parties, especially Israel, whose current coalition has dug in hard against a two state peace, accept the major compromises required. The U.S. must now be prepared to offer a compelling vision of a final status peace agreement that will inspire new hope among Israelis and Palestinians that peace is possible.

The new process might focus on borders and security first. But ultimate success will require an unprecedented level of U.S. mediation in order to avoid deadlocks that have defeated all previous talks. From the outset, the U.S. must convey sympathy and

even-handedness toward both sides. It must stress its deep concern about the status quo and its determination to succeed, while making clear to the parties that there will be consequences for rejection of reasonable, fair compromises.

In Israel, there is credible speculation that Netanyahu agreed to new peace talks, notwithstanding the strident rejectionism of his closest coalition allies, because he is beginning to grasp the growing alienation of the international community over Israel's unyielding occupation and settlement policies. The recent decision of the European Union to cease all EU expenditures for Israeli activities in the occupied territories was a shock to Netanyahu. It may have prompted his sudden willingness to yield to negotiations.

## WEST BANK CONSTRUCTION UPDATES 2002–2013 (UNITS)

|       | Starts    |        |   | Under Construction |        |     | Completions |        |   |
|-------|-----------|--------|---|--------------------|--------|-----|-------------|--------|---|
|       | West Bank | Israel | % | West Bank          | Israel | %   | West Bank   | Israel | % |
| 2002  | 1,369     | 32,425 | 4 | 4,081              | 63,016 | 6   | 2,139       | 38,644 | 6 |
| 2003  | 2,057     | 31,521 | 7 | 4,101              | 61,435 | 7   | 2,376       | 34,491 | 7 |
| 2004  | 1,988     | 29,786 | 7 | 3,842              | 57,967 | 7   | 1,794       | 33,512 | 5 |
| 2005  | 1,889     | 31,758 | 6 | 3,537              | 56,185 | 6   | 1,746       | 32,860 | 5 |
| 2006  | 1,516     | 31,045 | 5 | 3,161              | 58,423 | 5   | 2,171       | 30,938 | 7 |
| 2007  | 1,487     | 30,461 | 5 | 2,780              | 59,039 | 5   | 1,748       | 29,388 | 6 |
| 2008  | 2,107     | 32,381 | 7 | 3,192              | 60,908 | 5   | 1,601       | 30,454 | 5 |
| 2009  | 1,958     | 35,063 | 6 | 3,295              | 64,052 | 5   | 2,063       | 32,732 | 6 |
| 2010  | 630       | 39,675 | 2 | 2,215              | 70,559 | 3   | 1,666       | 33,128 | 5 |
| 2011  | 1,012     | 43,649 | 2 | 1,677              | 80,182 | 2   | 1,662       | 33,917 | 5 |
| 2012  | 853       | 39,794 | 2 | 1,421              | 85,481 | 2   | 1,267       | 37,006 | 3 |
| 2013* | 865       | 10,304 | 8 | N/A                | N/A    | N/A | 251         | 9,477  | 3 |

\* Quarters 1 through 3.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, *Monthly Construction Bulletin*.

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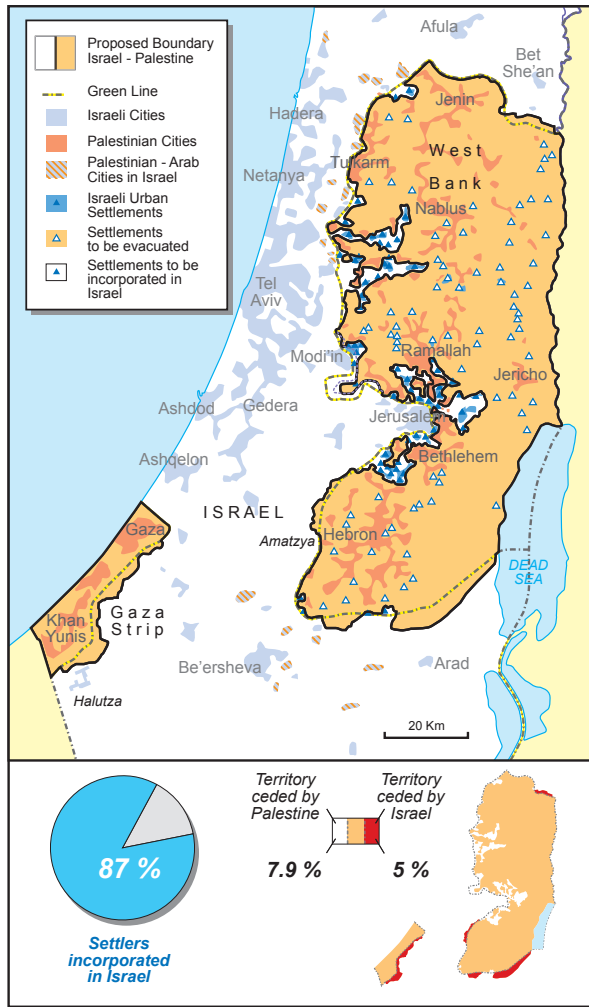
*Philip C. Wilcox, Jr.*

The Foundation for Middle East Peace has prepared a presentation of maps illustrating the evolution of the conflict from the UN Partition Plan in 1947, and depicting the growth of Israel's occupation and settlement project from the 1967 War to the present. To download the presentation visit: <http://www.fmep.org/resources/publications-1/map-progression-1948-1967>.

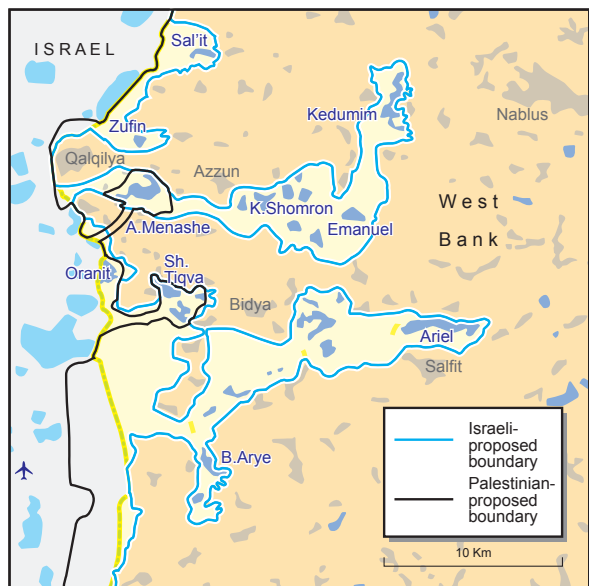
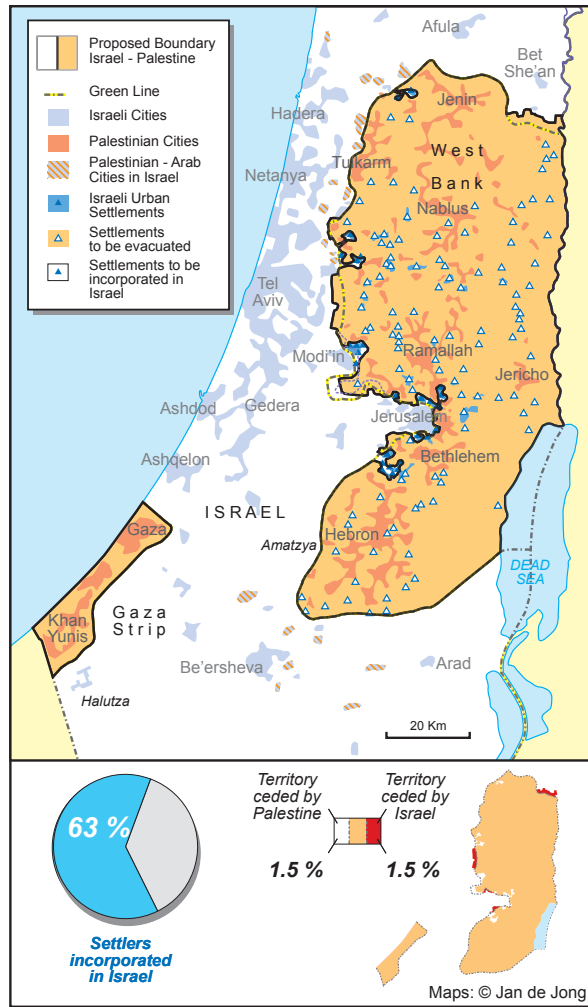
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# LAND SWAP OPTIONS

Olmert Map - 2008



P.L.O.-1.5% Map - 2008



## SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

**March 2** Settlers return to the evacuated West Bank settlement of Homesh to perform religious rituals. (Ma'an News)

**March 3** In response to assertions by settlers that Palestinians are a "security risk" on buses, the Israeli bus company Afikim introduces a Palestinian-only line for laborers commuting between the West Bank and Israel. (*Ha'aretz*)

**March 5** Likud MK Moshe Feiglin enters the al-Aqsa mosque compound, disturbing worshippers and attempting to enter the Dome of the Rock before being stopped by security guards. (PMG-NAD)

**March 6** Settlers access Palestinian-owned agricultural land in Nahalin village, near Bethlehem, and damage 60 olive trees. (PMG-NAD)

**March 7** The Dutch Ministry of Economic affairs issues an order to retailers in the Netherlands to label products as imported from Israel, from settlements in the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem, and the West Bank, or from Palestinian territories. (*Ha'aretz*)

**March 10** Settlers from Hebron stone a Palestinian farmer and his children. (PMG-NAD)

Following orders by Israel's High Court, the IDF orders the removal of a fence near Ofra that prevents Palestinians from accessing their agricultural land. (Arutz 7)

**March 11** A settler destroys 30 olive trees in Deir Jarir village, near Ramallah. (PMG-NAD)

A settler runs over a 9-year-old Palestinian girl in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of al-Suwana. (PMG-NAD)

The IDF confiscates the homes of eight residents in Hebron and declares them and the surrounding area to be a closed military zone. (PMG-NAD)

Settlers block a main road between Nablus and Jenin and throw stones at Palestinian cars in the area. (Ma'an News)

**March 12** The IDF kills one Palestinian when clashes erupt after Palestinians throw a Molotov cocktail at a passing Israeli vehicle in Hebron. (*Yediot Aharonot*)

**March 13** South of Ya'bad, near Jenin, Israeli forces prepare for the expansion of the Movo Dotan settlement by leveling land and installing steel fences. (PMG-NAD)

Settlers destroy 120 olive trees in Qurwiet village, near Nablus. (PMG-NAD)

**March 14** An Israeli woman and her three daughters are injured in a car accident caused by stones thrown by Palestinians near the West Bank settlement of Ariel. (*Ha'aretz*)

Settlers destroy 350 olive trees in the al-Khadr neighborhood of Bethlehem. (PMG-NAD)

**March 16** Settlers from Yitzhar abduct a Palestinian man and release him two hours later. Settlers open fire at and stone several Palestinian residents in Yassuf village. (PMG-NAD)

**March 17** A settler attacks a Palestinian woman and her daughters with pepper spray in East Jerusalem, severely burning their eyes. (PMG-NAD)

**March 18** An elderly settler walking at the Kedumim Junction is injured by Palestinians in a drive-by shooting. (*Ha'aretz*)

**March 19** A settler stabs and injures a Palestinian man in East Jerusalem. (PMG-NAD)

Settlers from Migdalim, near Nablus, set fire to a chicken coop owned by Palestinians in Qura village. (Ma'an News)

**March 20** Israel's High Court of Justice rejects a petition by the residents of Beit Safafa to stop work on a highway that will connect the Etzion bloc of settlements to Jerusalem and cut through their community. (*Ha'aretz*)

After Israeli forces evacuate two outposts near Nablus, settlers smash the windows of 18 Palestinian cars and a bus. (Ma'an News)

The IDF arrests 27 Palestinian children in Hebron on suspicion of throwing stones. (*Haaretz*)

**March 21** Settlers uproot 43 olive trees near Bethlehem. (PMG-NAD)

The IDF orders an immediate dismantling of tents erected to protest settlement construction in the E1 area. (*Jerusalem Post*)

**March 22** Settlers from the Beit El settlement throw stones at Ramallah governor Laila Ghanam as she travels in her car north of Ramallah. (Ma'an News)

**March 28** Settlers construct tents in the previously evacuated settlement of Homesh. (PMG-NAD)

In Hebron, Israeli forces close the entrance

to the Ibrahimi mosque in the Old City to allow settlers to conduct rites in the mosque. (PMG-NAD)

**March 29** Settlers from the Neve Daniel settlement uproot 200 olive trees and saplings in the Bethlehem neighborhood of al-Khader. (Ma'an News)

**March 30** Settlers break the arm of a Palestinian herding his sheep in Tulkarem. (PMG-NAD)

**April 1** In Nablus, Israeli settlers stone passing vehicles, including a school bus, injuring seven children. (PMG-NAD)

In Wadi al-Buthan, near Nablus, settlers open fire on Palestinian homes, withdrawing a few hours later under the protection of Israeli forces. (PMG-NAD)

**April 2** Near the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, settlers assault a 16-year-old Palestinian, causing eye injuries and several contusions. (PMG-NAD)

**April 3** In Burqa, near Ramallah, settlers open fire on several farmers and throw stones at vehicles driving near the Beit El settlement. (PMG-NAD)

In the Jabal al-Tur area, near Nablus, settlers temporarily abduct three residents and then leave under the protection of Israeli forces. (PMG-NAD)

Two Israeli activists are detained by an Israeli policeman for filming the construction of an outpost in south Hebron. (+972 Magazine)

**April 4** Palestinian protesters throw rocks at Israeli forces in Hebron's Policeman Square. The Israelis respond with crowd-dispersing measures. Some 100 Palestinians gather near the Yitzhar settlement, throwing rocks at Israeli forces. (*Ha'aretz*)

In Yatta village, near Hebron, settlers set fire to agricultural land and damage ten olive trees owned by a Palestinian resident. (PMG-NAD)

Settlers stone a Palestinian shepherd near al-Mughayir village, and after he collapses from his injuries, they attack his sheep, wounding some and killing others. (+972 Magazine)

A Tel Aviv court rules that 95 dunams of land in the Alfei Menashe settlement be returned to the descendants of three Palestinians who had fled the property in 1967. After the property was abandoned, several Bedouin families had occupied it and then

## SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

sold 14 through an Arab agent to an Israeli company, GRA, in 2001. The court found that the documents provided by the agent had been forged and suspected that GRA and Harei Bracha, an Israeli company that later bought the property, in 2006, had been aware of the falsified documents. Both were fined \$15,000. (Arutz 7)

*Ha'aretz* reports that approximately 100 soldiers are providing security for 25 West Bank outposts, of which there are a total of 100.

**April 6** Settlers stone vehicles passing the Ma'ale Adumim settlement, injuring four Palestinians. (PMG-NAD)

Settlers write racist graffiti on the outer walls of Salah al-Din al-Ayoubi mosque and Billal Bin Rabah mosque and slash the tires of two Palestinian vehicles in a "price tag" attack near Bethlehem. (PMG-NAD, *Ma'ariv*)

**April 9** A female student sustains severe bruises and leg injuries when she is hit by an Israeli settler on a motorcycle near Beit Ummar, in Hebron. The settler was released. (Ma'an News)

In the Hebron village of al-Rahwa, Israeli forces uproot more than 300 olive and almond trees. (Ma'an News)

**April 10** Israel files a response at the High Court of Justice in support of the Education Ministry in a case in which the Od Yosef Hai yeshiva, in the Yitzhar settlement, appealed a ministry decision to deny it funding because of its students' violent actions against Palestinians and Israeli security forces. (*Ma'ariv*)

In Hebron, settlers throw stones at and beat a Palestinian in his yard. An Israeli soldier arrests the Palestinian. (+972 Magazine)

**April 11** In Hebron, settlers destroy several olive trees and a concrete wall surrounding a Palestinian home. (PMG-NAD)

Two Palestinian youths are severely injured by gunfire during clashes between settlers from the Netzach Binyamin outpost and Palestinians from Kafr Silwad after settlers attack an elderly shepherd. (*Ha'aretz*)

**April 12** Palestinian residents in Silwad, near Ramallah, expel settlers and set fire to their mobile home. Israeli forces open fire, injuring a 12-year-old Palestinian boy. (PMG-NAD)

**April 13** In Nablus, Israeli settlers uproot 40 Palestinian-owned olive trees and with-

draw under the protection of Israeli forces. (PMG-NAD)

**April 15** In Jerusalem's Old City, settlers attack people with pepper spray and damage a Palestinian souvenir shop. (PMG-NAD)

**April 16** Settlers assault two Palestinians, aged 14 and 16, in Salfit. (PMG-NAD)

Near the Shave Shomron settlement, settlers stone passing vehicles, injuring Sami Abu Sariya, a Palestinian resident. (PMG-NAD)

**April 17** In Deir Nathim, near Ramallah, Israeli settlers uproot 150 olive trees and 40 fig trees owned by Sa'di al-Khatib. (PMG-NAD)

The Israeli military orders the removal of the separation barrier around the settlements of Ofra and Adam to enable Palestinians access to agricultural land in the area in response to an order by the High Court of Justice. (*Ma'ariv*)

*Yediot Aharonot* reports on plans by the US dairy company Agrimark to open a plant in the Jordan Valley settlement of Sadmot Mechola in collaboration with an Israeli firm.

**April 19** Israeli forces demolish a Palestinian restaurant and two agricultural sheds in al-Khadr, in Bethlehem, for being built without permits. (PMG-NAD)

Settlers forcefully occupy a church in al-Taybeh, in Ramallah, and raise an Israeli flag over the adjacent monastery. (Ma'an News)

**April 20** Near Tubas, settlers enter Palestinian livestock barns and poison ten cows, which are later saved by veterinarians. (PMG-NAD)

**April 21** Settlers stone and chase away residents and families as they farm their lands in Wadi Abu Risha, near Hebron. (PMG-NAD)

**April 22** In Yatta, near Hebron, Israeli forces uproot 500 Palestinian-owned olive trees while leveling 20 dunums of agricultural land. (PMG-NAD)

Israeli attorney general Yehuda Weinstein orders an end to the revocation of social welfare rights to Jerusalem Palestinians who live outside the city's municipal borders but on the Israeli side of the separation barrier. (*Ha'aretz*)

A report by Yesh Din criticizes Israeli police for failing to prosecute offenders for vandal-

ism in the West Bank. Of 162 complaints filed by Palestinians, only one case had been prosecuted. (Ynet)

**April 23** In accordance with a court order, settlers voluntarily leave a Hebron building where they had been squatting. (*Ma'ariv*)

Settlers set fire to nine vehicles near Ramallah. Near Nablus, settlers uproot 100 Palestinian-owned olive and almond trees. (PMG-NAD)

In Hebron's Old City, Israeli forces occupy Kamal al-Hamouri's home and use it as a military post. (PMG-NAD)

Israeli authorities destroy more than 1,300 olive trees in Susiya, in the south Hebron hills. The settler advocacy group Regavim had petitioned for their demolition on behalf of a nearby Israeli settlement in February 2012. (Ma'an News)

**April 24** Israeli forces demolish three homes in the al-Arrub refugee camp. (Ma'an News)

In Yatta, Israeli forces level agricultural land, uprooting 100 olive and almond trees. (PMG-NAD)

Israeli forces demolish an apartment building under construction in the al-Tur neighborhood, in East Jerusalem, as well as three shops connected to the building, for being constructed without permits. (Ma'an News)

**April 25** Near Tulkarem, settlers assault an 80-year-old Palestinian on his agricultural land. (PMG-NAD)

**April 28** *Ma'ariv* reports that the Versailles Court of Appeals in France has ruled that the Jerusalem light-rail system serving the western and eastern parts of the city does not violate international law.

**April 30** Eviatar Borovsky, a resident of the Yitzhar settlement, is stabbed to death by a Palestinian at a bus stop at Tapuach Junction. The attacker then opens fire on nearby border police and is shot and arrested. Borovsky's death is the first murder of an Israeli by a Palestinian since September 2011. Settlers near Yitzhar set fire to Palestinian fields in nearby Burin and Hawara and throw stones at school buses, injuring two girls. Settlers also attack a Jewish resident of the Elon Moreh settlement whom they mistake for a Palestinian, and smash a mosque window in Urif during an attempted arson. (*Ha'aretz*)

West Bank and East Jerusalem. Rather, the Palestinians' core negotiating strategy centers on a refusal to contemplate Israel's annexation of more than 2 percent of the West Bank (113 square kilometers). In addition, the areas marked for annexation by them are noteworthy because they do not advantage Palestinian interests, certainly not to the degree that Israel is advantaged by annexation of West Bank territories, nor are they of such value to convince Israel to reconsider the dimensions or locations of the territories it demands in the West Bank.

It has been almost five years since negotiators engaged on the issue of swaps, or indeed on any of the central issues at the heart of the conflict. There is no evidence that the PLO has revised its views of the nature or dimensions of the territorial exchange that it envisages in a final status agreement. Nor is there any indication that Hamas is reconsidering its opposition in principle to a negotiated peace agreement, including a land swap component.

Statements earlier this year in support of the swaps concept by the Qatari foreign minister during an Arab League visit to Washington revived interest in the idea, but the current Israeli government, led by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, unlike governments led by Barak and Olmert, has not sought to integrate land swaps into a diplomatic plan.

## The Swaps in Diplomacy—A Short Review

### Camp David

#### *Israeli Proposal*

111 settlements / 374,327 settlers annexed<sup>1</sup>  
34 settlements / 18,977 settlers evacuated  
733 km<sup>2</sup> West Bank territory annexed to Israel  
507 km<sup>2</sup> leased by Israel  
114 km<sup>2</sup> Israeli land annexed to Palestine

At the Camp David summit, held in the United States from July 11 to July 25, 2000, Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak proposed annexing 9 percent of the West Bank, including 80 percent of West Bank settlers and all those residing in East Jerusalem, while offering a 1 percent swap of land opposite Gaza. Israel's territorial claim increases to 21 percent of the West Bank if Jordan Valley security-related claims are included.

There was no Palestinian proposal on swaps.

1. Numbers for settlers annexed and evacuated are based on 2003 settler population figures.

### Taba

#### *Israeli Proposal*

64 settlements / 335,331 settlers annexed  
81 settlements / 57,973 settlers evacuated  
340 km<sup>2</sup> West Bank territory annexed to Israel  
0 km<sup>2</sup> Israeli land annexed to Palestine

At the Taba negotiations, conducted from January 21 to 27, 2001, for the first time both parties presented maps showing their ideas for borders of the proposed two states. Israel recognized the June 4, 1967, borders as the basis for negotiations. During the talks, Israel proposed annexing 6 percent of the West Bank (including 80 percent of settlers) and leasing 2 percent of West Bank land. It also proposed a swap of 3

percent and the creation of a West Bank–Gaza corridor under Israeli sovereignty.

The PLO proposed a 2 percent annexation by Israel (including 65 percent of settlers) for a 2 percent swap of land in Israel of equal value, establishing a 1:1 ratio, at least concerning the size of swapped territory.

At Taba, as at Camp David, the manner in which the two sides measured the West Bank and land swaps differed. Israel claimed that

the West Bank–Gaza corridor—calculated at 3 percent of the West Bank—should count as part of the land swap, even though it would remain sovereign Israeli territory. Palestinian negotiators rejected this idea. The PLO insisted that the Latrun salient (no-man's-land) in its entirety is part of the West Bank and thus should be counted as Palestinian land. Israel did not accept this approach.

### Geneva Initiative

34 settlements / 285,688 settlers annexed  
111 settlements / 107,616 settlers evacuated  
207 km<sup>2</sup> West Bank territory annexed to Israel  
207 km<sup>2</sup> Israeli land annexed to Palestine

The Geneva Initiative was the product of an extended but informal simulation by Israeli and Palestinian political figures that began in December 2003.

Under its terms, Israel would annex Ma'ale Adumim, Givat Ze'ev, and Gush Etzion. In return, Israel would transfer to Palestine land in the Beit Jubrin area, including Tal Bayt Mirsam, Tal 'Itun, and Khirbet Naqiq. East Jerusalem territory annexed by Israel would be compensated by a land swap of Israeli territory adjacent to the Gaza Strip. A corridor under Israeli sovereignty would link the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

## Disengagement

0 settlements / 0 settlers annexed

21 settlements: 17 in Gaza, 4 in the West Bank / 8,408 settlers evacuated

NA West Bank territory annexed to Israel

NA Israeli land annexed to Palestine

Israel unilaterally, if informally, reaffirmed the sanctity of the June 1967 armistice line as applied to the Gaza Strip and renounced all territorial claims there in carrying out “disengagement” in Gaza in September 2005. There was no place in the process for land swaps, either in the process, which was unilateral; in Gaza territory, which was completely evacuated; in security considerations, which were accommodated in an entirely new Israeli paradigm that did not require annexation; or in the concept of settlement or demographic “facts on the ground,” as all 7,500 settlers in Gaza were removed completely and the 17 settlements evacuated. Four settlements in the West Bank were evacuated, but remained subject to full Israeli security control (Area C).

## Olmert Map

69 settlements / 435,626 settlers annexed

71 settlements / 65,048 settlers evacuated

444 km<sup>2</sup> West Bank territory annexed to Israel

286 km<sup>2</sup> Israeli territory annexed to Palestine

## PLO 1.5 Percent Map

35 settlements / 305,473 settlers annexed

105 settlements / 195,201 settlers evacuated

86.19 km<sup>2</sup> West Bank territory annexed to Israel

96.29 km<sup>2</sup> Israeli territory annexed to Palestine

Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert presented a map to PLO chairman Mahmoud Abbas on September 16, 2008 that represented the culmination of Israeli proposals presented in post-Annapolis conference discussions from November 2007 to September 2008. Olmert rejected Abbas’s request for a copy of the map, details of which Abbas jotted on a napkin. The map in the public domain (see maps page 3) is based on the projection created by Abbas’s experts.

The Olmert map proposes the annexation of 444 square kilometers, or 7.9 percent of the West Bank. In defining the areas for annexation to Israel, the map is dependent conceptually upon the trajectory of the separation barrier, particularly as it relates to Ariel, Ma’ale Adumim, and metropolitan Jerusalem, which are annexed in their most territorially unrestrained dimensions to satisfy three principal Israeli aims:

- to include the vast majority (87 percent) of settlers;
- to assure the capacity of settlements to expand in the

future by annexing where possible their undeveloped hinterlands and in the process broaden Israel’s narrow “waist”;

■ to deny the Palestinians territories critical for development in order to impair their sovereign capacity.

To compensate for Israel’s expansive territorial demands in the West Bank, Olmert offered to swap the Israeli territories (2 percent) identified in the Geneva Initiative map,

particularly in the southern Hebron Hills. These included small areas peripheral to Palestine’s development needs in Beisan/Bet Shean, the southern and western Hebron Hills, and around the eastern perimeter of Gaza. Only in the last case is there some potential to establish offsetting value to Palestine for West Bank territory sought by Israel.

Notably absent from Olmert’s swap areas was the Halutza sands

region, which was initially suggested by Prime Minister Barak at Camp David. In the wake of Halutza’s identification as a possible swap, the government of Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon began to develop this area to remove it from the Israeli reservoir of territories available to swap. This process of planning and settling Israeli areas identified for possible swaps in order to remove them from consideration continues, notably in the Amatzia region, west of Hebron, identified in the Geneva Initiative. In addition, Israeli government sentiment soured on the transfer to Palestine of large tracts of territory like Halutza, no matter how marginal. Instead, bits and pieces of inconsequential Israeli territory devoid of any strategic value to Palestine were identified. In all cases, the swap areas defined by Olmert are delimited by populated Israeli localities.

The Palestinian map presented in the course of the Annapolis discussions during 2008 marked the first time that the PLO presented specific demands for Israeli territory in a swap. The so-called Two Percent map in fact identifies only 1.5 percent of the West Bank for annexation to Israel while outlining swap territory of 2 percent in Israel.

In identifying swap lands, the PLO generally sought Israeli territory nearby those areas to be annexed by Israel. Although proximity is thus identified as a PLO interest, the size of the swap territory and its value do not appear to have been critical criteria in the selection process. In the Battir area, south of Jerusalem, where Palestinians historically resided, these legacy considerations appear to have been important factors.

The PLO map expresses the abiding Palestinian interest in minimizing the extent of Israel’s annexation of West Bank territory. It acknowledges Israel’s overriding interest in East Jerusalem and the Etzion bloc settlements, constricting them, however, to a less generous definition of their area than demanded by Israel. It highlights the settlements’ proximity to the Green Line and population density as factors in determining their annexation. ◆

“Netanyahu does not have a map of the future Palestinian state. . . . His two central principals are protecting settlement blocs as a part of Israel and a military presence without sovereignty in the Jordan Valley.”

*Ha’aretz*, June 27, 2013

## STATE DEPARTMENT: NO CONSEQUENCES FOR SETTLEMENT

*Question:* Isn't part of the problem here that despite the U.S. condemnation of settlement building, the Israelis have absolutely no incentive to stop it? I mean, they know that they're going to have the U.S. support ad infinitum. And is it—shouldn't there be consequences? Shouldn't the U.S. be sort of saying, okay, we hold a lot of aid—we send a lot of aid to Israel; shouldn't there be some kind of consequences for the Israelis going ahead and deliberately tarnishing the waters that the Secretary's trying to build here?

*Ms. Psaki:* Well, our focus right now is not on consequences as much as working with both sides to try to move them back to the table. So I don't have anything new or any new policy on that front. Certainly we find this unhelpful, as I just said.

*Question:* But diplomacy has always been about a carrot and stick thing. And I mean, working with the two sides isn't actually getting you anywhere. We're still stuck now where we were sort of 60 years ago. Despite the Secretary's efforts, the Israelis are still moving forward with plans which you yourself concede are unhelpful. . . . Shouldn't there be some kind of modification of the U.S. policy in that case to sort of say, "If

you guys do this, we're going to do that"? . . .

*Ms. Psaki:* That's not the current plan. . . .

*Question:* So in other words, there are consequences for the Palestinians if they do things [at the UN] that are unhelpful, but there are not consequences—and there are no plans to have consequences—for the Israelis if they do things that are unhelpful to the process. Is that correct? Is that correct? . . .

*Ms. Psaki:* There's no change in our policy on either front. . . .

*Question:* Okay. So there are no consequences for the Israelis but plenty of consequences for the Palestinians?

*Ms. Psaki:* Again, we consider aid to all sides—as you know, because you know how the Congressional process works—on a very regular basis.

*Question:* I just want to make sure that I understand it.

*Ms. Psaki:* We make points to both sides about actions they would take that would be unhelpful. And we—that is why moving both sides back to the table for a peace process is so important.

Department of State Daily Press Briefing, June 13, 2013

On behalf of President Obama, I am pleased to announce that we have reached an agreement that establishes a basis for resuming direct final status negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis. This is a significant and welcome step forward. . . .

I'm most hopeful because of the positive steps that Israelis themselves and Palestinians are taking on the ground and the promise that those steps represent about the possibilities of the future. The path to resolution of this longstanding conflict in this critical corner of the world, that path is not about fate. It's about choices, choices that people can make. And this is not up to chance. It's up to the Israeli people and the Palestinian

people and no one else.

So knowing that the road ahead will be difficult and the challenges that the parties face are daunting, we will call on everybody to act in the best of faith and push forward. The representatives of two proud people today have decided that the difficult road ahead is worth traveling and that the daunting challenges that we face are worth tackling. So they have courageously recognized that in order for Israelis and Palestinians to live together side by side in peace and security, they must begin by sitting at the table together in direct talks. . . .

John Kerry, Secretary of State,  
Amman, Jordan, July 19, 2013

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